

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. V.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐκτείνουσαι μὴ καταλείβειν, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνέχουσιν ἀπόψεις,
ὡς καὶ ἱστοροὶ συνήξαν ἐγκρίτως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

FROM THE

Earliest Ages of Time to the Present

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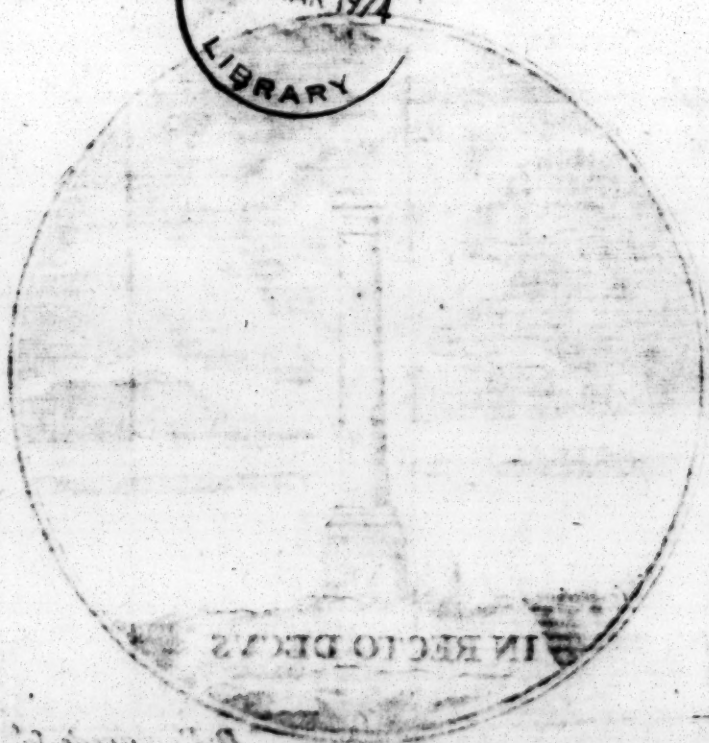
ORIGINAL AUTHORS

and

Map, Chronology, and

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Vol. V.



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A N

Universal History.

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

C H A P. XI.

Continuation of the History of *Perſia*.

S E C T. IV.

Continuation of the Reigns of the Kings of Perſia.

ON *Xerxes's* departure out of *Greece*, *Mardonius*, having paſſed the winter in *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the ſpring into *Bæotia*. From thence he ſent *Alexander* king of *Macedon* with very advantageous offers to the people of *Athens*, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in *Attica*; to ſuffer them to live according to their own laws; to reſtate them in all their former poſſeſſions, and to add to them whatever other lands they ſhould deſire. *Alexander*, as being their antient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity of reſettling their affairs, repreſenting, that they were not in a condition to ſtand out againſt ſo powerful an enemy. But the *Athenians* could not by any means be prevailed upon to deſert the intereſt of

Greece. Whereupon *Mardonius* marched with all his army into *Attica*, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The *Athenians*, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and the second time abandoned their city. *Mardonius* entered *Athens*, and demolished whatever had escaped his fury the preceding year. In the mean time the joint forces of *Greece* being drawn together on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back into *Bæotia*. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than *Attica*, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow passes. On his return into *Bæotia*, he encamped on the banks of the *Asopus*. The *Greeks* followed him thither under the command of *Pausanias*, protector to *Plistarchus* king of *Sparta*, and of *Aristides*, commander in chief of the *Athenians*. The *Persian* army, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, consisted of 350,000, according to *Diodorus* of 500,000 men. That of the *Grecians* did not amount to the number of 110,000. *Mardonius* in order to try the courage of the *Greeks*, sent out his cavalry, in which the main strength of his army consisted, to skirmish with the enemy. The *Megarians*, who were encamped on a plain sustained the first onset; but in spite of all their resolution were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 *Athenians* with a small number of bow-men advanced to their relief. *Masistius*, general of the *Persian* horse, and one highly esteemed in *Persia*, seeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The shock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to shew by the issue of this encounter what might be the success of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at last *Masistius* being killed, the *Persians* betook themselves to flight. The death of *Masistius* was greatly lamented by the *Persians*, who, to shew their concern for the loss of so brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the space of ten days, only looking at one another. At last *Mardonius*, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to bear any further delays, and his provisions being almost consumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they were supplied with fresh provisions. *Artabazus*, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where they should be

be in a condition to lay in stores of provision and forage. He alledged, that by delaying they might cast a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by sending rich presents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The *Thebans* were of the same opinion; but that of *Mardonius*, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who in his heart favoured the *Greeks*, came secretly about midnight into their camp, and informed *Aristides* of all that had passed^r.

THE *Greek* generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged *Pausanias* thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might stand opposite to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly conquered at *Marathon*, while he with his *Spartans* engaged the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* who served in the *Persian* army, and had been often routed by the *Spartans*. But *Mardonius*, upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition, made the like change, which obliged the *Greeks* to return to their former stations; and the *Persians* likewise ranged their army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening the *Greeks* held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of the bodies they commanded to make what haste they could, to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confusion happened, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they stopped near the little city of *Plataea*. *Mardonius*, being informed that the *Greeks* were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with great shouts, as if he were not to fight, but to strip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occasion to insult *Artabazus*, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notions he had conceived of the *Lacedemonians*, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having passed the *Asopus*, he came up with the *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeans*, who were separated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. *Pausanias*, finding himself thus attacked by the whole *Persian* army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint

^r Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & seq.

the *Athenians*, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The *Athenians* immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies, but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented by those *Greeks* who sided with the *Persians*. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans* were the first who broke into the very centre of the *Persian* army, and after a most obstinate resistance put them to flight. *Mardonius*, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself on this occasion, and, at the head of 1000 chosen men, made a great slaughter of the enemies; but he falling, the whole *Persian* army was easily routed, which those *Greeks*, who had engaged the *Athenians*, hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the *Athenians* masters of the field. The *Persians* fled to their former camp which they had fortified with an inclosure of wood. The *Lacedemonians* pursued them, but were not able to force the intrenchment, not being accustomed to besiege towns or storm fortified places. The *Athenians*, hearing that the *Persians* were thus shut up in their camp, gave over pursuing the *Greeks*, and hastened to the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found busied in forcing the enemies camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they took upon themselves that labour, and soon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the *Lacedemonians*, they made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 scarce 3000 made their escape. *Artabazus*, who from *Mardonius*'s imprudent conduct had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived safe at *Byzantium*, from thence passed over into *Asia*. During the whole engagement, the *Spartans* lost but 91 men, the *Tegeans* 16, and the *Athenians* 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Aristodemus*, who was the only one that had saved himself at *Thermopylae*, and had now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a most glorious death. The spoil was immense, consisting in vast sums of money, in gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to *Pausanias*, who distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was *Greece* delivered not only from the present, but all future invasions of the *Persians*, who henceforward never more appeared on this side the *Hellepont* ^c.

^c Idem, c. 88.

THE same day that this battle was fought at *Plataea*, the Grecian fleet gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Asia*, over the remainder of the Persian navy. For at the same time that the land-forces of Greece rendezvoused on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet met at *Ægina*, under the command of *Leotychides* the other king of *Sparta* and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*. Thither ambassadors came to their commanders from the *Ionians*, inviting them into *Asia*, to deliver the Greek colonies from the Persian yoke. On this invitation they immediately set sail for *Asia*, steering their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other ambassadors from *Samos*, who brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had wintered at *Cume*, was then at *Samos*, where it might easily be destroyed, earnestly entreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to *Samos*, but the Persian fleet, receiving timely notice of their design, retired to *Mycale*, where the army lay encamped, consisting of 100,000 men, the remainder of those *Xerxes* had brought back out of Greece the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The Greeks arriving at *Mycale* found all the enemies ships within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast; but, however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and pursued them so close that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the Persians, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the Greeks pouring in on all sides. But in the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the Persians likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the neighbouring hills. Before the engagement they had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the narrow passages of the mountains, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the *Milesians* being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherously brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled to them; by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two Persian generals *Mardontes* and *Tigranes* died in the field, with many other commanders

of

of great distinction. The *Greeks*, having made a great slaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the pursuit, set fire to their ships, burnt the whole camp, and set sail for *Samos* loaded with an immense booty consisting of 70 chests of money, besides many other things of an inestimable value¹. And thus ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, a small number of those millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellepont*.

THE battle of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day, and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend, that the victory at *Plataea* was known at *Mycale* before the engagement began there, though those two places were parted by the whole *Aegean*, a sea of several days sail. But *Diodorus Siculus*² clears up this matter, telling us, that *Leotychides* observing his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at *Plataea*, lest they should be overpowered by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, in order to raise their spirits and courage, caused a report to be spread in the army, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Plataea*, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Xerxes upon the news of these two overthrows left *Sardis*, with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he set out he gave orders, that all the temples of the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed, that not one temple was left standing, except that of *Diana* at *Ephesus* (I).

¹ Idem, c. 102. ² DIODOR Sicul. l. xi. p. 28.

(I) He was prompted to this, not by any particular displeasure against the *Asiatic Greeks*, but by the institutions of the *Mages*, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by *Zoroastres*. For that religion expressing a great detestation of worshipping God by images, its zealots were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* steady in their party, not only several of the chief Doctors of the *Mages*, but *Ossanes* himself, who was then at the head of the whole sect, attended him during the whole time of this expedition (56). At their instigation, *Tully* informs us (57), that all those temples were destroyed.

(56) Clem. Alexander. in *Protrept. Laert. in Proem. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 148, 149. (57) Cic. de legib. l. ii.

THE Grecian fleet after the battle of *Mycale* steered their course first to *Samos*, and thence to the *Hellepont*, in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which *Xerxes* had caused to be laid over those straits; but finding them broke by storms, *Leotychides* with his *Peloponnesian* forces sailed home. *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and their allies the *Ionians*, remaining there, made himself master of *Sestos* and the whole *Thracian Chersonesus*, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which on the approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their respective countries. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of the bridges at *Cardia*, whither they had been conveyed by order of *Xerxes*, carried them with him to *Athens*, where they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which the *Greeks* obtained in this war. From this time the *Ionian* cities in *Asia*, shaking off the *Persian* yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

THE *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, drove the *Persians* out of that island, and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty.

WHILE *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could by no solicitations be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However, the king, still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius*, whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta* this princess's daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But *Xerxes*, finding her virtue proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on

when he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased, binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon *Artaynta* desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes*, foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting upon her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army to be solely at her disposal, which was one of the greatest presents that the *Persian* kings could make. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which she immediately put on, and publicly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king's affections. *Hamestris*, being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the daughter who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it. For the better executing of her design she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occasion the king according to the established custom of the country, used to grant his queen whatever she demanded. This day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother *Masistes* might be delivered into her hands. *Xerxes*, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at this demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request. But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctance to her request, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged *Hamestris*, empowering her to treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power, *Hamestris* caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the meantime *Xerxes* had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon *Xerxes* in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dismissed

missed him. *Masistes*, from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described, and being exasperated to the highest degree, as the case deserved, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependants, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But *Xerxes*, hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of *Hamēstris*. She caused fourteen children of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods.

UPON the death of *Masistes* *Xerxes* appointed *Hystaspes* his second son to be governor of *Bactriana*, which, obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place^a.

Xerxes, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the *Ægean* sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which encouraged *Artabanus*, a native of *Hyr-* *cania*, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He prevailed upon *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace to engage in the conspiracy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21st year of his reign while he was asleep. He then went to *Artaxerxes* the king's third son, and charged *Darius* his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself, and therefore he ought to guard himself against all dangers. *Artaxerxes*, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever *Artabanus* told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there,

Xerxes murdered.
Year of
the Flood,
2535.
Year be-
fore Christ
464.

^a HERODOT. l. ix. c. 107, 112.

being assisted by *Artabanus* and his guards, murdered him[†]. The next heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but as he was then in *Bactriana*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the throne; but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself. His great authority had gained him many dependants, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, courageous, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design; but while he was hastening to put it in execution, *Artaxerxes* being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured to *Artaxerxes* the possession of the kingdom^{*} (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the *Greeks* *Macrocheir*, that is *long-handed*, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); but in scripture he bears the name of *Ahasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen (M).

Artaxerxes

[†] DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 52. ^{*} DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 53.
CTESIAS, c. 29. JUSTIN, l. iii. c. 1.

(K) Whether *Artabanus* possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by *Artaxerxes* before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months of the reign of *Artaxerxes* are by *Eusebius* (58) assigned to *Artabanus*, perhaps because he ruled so long in his name.

(L) *Strabo* (59) tells us, that he was so called because his hands were so long that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but, according to *Plutarch* (60), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the *Latins* *Longimanus*, which answers the *Greek* *Μακρόχειρ*.

(M) Some are of opinion, that *Darius Hystaspes* was the king *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atoffa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in prophane history. For *Herodotus* tells us (62), that *Artystona* was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that *Atoffa* had four sons

(58) *Euseb. in Chron.* (59) *Strab. l. xv. p. 735.* (60) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (61) *Usher. Ann. at the year of the J. P. 4193.*
(62) *Herodot. l. iii. § vii.*

by

Artaxerxes having by the death of *Artabanus* removed one Artaxer-
dangerous competitor, had still two great obstacles in his way, ^{xes}
^{viz.} *Longima-*
^{nus.}

by *Darius*, all born after he ascended the throne (63), and therefore she could not be that queen *Vashti*, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64), nor he that king *Abasuerus*. Besides, *Atossa* had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her on his death-bed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on *Xerxes* her son; whereas the *Abasuerus* of scripture divorced *Vashti* by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of *Ireland* to be of this opinion was, that *Abasuerus* in the book of *Esther* (66) is said to have laid a tribute on the land and on the isles, and the same is said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus* (67); but this *Strabo* ascribes to *Darius Longimanus* (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the surname of *Longimanus*, with the description of the person in that place, plainly shews, that *Darius* was there, by the mistake of the transcribers, put instead of *Artaxerxes*, seeing no *Darius* ever bore that name, and what is said there of *Darius* is applicable to none but *Artaxerxes*.

Scaliger is of opinion (69), that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and his queen *Hamestris* the *Esther* of scripture, induced thereunto by the similitude he finds between *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But the dissimilitude of their characters is a far stronger proof that *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, as must appear from what we have already related of queen *Hamestris*, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of so vile a character cannot have been that queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides, we are told by *Herodotus* (70), that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and *Esther* was not till that time married to *Abasuerus* (71).

There being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, he must, in our opinion, have been the *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*. This we find confirmed by the *Septuagint*, by the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and by *Josephus*. The *Septuagint* throughout the whole book of *Esther* translate *Abasuerus* by *Artaxerxes*. The apocryphal additions to that book constantly call *Esther*'s husband *Artaxerxes*; and from several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, it is very plain, that this *Artaxerxes* could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Josephus* (72)

(63) *Idem*, l. vii.(64) *Esther* i. 3.(65) *Idem*, *ibid.*(66) *Esther* x. 1.(67) *Herodot.* l. iii.(68) *Strab.* l. xv. p.

735.

(69) *Scal. de emendat. temp.* l. vi.(70) *Herodot.* l. ix.(71) *Esther* iii. 16.(72) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xi. c. 6.

viz. his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactriana*, and the party of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus*, as we have hinted above, had seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides. But at length *Artaxerxes*, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot. Those especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The eunuch *Mithridates*, who betrayed him, was boated, a punishment which was in use among the *Persians*, and we have already described where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. *Artaxerxes*, having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, was in a condition to send an army into *Bactriana*, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, *Hystaspes* stood his ground, and though he did not carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring with equal success to prepare for a second encounter. The next year, *Artaxerxes* drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, over-powered *Hystaspes*, and by a complete victory secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire^a. *Artaxerxes*, being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of 180 days in the city of *Susa*, on the conclusion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like

^a PLUTARCH. in ARTAX. CTES. C. 31. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54.

tells us in express terms, that *Esther's* husband was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Severus Sulpitius* and many others, both antient and modern writers, fall in with *Josephus*. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews* beyond all other kings that reigned in *Persia*, is a convincing proof, that they had such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to intercede for them.

feast

feast in her apartment for the women ; and here the history of *Hadassab* or *Esther*, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

IN the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*'s reign the *Egyptians* revolted, and, making *Inarus*, prince of the *Libyans*, their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance ; who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the *Persian* power by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, *Artaxerxes*, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to *Achæmenides* one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in *Egypt* at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the *Nile*. In the mean time the *Athenians*, having defeated the *Persian* fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and landing their forces, under the command of *Charitimus* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*. They afterwards attacked with joint forces *Achæmenides*, routed his army, and killed 100,000 of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town ; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third called the *White-wall*, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief ^b.

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and how much the *Athenians* had contributed to it, sent ambassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, with large sums of money, in order to engage them to make war upon the *Athenians*, and by that means oblige them to recal their troops to the de-

^b THUCYD. l. i. p. 68. 71. 72. Ctes. c. 32. 35. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54—59.

(N) *Herodotus* (73) and *Diodorus Siculus* (74) confound *Achæmenides* brother to *Artaxerxes*, with *Achæmenes* brother to *Xerxes* and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, telling us, that the management of this war was committed to *Achæmenes*, who in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes* was governor of *Egypt*. But they were certainly misled by the similitude of names, for *Ctesias* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* gave the command of the troops to the son of *Hamestris*, who could not be *Achæmenes*.

(73) *Herodot.* l. iii. § vii.

(74) *Diodor.* l. xi.

fence

The Egyptians recalled in the Athenians to their assistance ; who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of Cyprus, laid hold of that invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the Persian power by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, Artaxerxes, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to Achæmenides one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in Egypt at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the Nile. In the mean time the Athenians, having defeated the Persian fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the Nile, and landing their forces, under the command of Charitimus their general, joined Inarus and the Egyptians. They afterwards attacked with joint forces Achæmenides, routed his army, and killed 100,000 of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town ; but the Persians securing themselves in the third called the White-wall, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief ^b.

fence of their own country. But the *Lacedemonians* rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending *Themistocles*, (who had taken shelter in the *Persian* court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of *Greece*) at the head of a powerful army to invade *Attica*. But that great commander, not knowing how to decline the command of a prince who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And accordingly, having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died^c. Upon his death *Artaxerxes* ordered *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia* and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White-wall*. These generals soon drew together 300,000 men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into *Egypt*, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. *Inarus*, hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these *Persian* governors to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the *White-wall*, and made his utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* and *Athenians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place^d.

IN the third year of the siege, and ninth of *Artaxerxes*, the *Persian* fleet being equipped, *Artabazus* took the command of it, and set sail towards the *Nile*, while *Megabyzus*, at the head of the land-forces, marched to *Memphis*. On his arrival he not only obliged *Inarus* and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the *White-wall*, but in a pitched battle, entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the *Egyptians*, who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the thigh by *Megabyzus*, retired with the *Athenians* and such of the *Egyptians* as were willing to follow him to the city of *Biblus* in the island of *Prosopitis*, which being surrounded by the navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenians* stationed their fleet in one of them, and held out a siege of a year and a half. In the mean time the rest of the *Egyptians* submitted to the conqueror, and returned to their obedience. *Amyrtæus* alone maintaining a party against him in the fens, where he ruled many years, the *Persians* not being able to reduce him by reason of the inaccessibleness of

^c THUCYD. l. i. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. PLUTARCH. in Themist.
^d CRES. & DIODOR. ubi supra p. 281.

the place. *Inarus* and his auxiliaries in the island of *Prosopitis* defended themselves with such vigour, that the *Persians*, despairing to reduce them by the ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, whereby they soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals, that arm of the *Nile*, where the *Athenian* fleet lay, and by that means opened a passage for the whole army to enter the island. *Inarus*, seeing all was now lost, delivered up himself, the *Egyptians*, and about fifty *Athenians* to *Megabyzus*, on condition their lives should be spared. But the rest of the *Athenians*, to the number of 6000, refused to surrender, and, having set fire to their fleet, drew up in battle array, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives at the dearest rate, in imitation of the *Lacedemonians* that fell at *Thermopylae*. The *Persians*, perceiving they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it adviseable to attack them; but rather to offer them reasonable terms, and come to a composition. The terms were, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, delivered up the island with the city of *Biblus* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they embarked for *Greece*; but most of them perished before they reached their native country. Neither was this the only loss the *Athenians* sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty sail, being sent by them to relieve those who were besieged in the island of *Prosopitis*, arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile* soon after their countrymen had surrendered; and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the same time attacked by the *Persian* fleet, and galled with such showers of darts and arrows by the land-forces from the shore, that they were all killed, except some few who broke through the enemy's fleet and escaped. Thus ended the fatal war, which the *Athenians* had carried on for the space of six years in *Egypt*, and that kingdom was again reduced to the *Persian* empire, and continued so during the remaining part of the reign of *Artaxerxes*. *Inarus* and the other prisoners taken in this war were sent to *Susa* and *Sartamas* appointed governor of *Egypt*.

THE *Athenians* having equipped another fleet of 200 sail gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* in pursuance to his orders took *Citium*, *Malum*, and several other cities of that island, and from thence sent 60 sail to the assistance of *Anxyrtus* in the fens of *Egypt*. *Artabazus* being then in those seas

Egypt
again re-
duced.
Year of
the Flood,
2546.
Year be-
fore
Christ
453.

^c CTES. c. 34. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 58, & seq.

with a fleet of 300 ships, *Cimon*, as soon as his squadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took 100 of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with this success, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where finding *Megabyzus* with an army of three hundred thousand men, he marched against him, and having put him to flight with a great slaughter of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph ^f.

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved, with the advice of his counsellors and ministers, to put an end to so many calamities, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* sent ambassadors to *Athens* to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following terms. 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the *Cyanean* and the *Chelidonian* islands, that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Persian* general should come by land within three days march of those seas. 4. That the *Athenians* should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of *Persia*. These articles being sworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had lasted from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians* fifty one years complete, and destroyed numberless multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Persians* ^g.

Artaxerxes being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her *Inarus* and the *Athenians* who had been taken with him in *Egypt*, that she might sacrifice them to the manes of her son *Achæmenides*, yielded at last to her unwearied solicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princess, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greatest solemnity ratified, caused *Inarus* to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off. *Megabyzus*, who had engaged his word that their lives should be spared, looked upon this as a dishonour done him, and therefore retiring to *Cyria*, of which province he was governor, raised there an army and openly revolted. The king imme-

Inarus
crucified.
Mega-
byzus re-
volts.

Year of
the Flood,
2552.

Year be-
fore Christ

447.

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<sup>f</sup> PLUTARCH, in *Cimon*. THUCYD. l. i. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 73.  
DIODOR. ubi supr. p. 74. THUCYD. l. i.

diately

diately sent *Ofris*, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of two hundred thousand men to suppress this rebellion. But *Megabyzus* in a general engagement wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his numerous army to flight. *Artaxerxes* hearing that his general was taken, sent a messenger to demand him, and *Megabyzus* generously released him as soon as his wounds were cured <sup>h</sup>.

THE next year *Artaxerxes* sent another army against him under the command of *Menostanes*, son to *Artarius* the king's brother, and governor of *Babylon*. This general was attended with no better success than the other; for he was in the same manner defeated and put to flight, leaving *Megabyzus* master of the field and all the baggage. The king, being sensible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, sent his brother *Artarius* and his sister *Amytis* who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of distinction, to persuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, *Megabyzus*, fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. But the king still retaining ill will against him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in shooting first at the lion, commanded his head to be struck off; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that *Amytis* his sister and *Hamestris* his mother prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment. *Megabyzus* was therefore sent to *Cyrta*, a city standing on the *Red-sea*, and sentenced to lead the rest of his life there under confinement. However five years after he made his escape from thence, and under disguise got safe to his own house at *Susa*, where by the intercession of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened some years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the best counsellor and greatest general of the whole empire. To him *Artaxerxes* owed both his life and his crown at his first accession to the government. But it is of dangerous consequence in a subject to have too much obliged his sovereign; for this was the true source of all the misfortunes that befel *Megabyzus* <sup>i</sup>.

IN the 34th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes* a war breaking out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, commonly

<sup>h</sup> Ctes. c. 35.<sup>i</sup> Ctes. 37—39.



called the *Peloponnesian* war, both parties sent ambassadors to the king imploring his assistance <sup>k</sup>. But we do not find, that *Artaxerxes* returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an ambassador to the *Lacedemonians* named *Artaphernes* with a letter written in the *Assyrian* tongue, wherein he told them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but the purport of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested, and that therefore he had thought proper to send them a *Persian* to let them know, that if they had any proposals to make they should send a trusty person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This ambassador arriving at *Eion* on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the *Athenians* being extremely desirous to regain the favour of the king his master <sup>l</sup>. The year following, as soon as the season allowed the *Athenians* to put to sea, they sent back the ambassador in one of their own ships at the expence of the public, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Persia* with the character of ambassadors. But when they landed at *Ephesus*, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the *Athenians*, not thinking it advisable to proceed farther, took their leave of *Artaphernes* and returned to *Athens* <sup>m</sup>.

*Artaxerxes* favoured the *Jews* above all the kings of *Persia*, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people, as in a more proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Xerxes* II. the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen, among whom were *Sogdianus*, or, as *Ctesias* calls him, *Secundianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having drank immoderately at a great entertainment retired to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity *Sogdianus* laid hold of, and, being let into the bed-chamber by *Pharnacyas* one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, slew him, after he had reigned 45 days, and possessed himself of the kingdom <sup>n</sup>.

*Sogdianus*. SCARCE was *Sogdianus* seated on the throne, when he put to death *Bagorazus*, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend the interment of *Artaxerxes*, and of the queen, *Xerxes*'s mother, who had

<sup>k</sup> THUCID. l. ii.  
ibid. p. 322.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, l. iv. p. 285, 286.

<sup>n</sup> CTES. c. 47. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 115.

died

died the same day as her royal consort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the *Persian* kings, he found on his return *Sogdianus* in possession of the crown, with whom he had formerly had some small difference. This *Sogdianus* remembered, and, taking for a pretence to quarrel with him something relating to the obsequies of his father, caused him to be stoned to death. By these two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous lest some of his brothers might treat him as he had treated *Xerxes*, he sent for *Ochus*, whom he chiefly suspected, with a design to murder him the moment he arrived. *Ochus* had been by his father appointed governor of *Hyrcania*, and being well apprised of his brother's design, under several pretences put off his coming to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of *Persia*, openly declaring, that he designed to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility and several governors of provinces, who, being highly dissatisfied with the cruelty and ill conduct of *Sogdianus*, put the *Tiara* on *Ochus's* head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus*, seeing himself thus deserted, contrary to the advice of his best friends, came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who having him in his power caused him to be thrown into ashes (O), where he died a cruel death°.

*Ochus*, being settled on the throne by the death of *Sogdianus*, changed his name, taking that of *Darius* instead of *Ochus*, and is by historians commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius the Bastard* (P).

*Arfites,*

• Ctes. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 322.

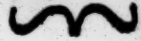
(O) This punishment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in *Persia*. *Ochus* had sworn, that *Sogdianus* should not die by the sword, by poison, or of hunger. To keep his word he contrived this new sort of punishment; it is described in the 13th chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees*, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with ashes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and his empire, after he had reigned six months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in *Ptolemy's* canon as the immediate successor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* according to the style of that canon, which constantly ascribes to the predecessor the whole year in which he

(75) ii. *Maccab.* c. 13. *Val. Max.* l. 9. c. 2.



Year of  
the Flood,  
2575.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
424.



*Arsites*, seeing in what manner *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by *Ochus*, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the same manner. With this design, though he was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged thereunto and assisted by *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus*. *Ochus*, whom henceforth we shall call *Darius*, sent *Artasyras*, one of his generals, against *Artyphius*, while he marched in person against his brother *Arsites*. *Artyphius*, with the assistance of his Greek mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been sent against him. But, these being gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle; and being reduced to great straits surrendered himself to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by *Parysatis* his wife and sister. She was daughter to *Artaxerxes* by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greatest importance. The counsel she gave him on this occasion was, to treat *Artyphius* with great clemency, that, by such usage of a rebellious servant, he might the better encourage his brother to throw himself upon his mercy, and then dispose of them both as he pleased. *Darius* followed her counsel, and had the success he proposed. For *Arsites*, being informed of the gentle usage *Artyphius* had met with, concluded, that he, as a brother, should be treated at least with the same indulgence and good nature. Flattered with this hope he came to an agreement with the king and surrendered himself into his hands. *Darius*, having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by *Parysatis* to put both him and *Artyphius* to death by suffocating them in ashes <sup>P</sup>.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* for being concerned in the murder of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes*, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of *Sogdianus*, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure him the tranquil-

<sup>P</sup> Idem, c. 49.

dies, and places him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the ensuing year. As the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* made up but eight months, and these did not reach to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, they are in the canon cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

lity he expected ; for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions, raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous was that which was stirred up by *Pisuthnes* governor of *Lydia*, who setting up for himself raised an army of *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes*, appointing him at the same time governor of *Lydia* in his room. *Tissaphernes*, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the *Greeks* who served under *Pisuthnes*, and induced both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon *Pisuthnes*, not being in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered upon promise of pardon. But the king the instant he was brought before him sentenced him to death, and accordingly he was, pursuant to the king's order, suffocated in ashes. But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised ; for his son *Amorgas* with the remainder of the army still opposed *Tissaphernes*, and for two years continued to infest the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, till he was at length taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus* a city of *Ionia*, and delivered by the inhabitants to *Tissaphernes*, who put him to death<sup>1</sup>.

*Darius* had scarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himself involved in new troubles. His court, and we may say, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs, *Artaxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*. These he consulted, and followed their advice in all the momentous affairs of the government. But *Artaxares* was the chief favourite, and nothing was transacted but by his direction. Intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of ascending the throne ; and accordingly formed a design of cutting off *Darius*. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what to that time the *Persians* had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized and delivered up to *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death<sup>2</sup>.

BUT the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius*, during the whole time of his reign, was the revolt of *Egypt*, which broke out the same year that *Pisuthnes* rebelled. For though *Darius* got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce *Egypt*. *Amartyaus*, who had reigned in the

*The Egyptians revolt.*

Year of the Flood, 2586.

Year before Christ

413.



fens

<sup>1</sup> Idem, c. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, ibid.



sens of *Egypt* ever since the revolt of *Inarus*, being apprised of the discontents of the *Egyptians*, and finding them disposed to enter into any measures for the recovery of their liberty, sallied out of his sens, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the *Persians* quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in possession of all *Egypt* by the total expulsion of the *Persians*, he resolved to attack them in *Phœnice* too, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this undertaking. News of this being brought to the court of *Persia*, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the *Lacedemonians*, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions <sup>f</sup>.

WHILE *Darius* was carrying on the war against the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted: but being defeated were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case <sup>t</sup>. *Darius* seems to have been likewise successful against the *Egyptians*; for *Amyrtæus* being dead, after a reign of six years, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him, as *Herodotus* informs us <sup>u</sup>, in the kingdom with the consent of the *Persians*, which shews that they were masters of *Egypt*.

Cyrus the  
younger  
appointed  
governor  
of Asia  
Minor.

*Darius*, having thus settled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, invested *Cyrus* his youngest son with the supreme command of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so much power; for being born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission. But as he was the darling of his mother *Parysatis*, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter <sup>w</sup>. On his receiving his commission he was ordered to assist the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures observed by *Tissaphernes*, who, by sometimes helping one side and sometimes the other, had so ballanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the *Persians*, who had so long been the common

<sup>f</sup> THUCYD. l. viii. init. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 2. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 160. <sup>t</sup> XENOPH. Hellenic. l. i. HERODOT. l. ix. <sup>u</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. <sup>w</sup> XENOPH. Hellen. l. i. PLUTARCH. in Artax. & Lyfandro. Justin. l. v. c. 5. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 368.

enemies of both. This order given, *Cyrus* soon discovered the weakness of the king's politics. For the *Lacedemonians* having, with the assistance given them by *Cyrus*, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agessilaus* their king to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues or governors of the *Greek* cities, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*, which obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recall their troops for their own defence \*.

*Cyrus* having put to death two noble *Persians*, sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason, but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the *Persians* in the presence of their kings, *Darius* recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed and desired to see him. *Cyrus*, well knowing how great an ascendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he set out he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to *Lyfander* general of the *Lacedemonians*, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats river* on the *Hellepont*, which put an end to the *Athenian* power and the *Peleponnesian* war, after it had lasted twenty seven years †. *Darius* was highly incensed against *Cyrus*, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had presumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king: and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he was born after his father's accession to the throne, which had given the preference to *Xerxes* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. *Darius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but, however, bequeathed him the government of those provinces, which he ruled before. Not long after *Darius Darius Nothus* died, after he had reigned nineteen years, and *Nothus* was succeeded by *Arfaces* his eldest son by *Parysatis*, who on his ascending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the *Greeks* *Mnemon*, that is *Rememberer*. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that by following the same

\* XENOPH. DIODOR. JUSTIN. ibid. THUCYD. l. ii. PLUT. in *Lyfandro*. † XENOPH. *Hellen*. l. ii. PLUTARCH. in *Lyfandro*. DIODOR. l. xiii.

dies.  
Year of  
the Flood  
2594.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
405:



rule he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that *he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* <sup>2</sup>.

Artaxerxes  
Mne-  
mon.

UPON the death of *Darius* his son *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, to be there inaugurated after the *Persian* custom by the priests of *Bellona*. He was no sooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother *Cyrus* had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information *Cyrus* was seized and sentenced to death. But his mother *Parysatis* prevailed upon the king, not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of *Asia Minor*, which his father had left him <sup>2</sup>.

*Artaxerxes* was no sooner settled on the throne, but *Statira* his queen, whom he was very fond of on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of *Udiastes*, who had killed her brother *Teriteuchmes*. This quarrel had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. *Statira* was daughter to *Hydarnes* a *Persian* lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, then called *Arfaces*, falling in love with her, married her, and at the same time *Teriteuchmes* her brother married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius* and sister to *Arfaces*, by reason of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to succeed him in his government. But falling in love with his own sister *Roxana*, no ways inferior in beauty to *Statira*, that he might without any constraint enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife *Hamestris*, and raise a rebellion in the kingdom. *Darius* being acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged *Udiastes*, an intimate friend of *Teriteuchmes*, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. *Mithridates*, the son of *Udiastes*, who was one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guards, and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations against him, and to shew his abhorrence of so vile an action, seized on the city of *Zaris*, and openly revolting declared for the son of *Teriteuchmes*. *Mithridates* was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH. in Artaxerxe. DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 8, & II. ATHENÆUS, l. xii. <sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH. in Artax. XENOPH. de exped. Cyri. l. 5. JUSTIN. l. I. c. 5, II.

*Zaris*, and with him the son of *Teriteuchmes*; all the rest of the family of *Hydarnes* were apprehended and delivered to *Parysatis* to execute her revenge upon them, for the ill usage done or intended against her daughter. That cruel princess began with *Roxana*, whose beauty had been the occasion of all this mischief, and caused her to be sawed in two, the others were all beheaded except *Statira*, whom she spared at the earnest entreaties and through the importunate tears of her husband *Arfaces*, contrary to the opinion of *Darius*, who told her that she would afterwards have occasion to repent it. Thus the case stood at the death of *Darius*. But *Arfaces* was no sooner settled on the throne, than *Statira* prevailed upon him to deliver *Udiastes* into her hands; whereupon she caused his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family: His son *Mithridates* she appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had shewn to *Teriteuchmes*. But *Parysatis*, bitterly resenting this fact, poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herself, as we shall hereafter relate <sup>b</sup>.

*Cyrus* returning to his government of *Asia Minor* full of resentment for the sentence of death, which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employed *Glearchus* a *Lacedemonian* general to raise a body of Greek troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedemonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, being well apprised of the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with a design to proceed from thence to the *Persian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole scheme. Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the partisans of the *Lacedemonians*, at *Athens*, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of so superior a genius, found means to induce *Pharnabazus* to put him to death, whereby the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state <sup>c</sup>.

THE cities that were under the government of *Tissaphernes* revolted from him to *Cyrus*. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to

*Cyrus designs a war against his brother.*

<sup>b</sup> Ctes. in Pers. in Artax.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. l. i. Plut.



Year of a war between them. *Cyrus*, under pretence of arming against the Flood, gainst *Tissaphernes*, assembled troops openly, and to amuse 2596. the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, being Before Christ, 403. deceived by these appearances, believed, that all *Cyrus's* preparations were designed only against *Tissaphernes*, and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased <sup>d</sup>.

THE young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of *Greece*, he thought he might safely disclose to them his design, and ask their assistance for the accomplishing of it. The *Lacedemonians* readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral. But they took care not to mention *Artaxerxes*, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case *Artaxerxes* should get the better of his brother they might justify themselves to him for what they had done <sup>e</sup>.

THE army which *Cyrus* had raised, consisted of 13000 *Greeks*, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. *Clearchus* the *Lacedemonian* commanded all the *Peloponnesian* troops, except the *Acheans*, who were led by *Socrates* of *Achaia*. The *Beotians* were under *Proxenus*, a *Theban*, and the *Thessalians* under *Menon*. The other nations were commanded by *Persian* generals, of whom the chief was *Ariæus*. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under *Pythagoras* a *Lacedemonian*, and 25 commanded by *Tamos* an *Egyptian*, admiral of the whole fleet <sup>f</sup>. *Cyrus* opened his design to none of the *Greeks* except *Clearchus*, fearing the boldness of the enterprize might discourage the officers as well as the soldiers. *Proxenus*, between whose family and *Xenophon's* an antient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries <sup>g</sup>. *Cyrus*, having at length got all things ready, set out from *Sardis* directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be em-

<sup>d</sup> XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in Artax. supra. PLUTARCH. ibid. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 11. supra, p. 252.

<sup>e</sup> XENOPH. l. ii. p. 294.

<sup>f</sup> XENOPH. ubi supra.

ployed : For *Cyrus* had only given out, that he was marching against the *Pisidians*, who with frequent incursions harrassed his province. However, *Tissaphernes*, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprize, set out with all possible expedition from *Miletus* to give the king a true account of them. *Artaxerxes*, being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time *Cyrus* advancing with long marches arrived at the straits of *Cilicia*, where he found *Syennesis*, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage ; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against *Tamos* and the *Lacedemonian* fleet which appeared upon the coast <sup>h</sup>.

WHEN they arrived at *Tarsus* the *Greeks* refused to proceed any farther, suspecting that they were marching against the king, and protesting, that they did not enter into the service upon that condition. *Clearchus* at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill success; and therefore desisting from force he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to *Cyrus*, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen for one of the deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had acquainted before-hand with what had happened, answered that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was at twelve days march distance encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* plainly saw that this was not his true design, but nevertheless shewed themselves willing to proceed, on condition ~~that~~ their pay was increased. This *Cyrus* willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared that he marched against *Artaxerxes*. Upon this some complaints were heard at first, but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army <sup>i</sup>.

*Cyrus* arriving, after a long march, in the plains of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, found there *Artaxerxes* with an army of 900,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to stand to their arms and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. *Clearchus* advised *Cyrus* not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the *Greek* battalions. This advice

<sup>h</sup> Idem, l. i. p. 248—261.

<sup>i</sup> XENOPH. & PLUT. *ibid.*



Cyrus  
slain.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2598.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
401.

Cyrus rejected with indignation, saying that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them, was at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who stood round him. But he in the mean time perceiving, that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed *Artagerfes*, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*, and spurring on his horse engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when *Cyrus* attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards observing they all discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king was run through by his javelin and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot, and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, says *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that *Cyrus*, was killed by a *Carian* soldier. *Mithridates* a young *Persian* nobleman, boasted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. *Artaxerxes*, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The *Greeks* had defeated the king's left wing commanded by *Tissaphernes*, and the king's right wing commanded by himself, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But *Tissaphernes* acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The *Greeks* under the command of *Clearchus*, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the *Greeks* halted at the foot of the hill, much surpris'd that neither *Cyrus* himself nor any messenger from him appeared, for they yet knew nothing of his

his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken, which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without any sort of refreshment. The next morning, as they were still expecting to hear from *Cyrus*, they received the sad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army. Whereupon they sent deputies to *Ariæus*, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conquerors the crown of *Persia* in the room of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to *Ionia*, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of *Clearchus* began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to *Greece*<sup>k</sup>. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the *Persian* empire, surrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemies country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties; and in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harrassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* sea. This was the longest march and most memorable retreat that ever was made through an enemy's country. *Clearchus* had the conduct of it at first, but he being cut off by the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, *Xenophon* was chosen in his room, and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into *Greece*. As the same *Xenophon* has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall refer the reader to that inimitable performance, and return to what passed in the court of *Artaxerxes* after the battle of *Cunaxa*.

As he believed that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that as the most glorious action of his whole life, to dispute that honour with him was wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed, that the *Carian* soldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he caused him to be delivered to *Parysatis*, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were any ways con-

<sup>k</sup> *XENOPH.* *ibid.* 272—292. *DIODOR.* l. xiv. p. 255  
257.



eerned in the death of her son. She made that unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite torments she could invent during ten days, and then put him to a most cruel death. *Mithridates* likewise, having boasted that it was he who gave *Cyrus* his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we spoke of the punishments used among the *Persians*. *Masabates* one of the king's eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus* being delivered to *Parysatis*, was flayed alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes upon two stakes prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and resentment of *Parysatis* stop here; for having conceived an implacable hatred against *Statira* for reproaching her, as if she had countenanced her son *Cyrus*'s revolt against his brother, that revengeful woman poisoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. *Parysatis*, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper, and a certain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, she divided it between *Statira* and herself with a knife which was poisoned on one side only: the sound part she immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, though upon her guard, to eat the other; whereupon she was that instant seized with horrible convulsions and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes* being greatly afflicted for the loss of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be put to the rack, when *Gygis*, one of her confidants discovered the whole. *Artaxerxes* caused *Gygis*, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and confined his mother to *Babylon*, telling her, that he would never set his foot within the gates of that city while she was there; but at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her death<sup>1</sup>.

*The Lacedemonians make war upon the Persians.*  
Year of the Flood, 2599.  
Year before Christ 400.

AFTER the death of *Cyrus*, *Tissaphernes* being sent back to his former government, and moreover invested with the same power which had been given to *Cyrus*, he began to harass and oppress the *Greek* cities, that were within the verge of his authority and had sided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they sent ambassadors to the *Lacedemonians* imploring their assistance and protection. The *Lacedemonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* with an army against them,

<sup>1</sup> PLUTARCH. in Artax.

which

which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, they took the field against *Tissaphernes*. But *Thimbro* being soon recalled upon some complaints and sent into banishment, *Dercyllidas* was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than his predecessor. Upon his first arrival finding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and marching against the latter with all his forces drove him quite out of *Æolis* and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus*, fearing he might invade *Phrygia* the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into *Bithynia*, where he took up his winter quarters to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time *Pharnabazus* took a journey to the *Persian* court, and there made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes*, for concluding a peace with *Dercyllidas* instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, telling him, that as *Conon* was the best sea-commander of his time, he might by that means obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from *Greece*, and soon put an end to the power of the *Lacedemonians* in *Asia*. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give *Conon* the command of it<sup>m</sup>.

IN the mean time *Dercyllidas*, having reduced *Atarna*, marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* usually resided. For the *Lacedemonians*, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands in order to save that province, had sent *Dercyllidas* express orders to march thither. This *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* no sooner heard but they united against *Dercyllidas*, whom they came up with in so disadvantageous a post, that had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. *Pharnabazus* was for attacking him, but *Tissaphernes*, who at the battle of *Cunaxa* had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but sent heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce till the answer of their respective masters should be known. Thus *Dercyllidas* and his

<sup>m</sup> DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 417. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Atticis.  
army



army were saved from utter destruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing else could have delivered them.

IN the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, receiving accounts from *Asia*, that the king of *Persia* was equipping a powerful fleet on the coasts of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and supposing it to be designed, as it truly was, against them, resolved to send *Agésilas*, one of their kings, into *Asia*, in order to make a diversion. All things being ready for this expedition, *Agésilas* set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at *Ephesus* before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of this design; with such secrecy and expedition was the whole managed at *Sparta*. *Agésilas* upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and, finding no body in a condition to oppose him, carried all before him. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* sent a messenger to enquire for what end he was come into *Asia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Agésilas* replied, that he was come to assist the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and restore them to their antient liberty. *Tissaphernes*, being quite unprepared for a war, assured *Agésilas*, that his master would grant him what he demanded, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of an express which he had sent to court. *Agésilas* believed him, and a truce was agreed on and sworn to on both sides. But *Tissaphernes*, without any regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to assemble troops on all sides, and send to the king for more forces, and as soon as he received them, he sent word to *Agésilas* to depart *Asia*, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. This message greatly alarmed the *Lacedemonians* and their confederates, as not believing themselves in a condition to oppose the now numerous army of *Tissaphernes*, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the *Persian* empire. As for *Agésilas* himself, he heard *Tissaphernes*'s heralds with a gay and easy air, and desired them to tell their master, that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to *Persia*, and friends to *Greece*. Having with this answer dismissed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as soon as he understood, that *Tissaphernes* had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned short and fell upon *Phrygia*. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he

*Agésilas*  
passes into  
*Asia*.  
Year of  
the Flood  
2603.  
Before  
Chr. ft.  
96.

\* DIODOR. *ibid.* XENOPH. *HELLEN.* l. iii.

over-ran great part of the province without any opposition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immense booty, marched back by the sea-coast into *Ionia*, and wintered at *Ephesus* °.

EARLY in the spring *Agefilaus* took the field, and gave out that his design was to invade *Lydia*. But *Tissaphernes*, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon *Caria*, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But *Agefilaus* led his army, as he had given out, into *Lydia*, and approached *Sardis*. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* recalled his forces from their former rout, with a design to relieve the place. But *Caria* being a very mountainous country and unfit for horse, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horse behind on the borders of that province. Whence on their marching back to the relief of *Sardis*, the horse being some days march before the foot, *Agefilaus* took the advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their assistance. The *Persians* were routed at the very first onset, and *Agefilaus*, becoming by this victory master of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered *Persians* †.

THE loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against *Tissaphernes*, and encreased the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view besides his master's interest. At the same time *Conon*, arriving at the *Persian* court, heightened the king's displeasure with new complaints against him; for he had deprived the soldiers on board *Conon's* fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing the king any service. Queen *Parysatis*, actuated by an irreconcilable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son *Cyrus*, did not fail on this occasion to aggravate the charges brought against him. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly, by reason of the great authority he had in *Asia*, he charged *Tithraustes*, captain of the guards, with that important commission, giving him at the same time two letters; the one directed to *Tissaphernes*, and empowering him to pursue the war against the *Greeks* in what manner he thought best; the other was addressed to *Ariæus* governor of *Larissa*, commanding him to assist *Tithraustes*, with his counsel and all

° XENOPH. HELLENIC. l. iii. PLUT. & Cor. Nep. in AGE-  
SILAO. † XENOPH. ibid. p. 501—657. PLUT. in ARTAX.  
p. 1022. & in Agefil. p. 601.



his forces, in seizing *Tissaphernes*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Ariæus* desired *Tissaphernes* to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the *Persian* custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of *Tithraustes*, who caused his head to be struck off and sent into *Persia*. The king gave it to *Parysatis*, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper<sup>1</sup>.

UPON the death of *Tissaphernes*, *Tithraustes*, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to *Agefilæus*, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his master would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the *Lacedæmonians* required when they first began the war. *Agefilæus* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*. However, as he was willing to give *Tithraustes* the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into *Phrygia*, which was the province of *Pharnabazus*, *Tithraustes* paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of *Sparta*, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in *Asia*, both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed *Pisander*, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though *Pisander* was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved<sup>2</sup>.

*Agefilæus*, having settled the maritime affairs, pursued his design of invading *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of *Pharnabazus* in great affluence. From thence he marched to *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the king.

<sup>1</sup> XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 220. POLYÆN. Stratag. l. vii. <sup>2</sup> PAUSAN. in Laconicis. Xenoph. & Plutarch. ubi supra.

There he concluded a league with *Cotys* king of that country, and returning into *Phrygia* took the strong city of *Dasylum*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all sorts of provisions<sup>f</sup>. *Tithraustes*, finding that *Agefilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, sent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece*, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the *Lacedemonians*. This stratagem produced the intended effect; for the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and others, entering into confederacy, obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recal their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring as *Agefilaus* was ready to take the field, *Pharnabazus* invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, *Pharnabazus*, after expatiating on the services he had done the *Lacedemonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, reproached them with ingratitude, since, in return for so many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at *Dasylum*, which were his hereditary estate. As what he said was true, *Agefilaus* and the *Lacedemonians* that attended him, were to such a degree ashamed in seeing themselves so justly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to answer, nor how to excuse such an ungenerous proceeding. However to make him the best amends they could, they obliged themselves by a solemn promise not to invade any of the provinces under his government, so long as there were other into which they might carry the war against the *Persian* king<sup>g</sup>. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew with a design to invade the upper parts of *Asia*, and prosecute the war in the very heart of the *Persian* empire. But while *Agefilaus* was projecting this expedition, a messenger arrived at the camp from *Sparta*, acquainting him, that the *Ephori* recalled him to defend his own country, against which several states of *Greece* had formed a strong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made all the haste thither he could, complaining at his departure, that the *Persians* had driven him out of *Asia* with thirty thousand archers, alluding to the *Persian Darics*, which were pieces of gold stamped on one side with the figure of an archer<sup>h</sup>.

*Agefilaus recalled.*  
Year of the Flood 2608.  
Before Christ 594.

<sup>f</sup> PLUT. in *Agefil.* Xenoph. *Hellenic.* l. iv. p. 507. 510.

\* XENOPH. ubi supra. p. 513. Plut. in *Agefil.* p. 603, 604.



The Lacedemonians  
defeated at  
Cnidos.

*Conon*, on his return from the *Persian* court, having brought money enough to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemies. The *Persian* fleet consisted of 90 vessels and upwards; that of the *Lacedemonians* was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. They came in view of each other near *Cnidos*, a maritime city of *Asia Minor*. *Conon*, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of *Athens* by losing the sea-fight at *Ægospotamos*, or the *Goats river*, was determined to use his utmost efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, *Pisander* was desirous to justify by his conduct and valour the choice which *Agésilas* his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But *Conon* having boarded his ship and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet betook themselves to flight. *Conon* pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the *Lacedemonians* in those parts. The consequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of *Sparta*; some declaring for the *Athenians*, and others resuming their antient liberty. After this battle the empire of the *Lacedemonians* declined daily, till at length the overthrows, which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ*, completed their downfall<sup>u</sup>.

AFTER this victory *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* being masters at sea sailed round the islands and coasts of *Asia*, reducing the cities, which in those parts were subject to the *Lacedemonians*. *Sestus* and *Abydus* were the only two cities that held out against them. *Pharnabazus* attacked them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving *Conon* to take care of the fleet, and strengthen it with as many ships as he could assemble from the cities on the *Hellepont*, against the ensuing spring<sup>x</sup>.

*Conon* having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet against the time appointed, took *Pharnabazus* again on board, and steering his course thro' the islands, landed in *Melos* the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the country of the *Lacedemonians*, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the mari-

<sup>u</sup> XENOPH. ubi supra. p. 518. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 302. JUSTIN, l. vi. c. 2, 3. <sup>x</sup> XENOPH. ibid. p. 534. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 441.

time places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After this *Pharnabazus* returning to his government of *Phrygia*, *Conon* obtained leave of him to repair to *Athens* with 80 ships and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having first convinced him, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the weakening of *Sparta*, than putting *Athens* again in a condition to rival its power. He no sooner arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands and was seconded by the zeal of all those that were well inclined to the *Athenians*, was soon compleated, and the city not only restored to its former splendor, but rendered more formidable than ever to its enemies. Thus *Athens* was rebuilt by the *Persians*, who had destroyed it, and fortified at the expence and with the spoils of the *Lacedemonians*, who had dismantled it. *Conon*, having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and those which led from the former to the latter, and were called the *Long-walls*, distributed the 50 talents, which he had received of *Pharnabazus*, among his citizens, and offered the gods a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, in thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of his native country <sup>1</sup>.

*Conon re-  
builds the  
walls of  
Athens.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2606.  
Year be-  
fore  
Christ  
393.*

THE *Lacedemonians* could not behold without great concern so glorious a revolution, and finding themselves unable to maintain a war, with men as brave as themselves assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with *Artaxerxes* upon the most advantageous terms he could. The other cities of *Greece*, in alliance with the *Athenians*, sent at the same time their deputies, and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. The terms, which *Antalcidas* proposed, were, that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but the islands and other cities in *Greece* should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, the other ambassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The *Lacedemonians*, bearing an implacable hatred to *Conon* for the restoring of *Athens*, had charged *Antalcidas* to accuse him to *Tiribazus* of having purloined the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and uniting them anew to the republic of *Athens*. Upon these accusations *Tiribazus* seized him, and, having supplied the *Lacedemonians*

<sup>1</sup> XENOPH. & DIODOR. *ibid.*

underhand



underhand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the *Athenians*, set out for the *Persian* court to give the king an account of his negotiations. *Artaxerxes* was well pleased with the terms which the *Lacedemonians* had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time *Tiribazus* laid before the king the accusations which the *Lacedemonians* had brought against *Conon*. Whereupon he was, according to some writers<sup>a</sup>, sent to *Susa* and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of *Xenophon*, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event<sup>a</sup>.

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, *Suthras* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia* in his absence. On this occasion observing the havock, which the *Lacedemonians* had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedemonians* to send *Thimbro* into *Asia* to renew the war there; but, as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the *Persians*. *Diphridas* was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon *Asia* after the battle of *Cnidus* being but faint struggles of a declining power. In the mean time *Tiribazus* returning from *Susa* summoned all the deputies of the *Greek* cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were; that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Glazomenæ*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros* should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty *Artaxerxes* engaged to join those who accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them to the utmost of his power against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name; however, as *Greece* was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and therefore no-ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the *Persians*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the

The peace  
of Antal-  
cidas.

Year of  
the Flood,

2612.

Year be-  
fore Christ

387.

<sup>a</sup> CORNEL. NEP. in Conone.  
l. xiv. p. 442.

<sup>a</sup> XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR.

Greeks settled in *Asia*, for whose liberty *Agessilaus* had so long contended <sup>b</sup>.

*Artaxerxes*, being now quite disengaged from the Grecian war, turned his whole power against *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before designed to drive out of that island, but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. *Evagoras* was descended from the antient kings of *Salamine*, the capital city of the island of *Cyprus*. His ancestors had held that city for many ages in quality of sovereigns; but were at last driven out by the *Persians*, who, making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a *Persian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon* a *Citian*, governor of *Salamine* for the king of *Persia*, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the Greek war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean time *Conon*, by means of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and *Artaxerxes*, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of *Salamine* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master, in a manner, of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusi-ans*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, alone of those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to *Artaxerxes*, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support. But being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force against *Evagoras*, determined to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the *Persians*, and the many favours received at the king's hands, could not forbear assisting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they sent them, with all possible expedition, under the command of *Philocrates* to assist him. But the *Lacedemonian* fleet, commanded by *Teleutias* brother to *Agessilaus*, falling in with them near the isle of *Rhodes*, surrounded them, so that not one ship could escape <sup>c</sup>. The *Athenians*, determined to

<sup>b</sup> XENOPH. l. v. p. 548—551. DIODOR. ubi supra. p. 447.

<sup>c</sup> XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 459.



The Persi-  
ans invade  
Cyprus  
with 300,  
000 men.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2613.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
386.

assist *Evagoras* at all adventures, sent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a considerable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new supply arrived safe, and in a short time obliged the whole island to submit to *Evagoras*. But the *Athenians* being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece*, to recal *Chabrias*, the *Persians* attacked with all their forces the island of *Cyprus*, not doubting, but they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from *Greece*. The king's army consisted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ships. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* son-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the son of *Tamus*, whom we have mentioned above. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the sea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, seeing himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes who were at enmity with the *Persians*, receiving supplies, both of men and money, from the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Besides, as he had amassed immense treasures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had a great many small vessels, he intercepted all the enemies ships that brought provisions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the island, to such straits, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers. But the whole *Persian* fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from *Cilicia*. At the same time *Evagoras* likewise received a great supply of corn and fifty ships from *Egypt*, which, together with those he had fitted out himself, making up a fleet of 200 sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the *Persians*. At first he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of the enemies ships; but *Gaus* advancing with a few ships attacked him with such vigour, that *Evagoras* was obliged to retire after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the *Persian* fleet, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at last obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy's ships into their harbours. *Evagoras* with a few ships escaped to *Salamine*, where he was immediately closely besieged both by sea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in *Cyprus*, and having obtained 2000 talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his son *Pythagoras*, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ships and sailed for *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Acheris*, king of that country, to join him with

all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were; that he should abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamine*, which he should hold of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to consent to that of holding *Salamine*, as a servant under his master, and persisted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwise than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die sword in hand rather than yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself entirely to the defence of the city <sup>d</sup>.

IN the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the success that attended him, wrote secretly to court, accusing him amongst other things of forming designs against the king's interest, and holding a private correspondence with the *Lacedemonians*. Upon the receipt of these letters, *Artaxerxes* immediately dispatched orders to *Orontes* to seize *Tiribazus* and send him prisoner to court, which being without delay put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon *Orontes*. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, many left the service, and others refused to obey their new commander. Whereupon *Orontes* was obliged to renew the treaty with *Evagoras*, and conclude it upon terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he consented, that he should hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. Thus the siege was raised, and a peace concluded with *Evagoras*, after a war which had cost the *Persians* above 50,000 talents, that is near ten millions of our money <sup>e</sup>. For the elogy and character of this prince we refer the reader to *Isocrates*.

THE peace concluded with *Evagoras* did not put an end to the war in those parts. For *Gaus*, resenting the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the same prosecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare suspicions, sent deputies to *Achoris* king

<sup>d</sup> DIODOR. ubi supra.<sup>e</sup> ISOCRAT. in *Evag.*



of *Egypt*, and having concluded an alliance with him against the king of *Persia*, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, most of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewise solicited the *Lacedemonians* to come into the league, assuring them, that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them masters of all *Greece*. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy such an opportunity of making war upon the *Persians*, being highly dissatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*. But, before matters were ripe for execution, *Gaus* was treacherously slain by one of his own officers, and *Tachos*, who took upon him to carry on the same design, soon died; whereby the vast preparations they had made came to nothing; and the *Lacedemonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Asia* †.

*Artaxerxes* had no sooner finished the *Cyprian* war, but he entered upon another against the *Cadusians*, who perhaps had revolted, for authors are silent as to the occasion of this war. This people inhabited the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and, being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life, were accounted a very warlike race. The king marched in person against them at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horse: But, the country by reason of its barrenness not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to feed upon the beasts of burden which accompanied the army; and these became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for 60 drachmas. The king's provisions too began to fall short, and only a few horses remained. In this sad posture of affairs, *Tiribazus* contrived a stratagem which saved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a prisoner, being in disgrace by reason of the crimes laid to his charge by *Orontes*, as we have said above. The *Cadusians* had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. *Tiribazus*, who took care to be informed of all that passed in the enemy's camp, found that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that the jealousy and mistrust, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them, and, taking upon himself the whole management of it, went in person to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king, to

† DIODOR. l. xv.

whom he applied, that the other had sent ambassadors to treat separately with *Artaxerxes*, and advised him to lose no time, but make his peace as soon as possible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king, which saved both him and his army from impending destruction<sup>e</sup> (Q).

THE king lost in this ill-projected expedition a great number of his best troops, and all his horses. Among others who lost their lives on this occasion was *Camissares*, by nation a *Carian*, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was succeeded in that government by his son *Datames*, who attended *Artaxerxes* in this expedition, and distinguished himself in a very particular manner. *Datames* was the greatest commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as *Cornelius Nepos*, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldness, and abilities for contriving and executing military stratagems. But his eminent qualities and too great merit occasioned his ruin, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter.

ON the king's return to *Susa*, the eminent service which *Tiribazus* had done him in that expedition inclined him to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpose he appointed three commissioners, who were all of eminent rank and distinguished probity. These, after an impartial discussion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king restored to his former honours, and *Orontes* his accuser with disgrace banished the court<sup>h</sup>.

*Artaxerxes*, being now at leisure from all other engagements, resolved to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had long before shaken off the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. *Achoris*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, fore-

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 462.

<sup>h</sup> DIODOR. ubi supra, p. 463.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the *Cadusians* were descended from the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the king of *Assyria* carried out of the land of *Canaan*; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the similitude between the words *Cadusian* and *Kedushim*, which signifies *Holy People*, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) Fuller Miscel. l. ii. c. 5.



seeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it the best he could. He joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own subjects. *Pharnabazus*, being charged with the management of this war, sent ambassadors to *Athens*, complaining of *Chabrias* for engaging to serve against the king of *Persia*, with whom the state of *Athens* lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, and the best general of his time, to command the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* service. The *Athenians*, who at that time had a great dependence on the *Persian* king's friendship to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled *Chabrias*, ordering him to repair to *Athens* on pain of death by a certain day. *Iphicrates* was sent to take upon him the command of the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* army. On his arrival having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Iphicratean* soldiers. And indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. *Achoris*, king of *Egypt*, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by *Psammuthis*, who reigned only a year. After him *Nepherotes* reigned four months, and then *Nectanebes*, the first of the *Sebennytic* race, twelve years<sup>1</sup>.

*Artaxerxes*, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece* for his *Egyptian* war, sent ambassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*; and that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of *Greece*, except the *Thebans*, who, aspiring to the empire of all *Greece*, refused to conform to it<sup>2</sup>.

His unsuccessful expedition against *Egypt*. AT length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of *Egypt*, the *Persian* army was drawn together at *Ace*, since called *Ptolemais*, the place of the general rendezvous. In a

<sup>1</sup> EUSEB. Chron. Syncell. p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> DIODOR. l. xv. p. 355.

review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 *Persians* under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and 20,000 *Greeks* led by *Iphicrates*. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 galleys, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of *Pelusium*; but *Nectanebes*, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been at first projected, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*; for the *Nile* at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garison. But the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile* not being so well fortified as the *Pelusian*, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without any great opposition, carried the fortrefs that guarded it, and put all the *Egyptians* that were found in it to the sword. After this action *Iphicrates* was for reembarking the troops without loss of time, and attacking *Memphis* the capital of *Egypt*. Had this opinion been followed, before the *Egyptians* recovered from the consternation, which so formidable an invasion and the blow already received had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and must have certainly taken it and re-conquered all *Egypt*. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would undertake nothing before their arrival. *Iphicrates*, in the utmost despair to see so favourable an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus*, out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to *Iphicrates*, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the *Egyptians* time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any further attempts. For *Nectanebes* having lodged a sufficient garison in *Memphis*, with the rest took the field and so harrassed the *Persians*, that they could not advance farther into the country; and the *Nile* at the accustomed period overflowing the land, the *Persians* were obliged to return into *Phœnice*, having lost great part of their army in this unsuccessful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless



fruitless an attempt. The only effect that it produced was, an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*, and he, with more reason, on *Pharnabazus*; but being well apprized, that *Pharnabazus* would find more credit at the *Persian* court than he, and remembering what had happened to *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship and retired to *Athens*. *Pharnabazus* sent ambassadors to *Athens*, accusing him of making the *Egyptian* expedition miscarry, and requesting the republic to punish him according to his demerit. The *Athenians* made no other answer, than that if he were found guilty he should undergo the punishment he deserved. But it seems they were so well convinced of his innocence, that they never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed sole admiral of their whole fleet<sup>1</sup>.

TWELVE years after this expedition, *Artaxerxes*, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting *Egypt*, notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for the invading of that country. *Tachos*, who had succeeded *Nectanebes*, drew together what forces he could to defend himself against so powerful an enemy. To strengthen himself the more, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedemonians*, who were at that time exasperated against *Artaxerxes*, for obliging them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, to send a good number of troops under the command of *Agésilas*. This commission did no ways redound to the honour of *Agésilas*, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of *Sparta*, and a great commander, who had acquired such reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himself to a *Barbarian*. However, *Agésilas*, either out of vanity to be still at the head of an army, for *Tachos* had promised to make him commander in chief of all his forces, or out of a prospect of great gain, willingly accepted the commission, and set sail for *Egypt*. On his landing he was met by *Tachos*, who in their first interview conceived such disadvantageous ideas of him, that he ever after slighted his counsels and despised his person. For both he and his *Egyptian* generals expected to see a great and magnificent prince, with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man, of a mean aspect, and dressed

Year of  
the Flood,  
2637.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
362.

<sup>1</sup> DIODOR. l. xv. p. 478.

in an old robe of coarse stuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward shew. This hasty and ill-grounded impression proved the ruin of *Tachos*; for he would allow *Agésilas* no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first cause of his aversion to *Tachos*. The charge of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias*, reserving to himself the chief command over all. Having joined the *Egyptians* and mercenaries into one body, he resolved to march into *Phœnice*, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. *Agésilas*, being apprised of the bad consequences that might attend this resolution, advised him against it, remonstrating, that his affairs were not so well settled in *Egypt* as to admit of his absence, and that it would be more for his interest to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom to be at hand in case of any disturbance. *Tachos* despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. But the event shewed, that *Agésilas*'s advice was the result of a very prudent forecast; for, while *Tachos* was in *Phœnice*, the *Egyptians* revolting set up *Nectanebus* his cousin, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, his son, in his stead. *Agésilas*, laying hold of this opportunity to vent his resentment against *Tachos*, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of *Egypt*. The dethroned prince fled first to *Sidon*, and from thence to the *Persian* court, where he was not only received with great kindness, but entrusted with the command of the troops against the rebels <sup>m</sup> (R).

<sup>m</sup> DIODOR. l. 15. 397.—401. PLUT. in AGESIL. p. 616, 618. CORN. NEP. in AGEF. c. 8.

(R) *Plutarch* condemns *Agésilas* as guilty of treachery in thus turning his arms against the prince who had hired him. But *Agésilas* alledged in his justification, that he had been sent to assist the *Egyptians*, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms against *Tachos*, he could not serve against them without new orders from *Sparta*. He accordingly dispatched messengers thither, and the instructions he received were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for *Nectanebus*. Thus *Agésilas* pretended to cover so criminal a conduct, says *Plutarch*; but if we remove that delusive blind of the public good, the only true name that can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason (77). *Xenophon* endeavours to palliate his conduct by saying, that *Agésilas* joined that king who seemed the best affected to *Greece* (78).

(77) *Plut. in Agefil.*

(78) *Xenoph. de reg. Agefil.* 663.

To



TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, great disturbances arose in the *Persian* court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, viz. *Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ochus*. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared *Darius* the eldest his successor, and the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the *Tiara*, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. *Tiribazus*, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. *Artaxerxes* had promised him in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked *Tiribazus* to such a degree, that to revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death.

*Darius* being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arfames*. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. *Ochus*, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals. For *Ariaspes* being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that, expecting every moment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death. But *Arfames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with

*Artaxerxes*  
*Mon dies.*

with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign<sup>a</sup>. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire. This *Ochus* was sensible of, and well knew, that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniencies that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive; by one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*. Historians, however, most frequently call him *Ochus*, and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history.

It was no sooner known that *Artaxerxes* was dead, and *Ochus* in possession of the throne, but all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt, were *Ariobarzanes*, governor of *Phrygia*, *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, *Orontes* governor of *Mysia*, and *Autophradates* governor of *Lydia*. *Datames* likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of *Cappadocia*. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert. But they did not long keep firm to each other; and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of *Asia Minor* on withdrawing their obedience had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen *Orontes* for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to their own troops, and charged *Orontes* with the care of raising them. But when he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising those forces and maintaining

<sup>a</sup> DIODOR. I. 15. p. 397—401. PLUT. in ARTAX.



of them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. *Rheomitres*, another of the chiefs of *Asia Minor*, being sent into *Egypt* to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 50 ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at *Leucas*, a city of *Asia Minor*, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus* was without striking a blow settled on the throne\*. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having possessed himself also of *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in *Cornelius Nepos*<sup>†</sup> and *Polyænus*<sup>‡</sup>, it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces, and was at last murdered by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his intimates (S).

*Ochus* was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in *Persia*. For he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their

\* DIODOR. l. xv. p. 506. POLYÆN. Stratag. l. vii. † CORN. NEP. in vita Datam. ‡ POLYÆN. Stratagem. l. vii.

(S) *Diodorus Siculus* (79) places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but as he was greatly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely, that so great an insurrection should have happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor *Ochus*, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of *Artaxerxes*, this may have led *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) *Diodor. l. xv. p. 400.*

arrows.

arrows<sup>r</sup>. This uncle seems to have been the father of *Syngambis*, mother to *Darius Codomannus*. For *Q. Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* caused 80 of her brothers, together with their father to be massacred in one day. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

BUT all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, rebelled, and engaged *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. *Ochus* sent an army of 70,000 men against the rebels; but they were by *Chares* and his *Athenians* all cut in pieces. *Artabazus*, in reward of so great a service, gave *Chares* a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet and the forces he had on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the *Athenians*, and as they were then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, he threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal *Chares*. The *Athenians*, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered *Chares* to return forthwith into *Greece*<sup>r</sup>.

*Artabazus*, being thus deserted by the *Athenians*, had recourse to the *Thebans*, who sent to his assistance a body of 5000 men under the command of *Pammenes*. With this reinforcement *Artabazus* again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans* and their commander<sup>r</sup>. However, they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. *Artabazus* thus destitute of all support was at last overcome and forced to take refuge with *Philip of Macedon*<sup>s</sup>.

THIS rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*. The *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reduce *Egypt*; but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through *Phœnicia*, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of *Egypt*. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of 4000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian* to join

Year of  
the Flood,  
2648.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
351.



JUSTIN l. x. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. <sup>r</sup> DIODOR. l. xvi. p. 527., 528. <sup>r</sup> DIODOR. *ibid.* <sup>s</sup> *Idem*, p. 438.



them, in hopes of making *Phœnice* a barrier to *Egypt*, and keeping the war at a distance. The *Phœnicians* encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia* that were sent to reduce them, they drove the *Persians* quite out of their territories <sup>w</sup>.

THE *Cypriots*, being likewise ill-used by their *Persian* governors, and encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*, joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same alliance <sup>x</sup>. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idriens* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. *Idriens*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* an *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, (T) to make a descent on the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being reinforced with other bodies from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land <sup>y</sup>.

*Ochus*, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, marched at the head of them into *Phœnice*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who was then at *Sidon* with the *Greek* mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of so great an army, sent privately one of his intimate friends to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. *Ochus* glad of this proffer spared no promises to draw him over to his party, knowing what signal service he could do him in the *Egyptian* war, as being thorough-

<sup>w</sup> Idem. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533.

<sup>x</sup> Idem, ubi supra. p. 532.

<sup>y</sup> Idem, ibid.

(T) Another *Evagoras* had formerly reigned in the city of *Salamine*, whom we have spoke of above. On his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and this *Evagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the *Persians* in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). *Cyprus* had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(80) *Isærat. in Evag. & Nicol.*

(81) *Diodor. l. vi. p. 532.*

ly acquainted with the country. And accordingly *Mentor*, having received such assurances as he desired, engaged *Tennes*, king of *Sidon*, in the same treacherous design, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* up to the *Persians*. The *Sidonians*, seeing themselves thus betrayed and the enemy within the walls, shut themselves up, with their wives and children, in their houses, and setting fire to them consumed themselves, to the number of 40,000 men, besides women and children. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects, for *Ochus* seeing he could do him no farther service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country as we have related elsewhere <sup>a</sup>. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon *Egypt* <sup>a</sup>.

*Sidon betrayed by Mentor the Rhodian.*

But before he marched thither, his army received from *Greece* a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the *Thebans* sent him 1000 men under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* 3000 commanded by *Nicostratus*; the rest joined him from the *Greek* cities of *Asia*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the king's ambassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master, but could not at that time spare him any succours <sup>b</sup>. The *Jews* also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of *Phœnice*. For *Ochus* from *Sidon* marched into *Judæa*, where he besieged and took *Jericho*, carrying along with him into *Egypt* a great many captive *Jews*, and sending others into *Hyrkania*, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea <sup>c</sup>.

*Ochus* at the same time put an end to the *Cyprian* war, and compounded with the nine *Cyprian* kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of *Egypt*. He willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments <sup>d</sup>.

*Ochus*, having thus settled the affairs both of *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, set out on his *Egyptian* expedition. On his march he lost a great many men, drowned in the lake of *Serbonis*,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. II. p. 335.

<sup>a</sup> DIODOR. I. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Idem. ibid. p. 533.

<sup>c</sup> SOLIN. C XXXV. SYNCCELL. ex Africano, p. 256. OROS. I. xxxi. c. 7. JOSEPH. I. i. contra Apion.

<sup>d</sup> DIODOR. ibid. p. 534.

which



which lies between *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, and extends about thirty miles. When the south wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with sand from the desert, in such manner, that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of *Ochus's* army, for want of good guides, were lost in it, and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the same fate\*. When he arrived on the frontiers of *Egypt*, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a *Persian* and a *Greek* general. The first was led by *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rojaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; the second by *Nicostratus* the *Theban*, and *Aristazanes*; the third by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near *Pelusium*, with a design to watch there the event of the war. In the mean time *Nectanebus* drew together an army of 100,000 men, consisting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece* as many from *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians*; but they did not all amount to a third of the *Persian* army. With some of these he garisoned his frontier towns, and with the others he guarded the passes, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The first *Persian* detachment, under the command of *Lachares*, sat down before *Pelusium*, garisoned by 5000 *Greeks*. While the siege was carrying on, *Nicostratus* with his detachment embarked on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, and sailing up the *Nile* landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a strong encampment. Hereupon all the garisons of the neighbouring castles, taking the alarm, joined *Clinius* of the island of *Cos* in order to dislodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy; but at last the *Egyptians* were put to flight, having lost *Clinius* with above 5000 of his men; the rest were utterly broken and dispersed, which, we may say, determined the fate of this war. For *Nectanebus*, fearing lest *Nicostratus* should sail up the *Nile* with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, hastened thither, and left open the passes which he ought chiefly to have defended. The *Greek* mercenaries, who garisoned *Pelusium*, hearing of the king's retreat, gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, delivered up the city to him, upon condition, that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted, entered the country;

\* *Idem*, 534, 535.

and giving out, that *Ochus* would graciously receive all that *Egypt* submitted, and utterly destroy such as resisted, treating them <sup>as he had treated the *Sidonians*, both the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*</sup> *Ochus*. <sup>Year of the Flood, 2649. Year before Christ 350.</sup> *Nectanebus*, seeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treasures he could carry, and withdrew into *Aethiopia*. *Ochus*, having thus reduced all *Egypt*, dismantled their strong holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with immense treasures <sup>f</sup>. Henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Persia*, till *Alexander* overturned that monarchy, and delivered the *Egyptians* from the *Persian* tyranny.

*Ochus*, having ended with such success the *Egyptian* war, sent back the *Greek* mercenaries to their respective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conquests were chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he distinguished him above all the rest, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other presents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coasts of *Asia*, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was still carrying on against some provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. These, what by cunning and stratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and restored the king's authority in all the parts of that vast empire.

ALL the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, *Ochus* gave himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the administration of public affairs entirely to his ministers. The chief of these were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower <sup>g</sup>. *Bagoas*, being by birth an *Egyptian*, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conquest of *Egypt*, to influence the king in favour of the *Egyptian* ceremonies; but, in spite of all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records that were lodged in them; and in contempt of their religion slew the god *Apis*, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name.

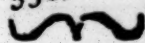
This irreligious behaviour *Bagoas* deeply repented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back into *Egypt*; but the injury done to his god he thought could be no otherwise at-

<sup>f</sup> Idem, *ibid*.<sup>g</sup> Idem, p. 537.

toned



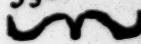
Bagoas the  
eunuch poi-  
sons Ochus  
and raises  
Arses to  
the throne.  
Year of  
the Flood  
2661.  
Before  
Christ  
338.



toned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death; which he did accordingly with poison in the twenty first year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it; and because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of the *Apis*, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for swords. Having in this barbarous manner dispatched his master and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his own hands, he placed *Arses*, the youngest of the dead king's sons on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped. For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to *Arses*, reserving for himself the whole power and authority of the government <sup>h</sup>.

*Arses* did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same *Bagoas*, who, finding that the king, well apprized of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was before-hand with him, putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign <sup>i</sup>.

Darius  
Codomannus.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2663.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
336.



THE throne becoming again vacant by the death of *Arses*, *Bagoas*, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed on it *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*. Before his accession to the crown he was called *Codomannus*, and is said not to have been of the blood royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal family, being descended from *Darius Nothus*, whose grandson *Arfanes* marrying his own sister *Sysigambis* had by her *Codomannus*. *Ostanes*, the son of *Darius Nothus* and father to *Arfanes*, was put to death by *Ochus* on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons <sup>k</sup>. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is nowhere said. In the reign of *Ochus* he made but a very poor figure, being only an *Astanda*, that is one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment for one of the royal family <sup>l</sup>. In the war which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians*, towards the latter end of his reign, one of these *Barbarians* having challenged the whole *Persian* army, to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, *Codomannus* accepted

<sup>h</sup> DIODOR. p. 564. ÆLIAN. var. Hist. l. iv. c. 8. SEVER. SULT. l. ii. <sup>i</sup> DIODOR. ibid. <sup>k</sup> DIODOR. ibid. PLUT. in Artax. <sup>l</sup> PLUT. de vita & fortuna Alexandri.

the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and slew the *Cadufian*. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of *Armenia* <sup>m</sup>, and thence raised to the throne by *Bagoas* in the manner we have already related. But he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power, when *Bagoas*, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had done his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion; but *Darius* being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him, made *Bagoas* himself drink it, and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne, without any further difficulty or opposition <sup>n</sup>. Authors represent *Darius* as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his stature and shape far preferable to any of the whole *Persian* empire. But having such a fortunate rival as *Alexander the Great* to encounter, he was not able with all his good qualities and personal courage to withstand him; and he was scarce warm on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, having settled his affairs in *Macedon*, and used all imaginable precautions, to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set out for *Seftus*, and thence passed over the *Hellefpont* into *Asia*, in the second year of *Darius's* reign. A war against the *Persians* had been resolved on some time before, in a general assembly of the *Amphietyons*, to revenge the many injuries, which *Greece* had received from the *Barbarians* during the space of 300 years; and *Philip* king of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition. But *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his son *Alexander* summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of *Greece* to meet at *Corinth*, and having prevailed with them to choose him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. But they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under *Philip* during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. *Parmenio* commanded the infantry; *Philotas* his son had the command of 1800 horse, all *Macedonians*; *Callas*,

<sup>m</sup> DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 564. Justin. l. x. c. 3. <sup>n</sup> DIODOR. ubi supra.



the son of *Harpalus*, led the same number of *Theſſalian* cavalry; the reſt of the horſe had their particular commanders, each being ſet over thoſe of his own nation. With this army he croſſed the *Helleſpont*, as we have hinted above, and purſuing his march, arrived at the river *Granicus*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe, with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage (U). *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor over all the coaſts of *Aſia*, had adviſed the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waſte the whole country, and even deſtroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of proviſions to return back into *Europe*. But *Arſites*, governor of *Phrygia*, oppoſed the opinion of *Memnon*, proteſting, that he would never ſuffer the *Greeks* to make ſuch havock in the countries he governed. This raſh and impolitic counſel prevailed, and *Memnon* was even ſuſpected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at leaſt to be deſirous of ſpinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himſelf<sup>o</sup>.

THE *Persian* cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front in order to oppoſe *Alexander*, wherever he ſhould attempt a paſſage; and the foot conſiſting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was poſted behind the cavalry on an eaſy aſcent. *Permenio*, obſerving the diſpoſition of the enemy's army, adviſed *Alexander* to incamp on the oppoſite banks of the river, that he might have time to reſt; and not to attempt the croſſing till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks craggy and ſteep, his troops tired with their march, and the enemies quite freſh, as having been incamped in that place for ſeveral days. But all the reaſons he could produce made not the leaſt impreſſion on *Alexander*, who answered, that it would be a diſgrace to him and his army, ſhould he, after croſſing the *Helleſpont*, ſuffer his progreſs to be ſtopped by a rivulet; for ſo, out of contempt, he called the *Granicus*<sup>p</sup>.

The battle  
of Grani-  
cus.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2665.  
Before  
Chriſt,  
334.

THE two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the oppoſite banks of the river continued ſome time in ſight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The *Persians*

<sup>o</sup> ARRIAN. l. i. c. 13. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iii. <sup>p</sup> DIODOR. Arrian. Plutarch. Curt. ubi ſupra.

(U) *Juſtin* and *Oroſius* tell us, that the *Persian* army conſiſted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe; *Arrianus* makes it amount to 200,000 foot. We have choſen to follow *Diodorus's* account, which to us ſeems the moſt rational.

waited

waited till the *Macedonians* should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing ; and the *Macedonians* were looking for a convenient place to cross in, which they no sooner found, than *Alexander* ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, he himself following with the right wing, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The *Persians* let fly such showers of arrows, against the detachment of the *Macedonian* horse, as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded ; and as they drew near the bank a most bloody engagement ensued, the *Macedonians* endeavouring to land, and the *Persians* pushing them again into the river. As *Memnon* commanded in this place with his sons, the first ranks of the *Macedonians* were entirely cut off, and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, driven anew into the river. *Alexander*, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and, landing in spite of all opposition, attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to give way. However, *Spithrobates*, governor of *Ionia*, and son-in-law to *Darius*, being surrounded by forty *Persian* lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the *Persians* back to the charge. *Alexander*, in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, full gallop to engage him ; neither did he decline the combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. *Spithrobates*, having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, ran him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scymetar. But *Rosaces*, brother to *Spithrobates*, gave *Alexander* at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Clitus* with one stroke of his scymetar cut off *Rosaces*'s head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Persian* horse with new vigour, who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Alexander* did not pursue them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's foot, who, seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the *Macedonian*



phalanx which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut in pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but, being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse; of the *Macedonians* 25 men of the king's own troop fell in the first attack; whose statues, made by *Lyfippus*, *Alexander* some time after caused to be set up in *Dio*, a city of *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 70 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens<sup>1</sup>.

THIS victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected. For *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where he was received with great Joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus* the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*, which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but after various fruitless attempts they failed off. *Memnon* had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place. But his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Alex. DIODOR. p. 503. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 6. AR-  
RIAN. l. i. c. 17.

town, the besieged sustaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last the town being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memnon* demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms; the *Milesians* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon* with his *Greeks* to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword or sold for slaves<sup>r</sup>.

HAVING thus possessed himself of *Miletus*, he marched into *Caria*, in order to besiege the city of *Halicarnassus*, which refused to submit. The place was both by nature and art one of the best fortified in all *Asia*; and besides *Memnon* had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage and attachment to the interest of *Darius*. And accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by another general of great prowess, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war, was practised on this occasion, both by the besiegers and the besieged. After the *Macedonians* had, with the utmost difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demolished in an instant, and the engines set on fire by the besieged. No sooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raised in its stead, the *Macedonians* finding themselves no farther advanced after an immense labour, than they were when they first sat down before the place. The city held out so long, and the besiegers had so many difficulties to struggle with, that any general besides *Alexander* would have given over the enterprize. But his troops were encouraged to pursue the undertaking, by those very difficulties, which would have disheartened others; and their patience at last proved successful, *Memnon* being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the sea was open, he placed a strong garison in the citadel, which was stored with all sorts of provision, and going on board the *Persian* fleet, whereof himself was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the island of *Cos*, not far distant from *Halicarnassus*. *Alexander*, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to besiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was destroyed<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> DIODOR. ubi supra. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 19.  
ARRIAN. ibid.

<sup>r</sup> DIODOR.



AFTER the reduction of *Halicarnassus*, all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* declared for *Alexander*, he giving out wherever he came, that he had undertaken this war with no other view, but of freeing them from the *Persian* bondage. In the second year of this war he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and appointed such of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. These transactions we shall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior.

IN the mean time *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. *Memnon* advised him to carry the war into *Macedon*; and a wiser resolution could not have been taken; for the *Lacedemonians* and several other *Greek* states, that were disaffected to the *Macedonians*, and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged *Alexander* to leave *Asia*, and return to the defence of his own country. *Darius*, being well apprised of the reasonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged *Memnon* to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for *Memnon* was by far the best general in his service, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the *Persian* interest, not abandoning his sovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unsuccessful. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of *Cos*, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of *Chios* and *Lesbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*. From thence he designed to pass over into *Eubœa*, and make *Greece* and *Macedon* the seat of the war, but died before *Mitylene*, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befall the *Persian* empire, having defeated the wise measures which he had proposed; for *Darius*, not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprise, the only one that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to assemble at *Babylon*, and having set up his standard there, and mustered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Vide PLUT. in Alexand. ARRIAN. l. ii. c. 6. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 9. CURT. l. iii. c. 8.

THE news of *Memnon's* death confirmed *Alexander* in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of *Upper Asia*. Accordingly he marched with all possible expedition into *Cilicia*, and arriving at a place called *Cyrus's* camp (whether from *Cyrus* the Great, as *Curtius* tells, or from the Younger, as we read in *Arrian*, is uncertain), about fifty stades distant from the straits of *Cilicia*, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops. Whereupon, leaving *Parmenio* there, he marched in person at the first watch to surprize them; but the *Persians*, having intelligence of his design, betook themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass, which *Alexander* entered; and, after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass abreast, and so broke in several places, and encumbered with large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have kept back, with no other weapons but stones, a numerous army. From the straits of *Cilicia* the whole army marched to the city of *Tarsus*, where they arrived the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the *Macedonians* from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction<sup>u</sup>.

IN the mean time, *Darius* had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast plains of *Mesopotamia*. Here the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But *Darius* would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous part of *Cilicia*, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement<sup>w</sup>.

THE order he observed in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on silver altars the sacred and eternal fire, as they called it, attended by the *Mages*, singing hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty five youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn by white horses, and

<sup>u</sup> ARRIAN. l. ii. CURT. l. iii. c. 8.  
ibid.

<sup>w</sup> ARRIAN. & CURT.



followed by one of an extraordinary size, whom they called *the horse of the sun*; all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the van-guard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horse was followed by another of foot, called by the *Persians immortal*, because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another; they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves garnished with precious stones. About 30 paces distance came the king's relations or cousins, to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the *immortal* body in the pomp and richness of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king's cousins, and possibly several of the king's relations were in this body. After these came *Darius* himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation cast in pure gold\*; from the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread-eagle of the same metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple striped with silver, wearing over that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious stones; and the scabbard of his scymetar, as our author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone. On either side of the king walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipped with gold; after these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and lastly 400 led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance followed *Syngambis*, the king's mother, and his consort, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horseback, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines to the number of 360, all attired like so many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen; the march was closed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed\*. One would

\* See Vol. iv. p. 497 in the note. \* ARRIAN. & CURT. ubi supra.  
take

take this to be the description of a masquerade rather than of an army, and imagine, that *Darius's* chief care was not to provide for his own safety, but to set out his glory and riches, as though the *Macedonians* were to be dazzled with pomp, and frightened with pageants.

*Alexander*, upon advice that *Darius* was advancing towards the *Euphrates* in order to enter *Cilicia*, detached *Parmenio* to possess himself of another narrow pass (W), leading from *Assyria*, or rather *Syria*, into *Cilicia*. As for himself, he marched from *Tarsus* to *Anchialos*, and thence to *Soli*, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at *Castabala*, a small city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him, that *Darius* with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of *Sochos* in *Syria*, within two days march of *Cilicia*. Hereupon *Alexander* summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for *Darius* among the mountains of *Cilicia*; which they did accordingly, encamping on a spot of ground, which, being wide enough only for two small armies to act in, reduced both in some degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the *Persian* camp, that *Alexander* had halted in the midst of the mountains, the *Greek* commanders who served in *Darius's* army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time, and surround the enemy; whereas, within those straits, there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array, the *Macedonians* could bring all their men to engage, and the *Persians* not the twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counsel, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow so wholesome an advice; nay, the courtiers traduced those who had suggested it, as traitors,

(W) For the clearer understanding of *Alexander's* march and that of *Darius*, we must distinguish three straits; the first leading from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*, through which *Alexander* marched his army; the second leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*, which *Parmenio* took possession of; and the third called the straits of mount *Amanus* lying to the north of the pass of *Syria*; through this *Darius's* army from *Syria* entered *Cilicia*.



tors, telling *Darius*, that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever should be in their power. However, *Darius* thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe that *Alexander* was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in those straits, lest he should make his escape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the *Persian* generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes, the gods, says our historian<sup>1</sup>, blinded that prince, that they might pave a way to the destruction of the *Persian* empire. *Darius*, having sent his treasures and most valuable moveables to *Damascus* in *Syria* under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the straits of mount *Amanus*, through which he entered *Cilicia*, and advanced as far as the city of *Iffus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind; for he had been told, that the *Macedonians* were retired in great disorder into *Syria*. In the city of *Iffus* he barbarously put to death the sick and wounded *Macedonians* that had been left there by *Parmenio*, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. These brought *Alexander* word of *Darius's* approach, which he could scarce believe, though he desired nothing more earnestly. However, having offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of *Iffus*, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. Here *Darius*, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the *Macedonians*, by reason of the narrowness of the place, could dispose of his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole *Persian* army was put in disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the *Persians*, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their ground, nor manage their arms. As the crowd, which was made in the flight of so numerous an ar-

The battle  
of Iffus.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2666.  
Year be-  
fore  
Christ  
333.

<sup>1</sup> ARRIAN. l. ii. CURT. l. iii. c. ii.

my, was very great, those who fell that day were for the most part trampled to death, by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the crowd, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horseback, and pursued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from following him by the *Greek* mercenaries, who, charging the *Macedonian* phalanx with incredible bravery, killed *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus* with 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by *Alexander* in person, maintained their ground, till they were from twenty reduced to eight thousand; they retired then in good order over the mountains towards *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where finding the transports, that had conveyed them from *Lesbos*, lying on the shore, they fitted out such a number as suited their purpose, and sailed to *Cyprus*, after having burnt the rest to prevent their being pursued. *Alexander* no sooner saw them put to flight than he hastened after *Darius*; but growing weary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. *Syfigambis*, *Darius's* mother, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son *Ochus* not full six years old, and his two daughters both marriageable, and besides some noblemens daughters, who attended them, were found in the camp and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to *Damascus*, with part of *Darius's* treasure and all the rich furniture, which the *Persian* monarchs used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only three thousand talents of silver; but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the hands of *Parmenio* at his taking the city of *Damascus*<sup>2</sup>. In this engagement the *Persians* lost, according to *Arrian*<sup>2</sup>, 10,000 horse, and 90,000 foot, and with him other writers agree, as to the number of the horse; but as to the foot they all vary, not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and some to 120,000, adding, that 40,000 were taken prisoners, while *Alexander*, according to the highest computation, lost in all but 300 men<sup>b</sup>.

THE next day *Alexander*, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be buried with great pomp in the presence of

<sup>2</sup> PLUT. in Alex. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. DIODOR. l. xvii.

<sup>a</sup> ARRIAN. ubi supra.

<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.



the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the *Persians* of rank, and allowed *Darius's* mother to bury as many as she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. *Alexander* treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity; they were, says *Plutarch* <sup>c</sup>, in *Alexander's* camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple designed for the asylum of virtue, they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were appointed to attend them. As *Darius's* consort and her two daughters were princesses of an extraordinary beauty, *Alexander* after the first visit resolved never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memorable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to *Parmenio*, commanding him to put to death certain *Macedonians* who had abused the wives of some captives. In short, he used them with such respect, good nature, and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them sensible of their misfortune <sup>d</sup>.

*Alexander*, seeing himself now master of the field, detached *Parmenio* to *Damascus*, where *Darius's* treasures were lodged, with the *Thessalian* horse. As he was on his march thither, he met with a messenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter to *Alexander*, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day *Parmenio* arrived at *Damascus*, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused by day-break a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire and save them for his master, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces, which this general headed, the *Persians*, who convoyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and left the *Macedonians* masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city were three young princesses, daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*, and his widow, the daughter of *Oxathres*, brother to *Darius*; the wife of *Artabazus* or *Artabanus*, the greatest lord at court, with his

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. de fortuna Alexandri.

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. ibid.

son *Ilioneus*; the wife of *Pharnabazus*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of all the cities on the coast; three daughters of *Mentor*; the wife and son of *Memnon*, that illustrious and renowned commander; insomuch, that there was scarce one noble family in all *Persia* which did not share in this calamity. Besides the immense treasures which the *Macedonians* had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion, which was afterwards coined; they took 30,000 prisoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The *Theffalian* horse had the best share of this booty, having been sent by *Alexander* on this expedition, that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city, in regard they had distinguished themselves above the rest in the late engagement\*. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to *Darius*†.

AFTER this victory *Alexander* marched into *Syria*, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even *Darius's* governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at *Marathus*, he received a letter from *Darius*, in which he stiled himself king without bestowing that title on *Alexander*. He rather commanded than entreated him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their dispute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but if he were still capable of wholesome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another to which he had no right; that for the future they should live in friendship and amity, and that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and receive *Alexander's* oath. This letter, which was wrote with such an unseasonable pride and haughtiness, provoked *Alexander* to a great degree, who therefore in his answer began thus; *Alexander the king to Darius*; he then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had suffered from the *Persians*, reproaches that nation with the base and treacherous murder of his father *Philip*, and *Darius* in particular with setting a price upon his own head; whence he concludes, that he is not the aggressor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father and the injuries done to his

\* PLUTARCH. de fort. Alex. & CURT. I. iii. c. 25. † CURT. ibid.

country;



country; and that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, he shews from the success that attended it, since with their protection he had already subdued great part of *Asia*, and defeated the mighty host of the *Persians* in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would restore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a suppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty, assuring him, that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded by desiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king. *Thersippus* was ordered to carry this letter <sup>g</sup>.

*Alexander* marched from thence into *Phœnice*, where the citizens of *Byblus* opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy than the *Sidonians*, whose city *Ochus* had laid in ashes about eighteen years before, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. Since that time they bore such a hatred to the *Persian* name, that they were over-joyed at this opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and indeed were the first in *Phœnice* who submitted to *Alexander* by their deputies, in opposition to *Strato* their king who was in the *Persian* interest. *Alexander* deposed him, and permitted *Hephestion* to elect in his room whomsoever of the *Sidonians* he should judge worthy of so exalted a station <sup>h</sup>, as we have elsewhere related at length <sup>i</sup>.

WHILE *Alexander* was in *Phœnice*, some of the *Persian* generals, who had escaped from the battle of *Iffus*, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with the assistance of the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians* to recover *Lydia*; but were in several engagements routed, and at last intirely dispersed by *Antigonus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed governor of that province. At the same time the *Macedonian* fleet sailing from *Greece* fell in with that of the enemies commanded by *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the cities on the *Hellepont*, and attacked them so briskly that not one single ship escaped <sup>k</sup>.

ALL *Syria* and *Phœnice* were already subdued, except the city of *Tyre*; which he besieged and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of *Phœnice* <sup>l</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. ARRIAN. l. ii. p. 83—86. PLUT. in Alex. p. 678. CURT. l. iv. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 10. <sup>h</sup> CURT. l. iv. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 10. <sup>i</sup> Vol. II. p. 336. <sup>k</sup> CURT. l. iv. c. 4. <sup>l</sup> Vol. II. p. 348.

WHILE *Alexander* was carrying on the siege of *Tyre* he received a second letter from *Darius*, who at last condescended to give him the title of king; he offered him ten thousand talents by way of ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage with all the country he had conquered as far as the *Euphrates*; he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune, and set out in most pompous terms the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field; he represented the difficulties he might meet with in crossing the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaspes*, which were so many barriers to the *Persian* empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of shutting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, some time or other, to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be ashamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter *Alexander* summoned a council, in which *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of *Darius*, declaring, that he would agree to them were he *Alexander*; and so would I, replied *Alexander*, were I *Parmenio*. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money *Darius* offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer possessed, nor pretend to dispose of what he had already lost; that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it; that he should not be frightened with rivers after having crossed the sea, and would not fail to pursue *Darius*, and come up with him at last to what place soever he should think proper to retire. *Darius*, upon the receipt of this letter, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

*Alexander* having reduced *Tyre* marched from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*. On his arrival at that city he found it defended by a strong garison under the command of *Betis*, or, as some call him, *Babemesis* <sup>a</sup>, one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against *Alexander* till he was reduced to the last extremities. As this place was the only inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he was become master of it, and therefore was forced to besiege it. But notwithstanding his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmost of military skill, yet it cost him and his whole army two entire months to reduce it. The

*The city of Gaza besieged and taken by Alexander.*

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in. Alex. p. 681. CURT. l. iv. c. 5. ARRIAN l. ii. p. 101. <sup>n</sup> JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xi. c. ult.



stop which this put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that on his taking of the place he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he sold the rest with their wives and children for slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* relates, caused the dead body of *Hector* to be thus dragged round the walls of *Troy*, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of *Alexander* much more so; for *Achilles* caused only *Hector's* dead body to be so abused, whereas *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and for no other reason but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity in the post committed to his charge, which even *Alexander*, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions; but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to *Olympias*, to *Cleopatra* and his friends; and having left a garison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, and in seven days arrived before *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the *Persians* was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under; and seemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who was able to rescue them from that insolence and indignity with which the *Persians* treated them and their religion. *Ochus* had slain their god *Apis*, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the *Persian* governors treated their gods in the same manner; which raised their indignation to such a height, that when *Amyntas* (X) came thither

• CURT. l. iv. c. 10. ARRIAN. l. ii. prope finem. PLUT. in Alex. p. 679.

(X) This *Amyntas*, having fled from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries at the battle of *Issus*; from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got safe

thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the *Persians*. *Alexander* therefore no sooner appeared on the frontiers, but the *Egyptians* flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them secure protection, which they could not promise themselves from *Amyntas*; and on this consideration they openly declared, without reserve, in his favour. Hereupon *Mazaces*, who commanded in *Memphis*, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose this general insurrection, opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents and all the king's rich furniture <sup>P</sup>. Thus *Alexander*, without any *Egypt* opposition, became master of all *Egypt*. *submits to*

AT *Memphis* *Alexander* formed a design of visiting the *Alexander*-temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and in his way thither built *Alexandria*, which soon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of *Egypt*, and marched from thence in the beginning of the spring to find out *Darius*. On his return into *Phœnice* he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he set out to make new conquests; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, and with his

<sup>P</sup> CURT. l. iv. c. 20. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 11. ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 104 — 110. DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 526 — 529.

safe to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where he embarked, as we have related above, and sailed first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*; which city he seized, making the garison believe that he had been appointed governor of *Egypt* in the room of *Sabaces*, who had been killed in the battle of *Iffus*. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important place, he threw off the mask, and declared his design of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* from thence. Whereupon the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined him; and he having formed a considerable army, marched directly for *Memphis*, where he defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, and shut them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his soldiers to straggle up and down the country in quest of booty, the *Persians* sallied out upon them thus dispersed, and cut them all to pieces with *Amyntas* their leader (82).

(82) *Arrian*. l. ii. *Curt*. l. iv. c. 3. *Diodor*. l. xvii. p. 587, 588.



whole army arrived at *Thapsacus*, where he crossed the *Euphrates*, and continued his march towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius* in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose having assembled at *Babylon* an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at *Iffus*, (for it consisted of 1,100,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards *Nineveh*. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached *Satropates* commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and *Mazæus* governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent *Alexander* from crossing the *Tigris*, and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, *Alexander* having, with the utmost difficulty, crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged against the will of the gods to the utmost extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Hereupon *Alexander*, having summoned the officers of the army to his tent, commanded the *Egyptian* soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses; but, without entering into such enquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*, whence as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer, being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers, revived their hopes and courage; and *Alexander*, taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the *Tigris*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains on his left <sup>a</sup>. At day-break the scouts, he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that *Darius* was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army. But as they drew near, he found, that it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which, as the *Macedonians* advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by *Aristo*, commander of the *Pæonian* horse, who having defeated that body and killed *Satropates* their leader, brought back his head, and threw it

<sup>a</sup> ARRIAN. I. iii. CURT. I. iv. c. 24.

down at *Alexander's* feet, telling him, that in his country such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold; *Alexander* replied smiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine<sup>r</sup>. Not long after *Alexander* received intelligence, that *Darius* was not above 150 furlongs off; whereupon he halted to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time he intercepted some letters wrote by *Darius* to the *Greeks*, soliciting them with great promises either to kill or betray *Alexander*. The king was in doubt with himself whether he should read them in a full assembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the *Greeks* as on that of the *Macedonians*; but *Parmenio* dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raising such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger, and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forwards<sup>r</sup>. He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought him word, that *Statira Darius's* wife was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where *Sysigambis* and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence; which *Darius* hearing, and at the same time being informed with what respect *Alexander* had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the *Persian* empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of *Cyrus*, but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as *Alexander*<sup>t</sup>. And although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity, which *Alexander* had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as ambassadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former proposals offered him all the provinces of *Asia* as far as the *Halys*; but now he added the countries lying between the *Hellepont* and the *Euphrates*, that is, whatever *Alexander* was already master of, and offered 30,000 talents by way of ransom for his family. *Par-*

<sup>r</sup> ARRIAN. l. iii. CURT. l. iv. c. 23. PLUT. in Alex. <sup>r</sup> CURT. l. iv. c. 25.     <sup>t</sup> CURT. & PLUTARCH. ibidem.



*menio* again advised *Alexander* to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellepont* would be a great addition to the kingdom of *Macedon*; and that the *Persian* prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or to reward the services of his friends. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the ambassadors; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of *Darius* proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their master; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that if *Darius* had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his proposals; but since he continued to spirit up, with large bribes, his own soldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere, and therefore was determined to pursue him, with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and assassin; that as to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if *Darius* could force him to retire beyond the *Euphrates*, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he proposed to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which *Darius* still enjoyed, wherein whether he flattered himself with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement should determine; he concluded by telling the ambassadors, that he was come into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns, and therefore if *Darius* would submit to him, acknowledging him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to proposals<sup>u</sup>. The ambassadors returned back, and told *Darius*, that he must prepare for an engagement; whereupon that prince encamped near a village called *Gaugamela*, in a large plain, at a considerable distance from the city of *Arbela*, having beforehand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. *Alexander*, hearing that *Darius* was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and pallisades, being determined to leave there his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He set out about the second watch with a design to engage the enemy at break of day; and arriving at a rising ground, whence he could discover their whole army, he halted, and summoned a council, being in

<sup>u</sup> CURT. l. iv. c. 26. JUSTIN. l. xi. 12.

doubt whether he should encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. *Parmenio* advised him to attack their camp in the night-time, alledging, that they might easily be defeated, if taken by surprize and in the dark; but the king answered, that it did not become *Alexander* to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repose the remaining part of the night; but, being under no small concern, he could not sleep till towards the morning, so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprised to find that he was not yet awake. *Parmenio*, after waiting some time, thought fit to call him, and seeming amazed that he should sleep so sound, when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of *Asia*; *Alexander* told him, that *Darius*, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countries<sup>w</sup>. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horseback, and, having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very small distance.

BOTH armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the wings; *Darius's* front was covered with 200 chariots, armed with scythes, and 25 elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the *Grecian* infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As his army took up a far greater space of ground than *Alexander's*, his design was to surround and charge them at the same time in front and flank; which *Alexander* suspecting, ordered those who led the wings to extend them as wide as possible without weakening the centre. His baggage and the captives, among whom were *Darius's* mother and children, were left in the camp under a small guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and *Alexander* the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the *Macedonians* halted, waiting till the enemies should advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, *Darius* himself charging in the first line. *Arrian* and *Curtius* \* describe this battle at length; they tell us, that the *Per-*

<sup>w</sup> JUSTIN. l. xi. c. xiii. CURT. l. iv. c. 3 — 31. PLUT. in Alex. \* ARRIAN, l. iii. CURT. l. iv. c. 25. & seq.



*sians* were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge ; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another ; that *Parmenio*, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground ; that *Alexander's* rear was put in disorder and the baggage taken ; that both kings wrought wonders, &c. But after all, *Curtius* tells us, that the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only 300 men, and *Arrian* allows not a third of that number slain ; whereas of the *Persians* there fell 40,000, says *Curtius*, 300,000 according to *Arrian*, and 90,000, if we believe *Diodorus*. From these accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the *Persians* at the very first onset betook themselves to flight, and the *Macedonians* pursued them : for had the seven or eight hundred thousand men, which *Darius* brought into the field, thrown each one dart or stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the east at so easy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the *Macedonians* were in the greatest danger, *Aristander* the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the first ranks, and in concert with *Alexander* to have cried out, that he saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a sure omen of victory ; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird, and the soldiers believing him, and some even fancying they saw it, renewed the attack with more courage and resolution than ever. We are told, that *Darius*, seeing his numerous army put so shamefully to flight, drew his scymitar, and was some time in suspense whether he should lay violent hands on himself, rather than fly in so ignominious a manner ; but at last resolved to save himself by flight, and arrived at *Arbela* the same night (Y).

(Y) This battle was fought at *Gaugamela* near the river *Beumelus*, as *Ptolemy Lagus* and *Aristobulus*, who were present, aver ; they are followed both by *Strabo* (83) and *Plutarch* (84) ; nevertheless because *Gaugamela* was only a small village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, signifying the *camels house*, the battle is said to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was a great and famous city in those parts (85). *Gaugamela* and *Arbela* were at a considerable distance from each other ; for between the river *Beumelus*, on which stood *Gaugamela*, and the *Lycus*, on the banks of which *Arbela* was situated, *Curtius* reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to *Strabo's* description of those places *Arbela* in *Ptolemy's* fifth map of *Asia* ought to be placed where we find *Gaugamela* (87).

(83) *Strabo*, lib. 26. p. 737. (84) *Plut. in Alexand.* (85) *Arrian. l. 6. p. 101. Strabo, ubi supra.* (86) *Curt. l. iv. c. 22.*  
 (87) *Vide Strab. l. ii. p. 79.*

After he had passed the *Lycus*, some, who attended him in his flight, advised him to break down the bridge in order to stop the enemy's pursuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over the same bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a pursuing enemy, than shut it to a flying friend † (Z). He arrived about midnight at *Arbela*, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together; and acquainted them that he designed to leave all for the present to *Alexander* and fly into *Media*, from whence and from the rest of the northern provinces he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. *Alexander* pursued him as far as *Arbela*; but, before his arrival there, *Darius* was, by the quickness of his flight, got over the mountains of *Armenia*, attended by some of his relations, and a small body of guards called *Melephori*, because each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their spear. In *Armenia* he was joined by 2000 *Greek* mercenaries, who, under the command of *Paron* a *Phocæan* and *Glaucus* an *Ætolian* had escaped from the battle. *Alexander* took the city of *Arbela*, where he seized on immense sums of money, with all *Darius's* rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army some days of rest, he set out on his march to *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city and province, and had after the late battle retired thither with the scattered remains of the body he commanded. But, on the approach of *Alexander's* victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppose him; marching therefore out to meet him he delivered the city and himself with his children into the conqueror's hands. *Bagaphanes* governor of the castle, where all *Darius's* treasures were lodged, did the same; and *Alexander* entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching against an enemy. After a stay of 30 days in that city, he continued *Mazæus* in the government of that province; but giving the command of the castle and garison to a *Macedonian*, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched towards *Susa*,

† CURT. l. iv. c. 36, 37. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14.

(Z) In *Justin* we read, instead of *Lycus*, *Cydnus*; which last river runs through the city of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; and hence it is, that *Orosius*, who ever follows *Justin*, was led into so gross a mistake as to think, that this great battle was fought at *Tarsus* (88).

(88) *Oros.* l. iii, c. 17.

where



where he arrived twenty days after his departure from *Babylon*. As he drew near the city, *Abulites* governor of the place, sent his son to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treasures into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindness, and, using him as a guide, advanced to the river *Choaspes*, where *Abulites* himself met him with presents worthy of so great a prince; among other things he presented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which *Darius* had sent for out of *India*. Having entered the city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 talents in bullion, and 40,000 in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, namely the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent to *Athens*, where they were still standing in *Arrian's* time. As for the purple and scarlet robes, he sent them all to *Sysigambis* together with some others curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of *Macedon*, adding in his message to her, that if she liked the *Macedonian* robes, he would send her those who had wrought them, that her grand-children might learn the art by way of amusement. At these words she could not help betraying some concern and uneasiness, it being looked upon by the *Persian* women as mean and unbecoming to employ themselves in works of that nature; which when *Alexander* understood, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and begged, that she would not consider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the *Persian* manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a present from his sisters, but wrought with their own hands<sup>2</sup>.

*Alexander* having thus comforted *Sysigambis*, took his leave of her, and, leaving a strong garison in the city of *Susa*, advanced towards the province of *Persis*. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the *Pasitigris*, which river he crossed with 9000 foot and 4000 horse, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. This province extends from *Susiana* to the frontiers of *Persis*, and was governed by one *Medathes* who had married the niece of *Sysigambis*. *Medathes*, who was not, like the other *Persian* governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and with this design retired into a strong hold, in

<sup>2</sup> CURT. I. v. c. 8.

the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded on all sides by steep precipices. Here he held out for some time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by assault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, seeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he sent 30 deputies to *Alexander* to treat of a surrender. The king, who was greatly provoked against *Madates*, would not at first hearken to any proposals; but in the mean time receiving letters from *Syfigambis*, wherein she entreated him to pardon her relation, he not only complied with her request, but set all the prisoners at liberty, restored *Madates* to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their antient liberty and privileges <sup>a</sup>.

HAVING reduced the *Uxians*, he ordered *Parmenio* with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himself, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of *Persia*. The fifth day he arrived at the straits of *Persia*. These *Ariobarzanes* held with 40000 foot and 7000 horse, which he had posted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. As soon as *Alexander* advanced to attack him, the *Persians* from the tops of the mountains rolled down stones of such a prodigious size, that they crushed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the pass, where he lay encamped some time, not knowing how to advance, and being ashamed to return; but in the mean time a *Greek* deserter coming to his camp offered himself readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might easily so annoy the *Persians*, as to oblige them to abandon the straits and leave an open passage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for *Alexander*, at the head of some chosen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemies were posted; which they observing betook themselves to flight; and at the same time *Craterus*, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, possessed himself of the straits. *Ariobarzanes* with part of the cavalry, breaking through the *Macedonians* with great slaughter both of them and his own men, made his escape over the mountains, with a design to throw himself into *Persepolis*; but, finding all the passes leading

<sup>a</sup> CURT. l. v. c. 9.



to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon those that pursued him, and was killed with all those that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the *Macedonians* <sup>b</sup>.

BEING now possessed of the straights, *Alexander* pursued his march into *Perfis* or *Persia*, properly so called. When he was at some distance from *Persepolis*, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder *Darius's* treasures with which he had been intrusted, and desiring him to march with all possible expedition, that he might seize them himself. *Alexander*, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry, and having passed the *Araxes* on a bridge, which by his order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of *Persepolis*. The next day having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the antient residence of the *Persian* monarchs and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of *Europe*, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this speech, allowed their soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in a most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving *Craterus* and *Parmenio* in the place, the king with a small body went to reduce the neighbouring cities and strong holds, which all submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to *Persepolis*, and there took up his winter quarters. In this city he is said to have found 120,000 talents, lodged in the treasury to defray the expences of the war.

DURING his stay at *Persepolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, *Thais*, a famous *Athenian* courtesan, and at that time mistress of *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards king of *Egypt*, proposed the burning of *Darius's* palace, telling *Alexander*, with a gay air, that it would be

<sup>b</sup> CURT. ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra & POLYÆNUS, l. iv. Stratagem. <sup>c</sup> CURT. l. v. c. 13. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14.

matter

matter of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted to burn the stately palace of *Xerxes*, who had burnt *Athens*, and set it on fire with her own hands, that it might be said in all the parts of the world, that the women, who had followed *Alexander* in his expedition to *Asia*, had revenged more severely the many calamities *Greece* had suffered from the *Barbarians*, than all the generals that had been employed against them. As the whole company was drunk, the proposal was received with general applause, and the king himself, rising from table, and taking a torch in his hand, followed *Thais*. The rest of the *Macedonians*, crowding at this noise to the palace, armed themselves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and surrounding the palace burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be stopt, down to the ground<sup>d</sup>. Thus the most stately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, reduced to ashes.

FROM *Persepolis* *Alexander* marched early in the spring to *Pasargada*, resolved to pursue *Darius* who was fled to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 *Greeks*, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers and 3000 horse, most of them *Bactrians*, and commanded by *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*. When he heard, that *Alexander* was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city with a design to retire into *Bactria*, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the necessary preparations for the engagement, *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, a *Persian* lord of great distinction, formed a conspiracy against him, proposing to seize his person, and, if *Alexander* pursued them, to gain his friendship and protection by betraying their master into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops by representing to them, that *Darius* was dragging them to destruction, that they were no ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably perish if they followed *Darius*, crushed under the ruins of an empire which was ready to fall. Though these practices were carried on with great secrecy, yet they came to *Darius's* ear, but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earnestly en-

<sup>d</sup> CURT. I. v. c. 15. DIODOR. PLUT. in Alex. ARRIAN. I. iii. JUSTIN. I. xi.



treated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them; and that he could not die too soon, if his own *Persians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after *Darius* had occasion to repent his not following *Patron's* advice; for *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes*, seizing his person, bound him, out of respect to the royal dignity, in chains of gold, and, shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody <sup>e</sup>. *Bessus* was proclaimed commander in chief in *Darius's* room by the *Bactrian* horse; but *Artabazus* and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Patron* retired from the body of the army under *Bessus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthyene* <sup>f</sup>. In the mean time *Alexander*, arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed, that *Darius* had left that city five days before. Here the *Thessalians* shewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any farther, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them, over and above their full pay: to such as were willing to continue in his service he gave three talents apiece <sup>g</sup>. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up in the castle of *Ecbatan* the remaining part of the treasures; which, according to *Strabo* <sup>h</sup>, amounted to 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the *Thracians* and great part of the cavalry into the country of the *Cadusians*. He dispatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen sick at *Susa*, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to *Ecbatan*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia* with the cavalry and 6000 *Macedonians* that were left in *Ecbatan*. *Alexander* with the rest of his army pursued *Darius*, and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch that, on his arrival at *Rages*, he could muster but 60 horsemen <sup>i</sup>. Finding, that he could not come up with *Darius*, who had already passed the *Caspian* straights,

<sup>e</sup> CURT. l. v. c. 18. 22, 23. ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 67. <sup>f</sup> CURT. l. v. c. 23. ARRIAN. l. iv. p. 68. <sup>g</sup> CURT. l. vi. c. 3. ARRIAN. l. iii. PLUT. in Alex. <sup>h</sup> STRABO, l. xv. p. 741. <sup>i</sup> ARRIAN. l. iii. PLUT. in Alex.

he staid five days at *Rages* in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of *Media*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the *Caspian* straights, which he passed the next without any opposition. He had scarce entered *Parthia* when he was informed by *Bagisthenes* a *Persian* nobleman, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* had conspired against *Darius*, and designed to seize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced with a small troop of horse lightly armed; and, having marched night and day without ever halting, except a few hours, came the third day to a village where *Bessus* with his *Bactrians* had encamped the day before. Here he understood, that *Darius* had been seized by the traitors, that *Bessus* had caused him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had sent before that he might be the surer of his person, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another rout, obeyed *Bessus* and acknowledged him for their general. This was a fresh motive for *Alexander* to hasten his march; taking therefore along with him a small body of light-armed horse, for the others could not possibly proceed any farther, he set out again the same night, and early next morning was acquainted by *Orcillus* and *Mithracenes* two *Persian* officers, who in detestation of the treachery of *Bessus* had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides, he set out again the same night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the son of *Mazæus* formerly governor of *Syria*; who informed him, that *Bessus* was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in disorder, and might easily be surpris'd and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and at last came in sight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival struck the *Barbarians*, though far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight; and because *Darius* refused to follow them, *Bessus* and those that were about him discharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the *Macedonians*. This done they separated and took different routs, *Bessus* flying towards *Hyrcania*, and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria*, that by this means they might elude the pursuit of the enemy, or at least oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horse, the rest, now destitute of leaders, dispersing themselves up and down the

*Darius*  
*Codoman-*  
*rus slain*  
 Year of  
 the Flood  
 2668.  
 Year be-  
 fore Christ  
 331.



the country, as fear or hope directed their steps. *Alexander*, seeing what confusion the enemies were in, sent *Nicanor* with a troop of light-armed horse to stop their flight, and himself followed at the head of 3000 *Macedonians*. *Nicanor* put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with *Bessus* or *Nabarzanes*, which *Alexander* observing sent him orders to give quarter to all those that should throw down their arms and submit. In the mean time the horses, that drew the cart in which was *Darius*, halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by *Bessus*, near a certain village about four furlongs from the high-way; whither *Polystratus* a *Macedonian*, being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself, at a fountain not far from the place where they stooped. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him discovered a cart with a team of horses, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he saw *Darius* lying in the cart and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. However, he had strength enough to call for some water; which *Polystratus*, being by a *Persian* captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. *Darius* after drinking turned to the *Macedonian*, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander* for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children; and acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe: he added, that it did not so much concern him as *Alexander* to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads; then taking *Polystratus* by the hand, "Give *Alexander*, said he, your hand, as I give you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give in this condition of my gratitude and affection". Having uttered these words he expired in the arms of *Polystratus*. *Alexander* coming up a few minutes after, and beholding *Darius's* body, burst out into tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloak and covered it, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sysigambis*, that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs. Thus died *Darius* in the fiftieth

fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. *Cyrus*, *Cambyfes*, *Smerdis*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Xerxes II. Sogdianus*, *Darius Nothus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arfes*, *Darius Codomannus* \*. Upon the death of *Darius* all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments; but above all others he distinguished *Artabazus*, in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon *Nabarzanes*, who together with *Bessus* had murdered *Darius*. But *Bessus* having fled into *Bactria*, and there assumed the title of king, *Alexander* in the beginning of the next spring marched against him: but his march out of *Persia* into those northern countries is by authors described with great confusion; for after they had told us, that he was resolved to find out *Bessus* in *Bactria*, they make him take the way of *Hyrkania*, from thence wander northwards into the country of the *Mardi*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and after subduing the *Mardi* cross mount *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*. Be that as it will, he arrived at last after a long and tedious march in *Bactria*; and having rested his army some time at *Drapsaca*, he advanced against and reduced *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two strongest cities of that province. *Alexander* had no sooner reached the confines of *Bactria*, but 8000 *Bactrians*, who till that time had followed *Bessus*, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon *Bessus*, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, crossing the river *Oxus*, retired into the province of *Sogdiana*, with a design to raise there a new army. In order to prevent *Alexander* from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping, that as the river was no where fordable, and the country afforded no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the pursuit. But no difficulties were unsurmountable to that conqueror; who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, caused the hides, which

\* CURT. I. v. c. 25. JUSTIN. I. xi. c. 15. ARRIAN. p. 69. PLUT. in Alex.



Bessus put  
to death.  
Year of  
the Flood  
2669.  
Before  
Chr. ft,  
330.

covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river in the space of five days ; which *Bessus* might have easily prevented had he but dared to look the *Macedonians* in the face. When the *Bactrians*, who were encamped at a place called *Nautaca*, heard that *Alexander* had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* most confided in, together with *Catanes* and *Dataphernes*, formed a conspiracy to seize *Bessus*, and purchase their own safety by delivering him up to *Alexander* ; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign *Darius*, and carrying him loaded with chains to the *Macedonian* camp. *Spitamenes* himself presented the traitor to *Alexander*, not only bound, but stark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck ; a sight no less agreeable to the *Persians* than the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, having amply rewarded *Spitamenes* and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict for so base and treacherous a murder<sup>1</sup> ; *Plutarch*<sup>m</sup> has left us an account of this execution ; he tells us, that several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs fastened, the trees as they were let return to their natural position, flew back with such violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus *Bessus* suffered the punishment that was due to his treachery ; and at his death *Alexander* saw himself in quiet possession of the whole *Persian* empire. This is what we have gathered from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians of the best account, concerning the affairs of the antient *Persians* : In the following section we shall hear the *Orientals* on the same subject.

## S E C T.

<sup>1</sup> CURT. l. 7. c. 12. ARRIAN. l. 3. Diodor. l. 17. = PLUT. in Alex. & DIODOR. l. 17. p. 554. ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 7. CURT. l. 7. c. 10.

In stating the times of the *Persian* empire we have followed all along *Ptolemy's* canon, and the records of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors. For the *Jews* own such kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the *Old Testament* ; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the *Medo-Persian* empire, from the building of the temple in the second year

## S E C T. V.

*The History of PERSIA according to the Oriental Writers.*

WE have been so long used to hear every thing transcribed from *Eastern* authors censured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling soever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory discourses, yet in this case there seems to be a necessity of saying somewhat in support of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the *Persian* writers is strictly fact; that would be to place them not on a level with the best historians of other nations, but in a class high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boast of such a faultless series of history? or why should we expect a greater degree of clearness in the history of *Persia*, as written by *Oriental* authors, than we find in the history of *Greece*, though written by *Greeks*, who were so proud of their own abilities, that they stiled all the rest of the world *Barbarians*? It is sufficient for our purpose, (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the *Persian* history from *Eastern* writers) that we shew there is as just reason to suppose they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of these early times, as can be produced in favour of any other history as antient. In order to this we shall neither multiply arguments nor words. *In the first place*, we are told by *Moses*<sup>a</sup>, that there were kings in *Persia* in the age immediately following that, in which the *Persian* writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that these writers are not wrong in making their kingdom so antient as they do. But *secondly*, there is no just cause to doubt, that either as soon as, or within a small time after, the settling of regal government amongst them, histories, or at least historical poems, were also introduced.

*What degree of certainty may be expected in the following history.*

<sup>a</sup> GENES. xiv. 1, 9.

year of *Darius Hystaspes*, flourished only 34 years. *Josephus* acknowledges only the following kings of *Persia*; *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*; this *Darius*, who was *Darius Nothus*, he confounds with *Darius Codomannus*, who was conquered by *Alexander*, and refers to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* whatever happened in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*.



This was the custom in all places, at least as far as we are able to trace things back. First, a people lived miserably and without order, then some great genius reformed and reduced them into society, successive kings cherished and increased that society, and men having leisure and ease considered these benefits, and gratefully sung the praises of their benefactors. *Moses* hath preserved two fragments of an *Amoritic* poem, as old in all probability as the times we are speaking of; and if the bards of that country sung so early the praises of *Sihon* <sup>b</sup>, why might not the *Persians* have persons among them as capable of transmitting to posterity the memorable deeds of their princes? Thirdly, it is universally allowed, that the present *Persians* have not only quick wits but are wonderfully studious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conservation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and ancient *Persians* are not one and the same people; but hereto it may be replied, that the *Persees*, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are still more studious and more thoughtful than the present *Persians* <sup>c</sup>. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentic histories of the reigns of the most ancient kings of this realm, I say we may conclude this from the reasons already given if we had no other proof; but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, especially since it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in support of this assertion, that the antient *Persians* kept authentic records of their affairs, may be reduced under these two heads, viz. sacred and prophane. The authors of the books of <sup>d</sup> *Ezra* and <sup>e</sup> *Nehemiah* speak frequently not only of the immutability of the *Persian* laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of public acts and registers. In the book of <sup>f</sup> *Esther*, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings, of *Persia*, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to prophane writers, <sup>g</sup> *Herodotus* and <sup>h</sup> *Xenophon* are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person as to the wisdom and virtue of the antient *Persians*, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

*How the antient histories have been preserved.* SUPPOSING it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the *Persians* had amongst them of old the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how

<sup>b</sup> NUMB. xxi. 27. <sup>c</sup> CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 130. <sup>d</sup> vi. 2.  
<sup>e</sup> ii. 7. <sup>f</sup> ii. 23. vi. 1. <sup>g</sup> CLIO, p. 25. <sup>h</sup> CYROPÆDIA. these

these can be reasonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached these distant times. Of this, however, we are not positive ourselves; all that we can say is this, that the *Persians* having lived under their own laws down to the time of *Xerdegherd*, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their histories were frequent among them; for tho' the *Macedonians* might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they should destroy all the books in the empire; besides, we know that the modern *Persees* have the *Zend* or original *Code of Zerdusht* among them, with many other antient books; now it being generally agreed, that *Zerdusht* flourished in the days of *Darius Hystaspes*, it will be hard to assign a reason, why some of their antient histories might not be preserved, as well as these books of their law. But farther still, *Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschab* commonly called *Mirkbond*, or *Mirkbound*, with other modern *Persian* authors, constantly and uniformly assert, that they write from such authorities, and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could shew the contrary (A).

It is from the author beforementioned that we take, for *On what* the most part, what is delivered in the following pages con- *authorities* concerning the *Oriental* history of *Persia*. He is allowed to *this history* have been a person of great learning and judgment by such *is founded*. as are well versed in oriental history, and his works are e-

(A) This famous historian is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations; sometimes he is called *Mirchond*, sometimes *Mirkbond*, and sometimes *Chondemir*; he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the *Hegira* 900, under the title of *Raoudhat al Safa*; he was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the *Persian* antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time (1); for this reason we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. *Hyde* (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on *Persian* affairs. His fame became known in *Europe* by an abridgment of his work, published in *Spanish* by *Texeira*, which is, however, far from being correct. There is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this author and his works, when we come to the history of the age in which he lived, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(1) D'Herbelot tit. *Mirkbond*.  
cap. viii. 152.

(2) Hyde rel. vet. *Perf*.  
(3) *Les Etats, Empires, & Principautés du*  
*Monde*. Paris 4to, 1662. p. 999.



steemed as oracles throughout the east. We may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without further introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

A TABLE of the kings of PERSIA, to the time of ALEXANDER the Great, according to MIRKHOND.

The first Race,

Or the Dynaſty of the PISCHDADIANS.

|    |                                                   |     |
|----|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1  | <i>Kejomaras, or Cajoumarath</i>                  | 40  |
| 2  | <i>Siamek</i>                                     |     |
|    | <i>Kejomaras resumes the kingdom</i>              |     |
| 3  | <i>Hûſhangh, or Houſchenk</i>                     | 50  |
| 4  | <i>Tabmurash</i>                                  | 30  |
| 5  | <i>Gjemshîd, or Giamschid</i>                     |     |
|    | <i>Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk</i>                         |     |
| 6  | <i>Aphridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun</i>             |     |
| 7  | <i>Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz</i> | 120 |
| 8  | <i>Nodar</i>                                      | 7   |
| 9  | <i>Apherâſiab, or Afrasiab</i>                    | 12  |
| 10 | <i>Zab, Zaab, or Zoub</i>                         |     |

The second Race,

Or the Dynaſty of the KAIANITES.

|   |                                           |     |
|---|-------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1 | <i>Kaikobad</i>                           | 100 |
| 2 | <i>Kaikaus</i>                            | 150 |
| 3 | <i>Kaikhofru</i>                          | 60  |
| 4 | <i>Lohraſp or Lohoraſp</i>                | 120 |
| 5 | <i>Gushtâſp, or Guſtaſp, or Kiſchtaſp</i> | 120 |
| 6 | <i>Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman</i>         | 112 |
| 7 | <i>Queen Homai</i>                        | 32  |
| 8 | <i>Darav 1.</i>                           | 4   |
| 9 | <i>Darav 2.</i>                           | 14  |

A Table of the same kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The first Race,

|   |                                         |     |
|---|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| 1 | <i>Kejomaras, or Cajoumarath</i>        | 560 |
|   | <i>Siamek slain after a short reign</i> |     |
|   | <i>Kejo-</i>                            |     |

|                                                     |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
| <i>Kejomaras resumes the Kingdom, and reigned</i>   | 30   |
| <i>An Interregnum</i>                               | 200  |
| 2 <i>Hushang, or Houschenk, surnamed Pischdad</i>   | 50   |
| 3 <i>Tahmurasb</i>                                  | 700  |
| 4 <i>Giamsbid, or Giamschid</i>                     | 30   |
| 5 <i>Dahâc, Zahâc, Zoak</i>                         | 1000 |
| 6 <i>Aphridûn, Phridun, or Feridoun</i>             | 120  |
| 7 <i>Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz</i> | 500  |
| 8 <i>Nodar</i>                                      | 7    |
| 9 <i>Apherasiab or Afrasiab</i>                     | 12   |
| 10 <i>Zab, Zaab, or Zoub</i>                        | 30   |
| 11 <i>Gustasp son of Zoub</i>                       | 30   |

## The second Race,

|                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1 <i>Kaikobad</i>                           | 120 |
| 2 <i>Kaikaus</i>                            | 150 |
| 3 <i>Kaikhosru</i>                          | 60  |
| 4 <i>Lohrasp, or Lohorasb</i>               | 120 |
| 5 <i>Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasb</i> | 120 |
| 6 <i>Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman</i>         | 112 |
| 7 <i>Queen Homai</i>                        | 32  |
| 8 <i>Darav 1.</i>                           | 14  |
| 9 <i>Darav 2.</i>                           |     |

IT is evident enough from the years set down in the two *The nature* tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and un-*thereof in* certainty in the accounts we have of these princes reigns; *point of* but there may notwithstanding this be a great deal of truth *style, &c.* in these relations, and, by comparing them with what the *Greek* and other writers of the *Persian* affairs have given us of the same times it may be very possible to extract a better idea of the antient *Persian* empire, than could have been had without consulting the oriental writers at all. Reason will be everlastingly the supreme judge of facts, and if a history be attended with continual improbabilities or absurdities, men of sense will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the east, or in the west. On the other hand, where a history is composed of a series of mixt facts, some probable and some romantic, the candid reader will receive those, though he throw away these, and will not destroy the wheat, because there are tares amongst it. As to the style of the following history, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the *Persian* authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourselves with the utmost plainness and perspicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our



our power lay, to rescue truth out of those metaphoric clouds, which often obscure the writings of the eastern historians. Farther remarks of the same nature we leave to the discernment of our readers.

Keyoma-  
ras.

*Keyomaras*, or *Cajoumarath*, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the first king of the first race, surnamed the *Pischedadians*, from *Pischedad*, which signifies a just judge, and was the surname given to *Hushangh* the second king of this race, however, afterwards attributed to them all. The manner wherein *Keyomaras* ascended the throne was this. In the province of *Aderbayagjan* the inhabitants feeling the sad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleased, they unanimously resolved to elect one who should be obeyed by all, and to whose judgment they would submit as to an irrefragable law. His conspicuous virtues determined them on this occasion to *Keyomaras*, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, invested him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called *Tagi* on his head, kissing his feet in token of submission, which customs last mentioned were preserved in use by his successors<sup>1</sup>. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himself to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of justice; he taught men to build houses and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, such as the making of woollen cloth, and spinning, and weaving silk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wisdom, justice, and goodness, that dignity, which, out of modesty and a foresight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refused<sup>2</sup>. The happiness enjoyed by such as lived under so excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the same means that it began, viz. through an opinion of his worth; and he upon their submission treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of these new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of *Chorasán* he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that interview erected the city of *Balch* where it happened, that word being derived from a verb, which signifies *to embrace*. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of *Persia*, particularly

<sup>1</sup> MIRKHOND, *Procem. Hist.*  
select chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> Tarik Montekheb, i. e.

*Kabulstan, Sigistan, Gom, &c*<sup>1</sup>. This prince had two sons, the name of the elder was *Nazek*, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of *Tabrestan*. These *Keyomaras* pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings<sup>m</sup>. The other son of *Keyomaras*, or rather his grandson, was *Siamek*, with whom the wife of *Nazek* was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born *Keyomaras* adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider, that *Keyomaras* was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, disgusted with the weight of regal authority, desired to lay it down.

*Siamek* proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a *Siamek*. short time after his accession some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where fighting valiantly he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle, and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in so short a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. *Keyomaras* by this unlucky accident was forced to ascend the throne again. The first thing he did was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased son with great magnificence; the next to take vengeance on those who had slain *Siamek*; after which he reigned for many years with great applause.

THERE is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flourished. Some oriental writers have fancied him *Adam*, and because he was the first

<sup>1</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. 1.  
Oriental. tit. CAIUMARATH.

<sup>m</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth.



king, would needs have him to be the first man also ; but men of better judgment and cooler imaginations have conceived, that this notion was owing to a mistake, and that the ancient *Persians* called him *Adam* by way of honorary surname, signifying, that he was as much the father of their nation as *Adam* of mankind. The most judicious among the *Persian* writers believe him to have been the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, and that he chose to erect the seat of his empire not far from mount *Ararat* and the countries first planted after the flood. His religion is another disputable point, some holding him an idolater, and believing, that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his son *Siamek* gave birth to the *fire-worship* ascribed to the *Magians*. But if we may credit graver authorities, *Keyomaras*, like most antient kings, was at once both *prince* and *prophet*, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the existence of one infinite Almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thousand years of life, and say, that of these he reigned five hundred and sixty. How long he reigned before he resigned his throne to *Siamek* is uncertain, but from his resuming the sceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty years<sup>a</sup>.

**Hushang.** *Hushang*, or *Houschenk*, surnamed *Pischdad*, was a person of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the east, for the extent of his knowledge and his mighty feats of valour. He is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects, whence he was called *Pischdad*. He also divided his country, and established governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented most of the instruments of agriculture, as also the art of conveying water through subterraneous passages, for the moistening of their grounds ; to him likewise they ascribe the taming of leopards and other beasts of chase, and the introducing of furs for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flourish through his wisdom, so he extended it by his courage, and after a reign of fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock, thrown from the mountains of *Damavend*, by an army of *Barbarians* who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of *Ghusistan* the seat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of *Susa* or *Shushan*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> SHARISTANI ap. HYDE rel. vet. Perfar. c. xxv. p. 175.

<sup>o</sup> Leb Tarik. MIRKHOND. hist. sect. 3.

THERE is hardly an antient prince in the world whose name is more famous in romance than that of *Hushang*, there is a *Persian* book which bears the title of *Hushang Nameh*, i. e. *Hushang's* history, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been translated into the *Turkish* tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero bestrid a monstrous animal, called *Rakhsche*, which he found in the dry island, or new world, being the issue of a male *Crocodile* and a female *Hippopotamus*; this steed fed upon nothing but the flesh of *Serpents* and *Dragons*. After once *Hushang* had made this animal submit to the saddle, there was no giant so terrible, no monster so frightful, but he attacked and subdued; amongst the rest of his conquests he reduced the people of *Mabiser*, so famous in the eastern romances for their having fishes heads, and thence esteemed a race of formidable monsters. The truth seems to be, that this prince subdued that people on the *Persic* gulph, called by the *Greeks* *Ichthyophagi* from their living upon fish, whence the fruitful imagination of eastern poets deduced a people with fishes heads. The same fabulous writers ascribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of *Giavidan Khird*, i. e. *the wisdom of all times*; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very antient, and has been translated into various languages, particularly into *Arabic*, by the son of the vizier of the *Caliph Almamon*, and into *Turkish* under the title of *Anwar Sobaili*, it has also been in part rendered into *French*, and is in itself a very excellent treatise, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, so famous for giving laws and teaching wisdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatise beforementioned at the bottom of the page P (B).

*Tahmurasb*

P D'HERBELOT. Art. HOUSCHENK.

(B) This piece is penned with all the enthusiasm natural to eastern writers; there are in it, however, some very fine sentences, amongst others these which follow:

“ Great kings are gods on earth, and have all the attributes of  
 “ power, wisdom, and mercy, in a superior degree, with respect to  
 “ private persons, as the Almighty hath over them. Let not this,  
 “ however, encourage them to use their subjects with rigour.  
 “ Thunder is seldom heard, but the sun shines every day; we see  
 “ ten thousand instances of God's goodness, for one extraordinary  
 “ act of vengeance; let kings imitate him by doing all the good  
 “ they can, and always remember, that though death is in their  
 “ power, yet life is not; they may order a man to be cut into a  
 VOL. V. N 7 “ thousand



Tahmurash.

*Tahmurash*, surnamed *Diubend*, i. e. *the humbler of the devil*, supposed by some to be the son, by others the grandson, of *Hushang*, and by a third party his cousin, succeeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation. For finding that the wars of his predecessor had introduced both poverty and confusion in his dominions, he to remedy the first remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order made new laws, and took care that the magistrates should every where put them in execution. He is the first *Persian* prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime minister; it is very possible, that the disorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make use of such an officer. This king fortified the frontiers of *Persia* to prevent sudden invasions, and shewed so happy a mixture of wisdom and valour in his disposition, that several of the neighbouring nations, struck with the felicity of his subjects, voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At last, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a pestilence, which raged throughout his dominions and destroyed with equal rapidity both man and beast, cut the thread of his life at *Balch*, to the great grief of his subjects<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. iv. D'HERBELOT tit. TAHMURASH.

“ thousand pieces, but there their dominion ends, they cannot call  
“ him into being again; beware therefore of sudden judgments,  
“ and of penitence coming too late.

“ Ministers are as the hands or instruments of kings; men look  
“ not for an account of their actions from them, but from their  
“ master; a king therefore should look well to his ministers; for  
“ it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes upon them, when  
“ the people rise in rebellion, as it would be for a murderer to tell  
“ the judge, that it was not he but his sword that killed his neighbour. Bad princes have sometimes had good ministers, but good  
“ princes never have bad ones long.

“ The passions of men may by long acquaintance be thoroughly  
“ known, but the passions of women are inscrutable; therefore they  
“ ought to be severed from men, lest the mutability of their tempers should infect others. Their natures, humours, and constitution, require restraint; large and coarse stones are employed  
“ in ordinary buildings; marble and alabaster in palaces; but  
“ diamonds we lock up in cabinets; and as things are rare or common, of small value or of great price, we set them to shew, or  
“ shut them up close (4).

(4) *Humaïoun Nameh. ap. Beauchamp's Essays, Sect. iii.*

*Gjemshid,*

*Gjemshid*, or *Giamschid*, or rather *Gjem Schid*, his name *Gjem* being *Gjem*, to which *Schid* as a surname was added, because *schid*. of his wonderful beauty, *Schid* in the *Persic* language signifying *the sun*, his eyes having such a lustre that none could look him steadily in the face, though some authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory which resulted from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson, but all agree that he was of the family of *Keyomaras*, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them; amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one, a *Jew*, says our author *Mirchond*, whose name was *Fael Issuf Rabban*, and the other a *Greek*, called *Fithagores* i. e. *Pythagoras*; but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of these times, yet it is easy to discern from the circumstances of things, that *Gjemshid* flourished at a considerable distance from *Pythagoras*; but such errors as these are not infrequent among *Oriental* writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of *Greece*, of which, however, they have most of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of these wise counsellors, *Gjemshid* divided his subjects into three classes; the first consisting of soldiers; the second of husbandmen; and the third of artificers<sup>r</sup>. In his time music, vocal and instrumental, and astronomy were first introduced in *Persia*. He was also the first who built granaries in *Persia*, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in case of any deficiency in their harvests famine might not be felt. In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use, throughout his territories from the following accident. A woman, who was much in *Gjemshid*'s good graces was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court of *Gjemshid* were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and finding that it in some measure relieved her, she returned thither again after resting herself for some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity which compleated her cure; this she told to the king, and it being divulged through the

<sup>r</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. v.



court, every body began to regard wine as an universal medicine, capable of removing the most stubborn diseases. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may justly place the rectification of the kalendar which he undertook and perfected, instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an ecclesiastic year, in which there was in the space of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated<sup>r</sup> (C). He likewise instituted the *Nauruz*, i. e. the solemn observation of the new year, concerning which we are told that it had its rise thus; king *Gjemschid* going in progress through his provinces arrived in *Aderbayagjan*, and shewing himself on a royal throne to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown adorned with precious stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, This is *Nauruz*, i. e. the new day, whence the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein, besides the presents made to the prince, 'twas usual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all sorts of people, to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know that it lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or, if the phrase may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors presented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening of the fifth day a young man handsome in his person was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity asked him whence he came, whither he went, what his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried; to

<sup>r</sup> HYDE, *rel. vet. Persar.* c. xiv.

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the kalendar, as it was settled by *Gjemschid*; but as we shall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, viz. when we come to speak of the æra of *Yezdegberd*, we thought it needless to interrupt the series of our history here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourse to Dr. *Hyde's* book, where he will find this intricate subject treated at large (5).

(5) *Relig. vet. Persar. c. xiv.*

which



which the youth answered, *I am Al Mansur, i. e. August ; my name is Al-Mobarek, i. e. the Blessed ; I came hither from God, bearing the new year.* Then he sat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a silver vessel, in which were wheat, barley, pease, vetches, pulse, a sugar cane, and two pieces of gold fresh from the mint. Out of this basin first the *Wafir* or *Vizier*, then the treasurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his silver vessel to the king. At the conclusion of the ceremony a very great loaf made of several kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who, after eating some of it himself, intreated such as were present to eat the rest in these words, *This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year ; it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other.* Then rising up in his royal robes he solemnly blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich gifts<sup>t</sup>. The evening of this day the *Persians* called *Phristaph*, on which they did every thing that might testify joy and strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign *Gjemschid* remained in *Segjistan*, thinking it the properest province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the east were thoroughly settled ; then he changed it for the proper *Persia*, where he erected the noble city of *Eftechar*, which most take to be the *Persepolis* of the *Greeks*, though some believe it the city of *Schiras*. If what the antient *Persian* writers deliver of the extent of this city of *Eftechar* be true, viz. that it contained a square of twenty four leagues, then it is possible that both opinions may be true ; but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince, such as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was skilled in the occult sciences, and possessed a magic cup of incomparable virtues ; we may safely restrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, especially for those times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the space they have assigned it. It is universally allowed, that *Gjemschid* gave himself up entirely to the study of the arts of reigning, and some say, that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by considering the transactions among the bees, and that he drew many customs from the hive into the court of *Persia*. Among other inventions the signet ring is ascribed to him, and that mode, which still prevails throughout the east, of preferring the left hand to the right as the more honourable ; he likewise directed,

<sup>t</sup> CASWINI, ap. Hyde, p. 237.



that the different degrees of people should be distinguishable from their garb ; in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing and his people happy, in which he succeeded to his utmost wish. But this great felicity proved the source of the deepest misfortunes ; for having reigned long and gloriously, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal, sent pictures of himself throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worshipped with divine honours. This madness soon lost him the hearts of the people, so that the province of *Segjistan*, by the persuasion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king, and whose name was *Abad*, took arms, and, when they had formed themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of *Zoák* or *Dahác* towards *Schiras*, where *Gjemschid* met him with a powerful army which he had raised ; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end *Gjemschid* was defeated and taken prisoner, upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately sawn asunder, which was performed in *Zoak's* sight. This is the account given by *Mirkbond* and the best *Arabian* histories ; others say, that he escaped from the battle and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a son whose name was *Phridun* or *Aphridun* of three years old, whom his mother *Phramak* found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to ascend the throne of *Persia* <sup>a</sup>.

Dehoc.

*Dehoc*, *Dahác*, *Zabak*, *Zoák* ; some authors affirm, that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nickname bestowed on him by the *Persians*, viz. *Deh-ak*, signifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was *Piurasb*. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was ; some report, that he was lineally descended from *Siamek* the grandson of *Keyomaras* ; others that he was an *Arabian*, the son of *Uluan*, descended in a direct line from *Abad*, the chief of the *Adites*. The truth seems to be, that he was an *Arab* by the father's side, but descended of the house of *Keyomaras* by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which scarce deserve to be mentioned, because they are glaringly false ; the one supposes but two generations between him and *Adam*, the other that he was descended from *Ham* the son of *Noah*, and is to be looked on as the *Nimrod* of the scriptures. It is very likely, that all these stories were invented to disgrace a prince whose cruelty rendered him odious, or that they hap-

<sup>a</sup>D' HERBELOT. tit. *Gjemschid*.

pened through some mistakes in reading or transcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his sword, so he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his subjects. He was, however, a person of great genius, and deeply skilled in the occult sciences, in one word, he is represented to us as a compleatly wicked man; one whose abilities answered the evil intentions of his soul, and whose person struck beholders with horror, for he had a meagre pallid visage, eyes wild and sparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the same time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural sourness of his temper was irritated by a sharp and incurable disease, consisting in two painful ulcers, one on each shoulder, the anguish of which resembled the pain following the bite of a serpent, whence the story inserted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at last as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiss his shoulders, which being granted, an ugly serpent immediately took post in each, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. Either some forcerer, or the devil in a dream, suggested to *Zoak* an inhuman remedy for this evil, viz. that of washing these ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others say, applying to them the brains of men newly slain. At first the tyrant put to death criminals of all sorts; but when there were no more of these, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The priests and other persons in authority had recourse to all the arguments they could use to engage him to have recourse rather to the blood or brain of sheep, but to no purpose; those, however, who were intrusted with the care of these unhappy wretches destined to slaughter for the tyrant's ease, often out of mere pity let them slip through their fingers, so that flying to the mountains in order to preserve themselves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themselves into a particular nation, called since the *Curdes* \*. All his reign long *Zoak* caused *Phridun*, the son of his predecessor, to be searched for, but to no purpose, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of *Zoak* and his other enemies. However, the tyrant discharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he suspected inclined to the interest of the young *Phridun*. The chief cause of these proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; these he thought threw him down and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two loosened his gir-

\* MIRKHOND, hist. sect. vi.



dle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of *Damavand*. Having applied to the most skilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this signified, they unanimously agreed, that it portended the loss of his kingdom and of his life, because amongst the *Persians* the girdle is a mark of dignity; now this *Zoak* conceived could never be done but by *Phridun* and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by *Zoak*, were the sons of a certain smith, whose name was *Gao*, or, as others write it, *Kaoh*. This man, driven to madness at the sight of his childrens blood, ran up and down the streets, crying out for justice and help against the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a standard. In a short time the army he got together became very formidable, so that he made himself master of various strong forts and great cities, particularly of the city *Heri*, or *Herat*, the capital of *Chorasán*, where he staid for some time to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid *Zoak* battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, assuring them amongst other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that, as soon as he had restored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the sovereignty to him, which he as positively refused, telling them, that as the sense he had of his own injuries had put him upon first taking arms, so he would never consent to injure others; that *Phridun* the son of *Gjamschid* was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are easily turned; the army on this speech grew as loyal to *Phridun* as they had been grateful to the smith. *Phridun* observing the spirit of his people, and being informed that *Zoak's* army was by no means hearty in his interest, marched with the utmost expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging, after a brisk action *Zoak's* troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner, whereupon *Phridun* ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of *Damavand*, and gave directions for his being imprisoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the *Persians* instituted a feast in memory thereof, which they called *Mibirgian*, or rather *Mibragjan* <sup>y</sup> (D).

*Phridun,*

<sup>y</sup> HYDE, rel vet. Pers. c. viii p. 158. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art FERIDOUN, GAOH.

(D) The history of *Zoak* makes a prodigious figure in the *Persian* romances;

*Phridun, Aphridun, or Feridoun*, this prince proved one *Phridun*. of the greatest, wisest, and most successful monarchs that ever ruled in the east; his first act, after being quietly seated on the throne, was to make *Kaob*, the smith, general of his armies; after which he sent him towards the western parts of his dominions in order to reduce such provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had shook off the *Persian* yoke.

romances; what is related in them of him being to us absurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpose to swell out a note with such stories. It is very likely, that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the most invidious characters of him they could devise, and heightened all the mischievous things he did with the utmost force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourselves poets writing with this view, and at the same time advert to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loss for all the strange things that we now read of *Zoak*, and yet allow the first authors of them to have been men of good sense too. Metaphors well understood, allusions readily apprehended, and allegories easily explained in one age, appear all as matters, or at least as circumstances, of fact in ages which succeed; and hence it comes to pass, that a stroke of poetic satyr, or the rhetorical flourish of an author is misapprehended for a strict assertion, and so delivered by historians, who come after, and transcribe all they find, without weighing or considering how or in what manner it was wrote. The first historians in all countries were poets, the second race prose-writers who copied from them; and hence it is, that antient histories are full of grave fables, which through length of time are hard to be understood: this has been the fate of *Greece*, of *Rome*, of *Britain*, of *Ireland*, and why not of *Persia*? But fiction, though it may obscure, yet it does not absolutely destroy truth. *Zoak* was in all probability an *Arabian* invader, who, after making himself master of *Persia*, used his new subjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be born, and then they did what a people may always do, *viz.* threw them off their shoulders and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of *Damavand*, or rather of *Dunbavand*, we think it may be understood to mean no more than that he was kept there in some strong castle. These mountains are in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the antient *Media*; they are rocky, full of caverns, and consequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the same licence here allowed them elsewhere, have feigned, that *Tahmurab* after overcoming the *Divs* or evil *Genii*, imprisoned them in these grottoes, and by degrees these expressions grew so frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily sent to the mountains of *Damavand* as among our common people ghosts are *chained*, or, to preserve the true phrase, *laid* in the bottom of the *Red-sea*.



*Kaoh* spent twenty years in this enterprize, in which space he added many fine countries to the *Persian* empire; at length the king recalled him and made him governor of *Aderbayagjan*, which he ruled ten years with equal satisfaction to the people and to his prince, and then died much regretted by *Phridun*, who to do honour to his memory gave all his estates among his relations, and then taking his sons into his own court, bred them up there in a most honourable manner; and when they grew up gave each of them greater possessions than their father had acquired\*. To shew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which *Kaoh* had hung upon a stick at the beginning of the insurrection, the royal standard of *Persia*, calling it *Dirfesch Kaviani*, i. e. the standard of *Kaoh*, that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such an inestimable value, that being taken by the *Arabians* in the battle of *Cadesia*, it enriched the whole army<sup>a</sup>. As *Phridun* was desirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent persons, not only of great parts but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also with a view of interest only the daughter of his predecessor *Zoak*, by whom he had two sons *Salm* and *Tur*, but these proving like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a *Persian* lady to his bed, by whom he had a son named *Irege*, equally wise and courteous, so that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. Thus things passed on till *Phridun*, feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and illness, summoned his grandees together, and having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know which of his sons they wished he should make his successor; those lords unanimously answered, that if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have *Irege* for their prince, to which *Phridun* assented; but to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to *Tur* all the eastern provinces of his empire, to *Salm* the provinces on the other side, and restrained *Irege* within the compass of *Persia*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*. From this division came the names of *Turon* and *Iran*, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of *Persia*, and the other *Persia* itself and the provinces dependent thereon<sup>b</sup>. As

\* MIRKHOND. hist. sect. vii.      <sup>a</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. DIRFESCH.      <sup>b</sup> HYDE, rel. vet. Persar. c. xxxv. p. 417. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. FERIDOUN.

for *Tur*, he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name *Turon*, and the country *Turquestan*; this city was seated in the province of *Mauaralnabar* in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of *Turks* <sup>c</sup>. However large those shares might be which *Salm* and *Tur* had received from their father, they still hated him and their brother *Irege*, whose ruin they concerted together. Things being at last ripe for the execution of their projects, *Salm* and *Tur* marched each with great forces into *Aderbayagjan*, and, having joined their armies, they sent a sort of manifesto to their father, wherein they set forth, that with just reason they were displeased with the kindness which he had shewn *Irege*, whom they stiled a bastard, and declared at the same time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was deposed from the sovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his possession. *Phridun*, justly displeased at this undutiful behaviour, sent immediately his orders to *Irege* to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march against his brethren. *Irege*, however, desired the king to have recourse to milder measures, in hopes of preserving the peace of the empire. *Phridun* was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. *Irege*, however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him some of his wisest counsellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order if possible amicably to adjust the differences between them. They, who wished for nothing more, immediately seized him and struck off his head, which having stuck on a pole, they insolently sent to their father. *Phridun* was excessively grieved at his son's misfortune; he resolved, however, to carry on the war against *Salm* and *Tur*; in order to which he gave the dominions of *Irege* to his son *Manugeher*, who immediately marched with an army against his uncles. They despising his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and lost their lives by the hand of *Manugeher*, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather *Phridun*, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of *Manugeher*, he asked who it was that presumed to enter his presence in such a manner. The young victor cried out, *It is your grandson Manugeher, the avenger of the blood of Irege, who hath slain Salm and Tur with his own hand.* *Phridun*

<sup>c</sup> MIRKMOND. hist. ubi supr.



then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the *Tagi* or *Tiara* from his head and put it on that of *Manugeher* or *Manugjabr*, declaring him thereby sovereign of *Persia*, appointing at the same time one *Soam* or *Soham*, a person of great wisdom and valour, to be his vizier <sup>d</sup>. Within a short space after this *Phridun* died, full of years and glory (E).

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the *Solomon of Persia*, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a man-

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. SOHAM.

(E) The oriental writers are universally agreed, that the terms *Touran* and *Iran*, expressive of the two great empires on the other and on this side the *Oxus*, called by them the *Gjeihon*, took rise at this time. It may seem strange, that such large tracts of country should receive appellations from persons who lived and governed them so short a time; for it appears, that *Irege*, *Tur*, and *Salm*, all died in the life-time of *Phridun*, and within a small space after the partition of his dominions amongst them. But when this is more thoroughly considered, the wonder will cease. The monarchs of these extensive kingdoms were, through a long course of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding originally from the quarrel of their ancestors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after those in whose right they held them. The whole empire belonged to *Phridun*; the descendants of *Tur* or *Tour* kept up the claim of their ancestors to the whole; the kings of *Persia* succeeding *Manugjabr* asserted the right of *Phridun* to divide his dominions as he pleased; and therefore it is likely that *Iran* and *Touran* were words first used in *Persia*, and by degrees spread themselves throughout the east. Whether *Tur* was the undoubted father of the *Turks* will admit of some question, since almost all the oriental writers affirm, that *Japhet* had a son called *Turk*, and yet many of them admit, that *Turquestan* had its name from the prince we speak of. It would be needless, and at the same time improper for us to enter into a prolix discussion of that point here, since it must be examined when we come to write the history of the *Turks*; however, we think it not amiss to remark, that there is nothing stranger or more perplexed in this double derivation of the name of the *Turks*, than there is in that of the *Hebrews*, whom some affirm to have been so called from *Heber* the son of *Salah*, and others from the surname of *Abraham*, who was siled the *Hebrew* from his coming from the other side of the river, *i. e.* the *Euphrates*. Such difficulties amuse weak minds, but men of solid understandings easily pass by these doubts, knowing that there is little more of certainty to be found in searching for the rise of denominations of far later date.

ner,

ner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happiness to those whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshipper of the true God, and took such care to repress *Zabiism*, that some *Mohammedan* authors have not scrupled to assert that he was a Mussulman. It is also recorded of him, that he left this advice with his successor.

*Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity*<sup>c</sup>. Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert here. Some *Persian* writers think, that *Phridun* was cotemporary with *Abraham*. On the other hand, the learned Dr. *Hyde* has entertained a notion that this *Phridun* is the *Phraortes* of *Heredotus*<sup>f</sup>; it would take up too much time to discuss this controversy here, and besides we shall have occasion to resume this subject hereafter, and to consider the opinions of the critics on oriental history all at once; in the mean time let us pursue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of *Phridun's* grandson (F).

Ma-

<sup>c</sup> D'HERBELOT. Art. FERIDOUN. <sup>f</sup> HYDE, relig. vet. Persar. c. viii.

(F) The reader will easily perceive from the characters he has already seen drawn in this history, that among the oriental nations wisdom as well as valour is thought necessary in a hero. *Phridun* is as famous amongst them, as any of the heroes of *Greece* or *Rome* amongst us; and for the same reason; because he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies and on the throne. On this account oriental writers preserve with as great care the wise sayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conquests. We have excused ourselves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this sort in relation to *Phridun*; but the reader will in all probability be pleased with the following specimens of his sapience, because they contain rules easily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man should weigh well the nature of himself,  
The varying frailness, of this flatt'ring world,  
And the true excellence of heaven's high lord;  
Then would he this despise, and trust in him.  
'The world deceives us all.—In God is truth.  
Let not thy riches or thy power prevail  
To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride;

Look



Manug-  
jahr.

*Manugjahr* or *Manugeher*, according to some authors, was not the son of *Irege*, but his grandson by a daughter; it is not very material to us which of these opinions is true\*, certain it is, that he was a prince wise and of a mild disposition, and had a minister, viz. the vizier *Soham* beforementioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeher*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of *Persia*; he ascertained, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independent of whom he established in every great town or borough a mayor or provost, so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves, and the provosts were obliged to behave themselves prudently for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of *Persia* to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeher* considered every way of supplying this defect; he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to refresh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To encourage his subjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apherafiab* the descendant of *Tur* or *Tour*, invaded his dominions with a great army of *Turks*, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeher*, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of *Tabrestan*; some authors

\* D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. MANUGEHER.

Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,  
And mark, if thou hast never seen them sink;  
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!  
And when inevitable death commands,  
That we should follow to his dreary realm,  
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,  
Or from a mattress thrown upon the ground,  
We rise to take our journey (5) ?

(5) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun.

say,

say, that there happened a battle between him and *Apherasiab*, and that *Manugeher* was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of *Persia* withdrew into a fortress, and prepared to defend himself there against the attempts of his enemy. *Apherasiab* besieged him with all his army, but to no purpose; and the winter drawing on, the *Turk*, being afraid lest his own men should desert him, began to think of peace. Upon this commissioners were dispatched on both sides, and a treaty concluded on these terms; that *Apherasiab* should possess all the country east of the river *Gihon*, and that he should leave *Manugeher* without molestation in possession of *Persia* and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of *Persia*<sup>b</sup>. As soon as *Apherasiab* was retired into his own country, *Manugeher* began to provide against such invasions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quota's of troops; but these measures alarming *Apherasiab*, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into *Persia*; but the *Turk* had not the same success in this as in the former war. The precautions of *Manugeher* perfectly answered his end, so that the enemy were not only repulsed wherever they made their courses, but also lost a great number of their soldiers who were taken prisoners. *Apherasiab* therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left *Manugeher* to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wise and good prince made the city of *Segjistan* for a time his royal seat, and when by his presence he had put all things on that side in good order, he sent thither his vizier *Soham* to preserve all things in quiet, and went himself to reside in the centre of his empire, where he applied himself, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. *Soham* managed all things in the province of *Segjistan* so as to gain the good-will of the people, as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midst of his happiness an accident fell out which surprised him not a little: his wife was brought to bed of a son with long yellow hair, *Soham* therefore gave him the name of *Zal-zar*, i. e. *golden hair*; this young man when he grew up to years of discretion, gave manifest tokens of an exalted genius, insomuch, that *Manugeher* sent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the sight of the young nobleman augmented the esteem and gratitude *Manugeher*



had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, *Soham* and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the same splendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it so happened, that *Zal-zer* went to hunt in the province of *Kablustan*, dependent on the kingdom of *Touran*, but bordering northwards on the *Persian* dominions. *Meherab*, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with *Zal-zer* charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had such an effect on the mind of *Roudabah* his daughter, that she fell violently in love with *Zal-zer* on his report; and, as womens passions are ever sudden and ungovernable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where *Zal-zer* was incamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking with him. Her project succeeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl, properly instructed, answered him, that she was the servant of *Roudabah*, the daughter of *Meherab*, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and sweet dispositions of her lady. *Zal-zer* immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which by degrees ripened into so warm a passion, that he could neither eat nor sleep, till he had concerted the means of speaking to her. An interview, as our author observes, between two persons who equally desire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the best use of their time, that is, they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, *Zal-zer* made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received, and after staying with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of *Segjistan*. Almost as soon as he came home he acquainted *Soham* with all that had happened, and that it was impossible for him to live, at least in any degree of happiness, without the possession of the daughter of *Meherab*. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's consent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a *Persian* to espouse a *Turk*. However, the many services of *Soham* and the great merit of *Zal-zer*, prevailed so far over *Manugsher*, that he at last yielded to all they

they desired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence; the inhabitants of *Segjistan* and *Kabloustan* vying with each other in their expressions of joy on this occasion; nor were the consequences of this match less happy than its conclusion was splendid; for at the end of nine months the lovely *Roudabah* was brought to bed of a son who was named *Rustan*, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances<sup>1</sup>. The reader will hereafter perceive, how the loves of this illustrious pair came to find a place in the *Persian* history. Let us now return to *Manugeher*, who spent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the best order imaginable, with respect both to peace and war; that is, he took care to banish luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition so happy, as to engage him to fight for that government on the continuance of which it depended. The personal qualifications of this monarch have been already in some measure displayed; it remains, however, that we do him justice in one particular of greater importance than all the rest; he was a most zealous worshipper of the true God, of which we have the most shining instances in the history of his life and reign, written by *Tabari*<sup>2</sup> an antient *Persian* author. By him we are informed, that as soon as this prince heard of the *Turks* passing the river *Gjeihon* in order to drive him out of his dominions, he assembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himself in these words; “The most holy and high God delivered to me this kingdom, that I might render him praise and glory by my actions as a prince, preserving my people in plenty and ease, and impartially distributing justice, that thereby the glorious gift of God might in my hand be strengthened and increased. If contrary to this my duty I had acted ungratefully towards my creator, then I should justly have deserved to lose my kingdom here, and to suffer everlasting punishment for my wickedness hereafter. The most holy and high God having caused me to be born of royal blood, and in right thereof bestowed a kingdom upon me, let us not my friends basely throw it away, or tamely suffer it to be taken from us; consider well of the state we are in, and to-morrow I will more largely inform you as to my sentiments of the matter.” The next day accordingly the nobles of *Persia* assembled again, and the king being seated in his throne of state with his royal crown upon his head, and the

<sup>1</sup> MIERKHOND, Hist. Sect. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. MAN-  
OUGEHER.

<sup>2</sup> Apud. HYDE, Relig. vet. Pers. c. viii.



*Mubad Mubadan*, or high-priest, seated near him in his golden chair, he rose up and spoke as he had done the day before, ascribing all dominion to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of *Persia* was his gift; he then observed, that all things depended alike on the will of the supreme being, and that nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permission. He said further, that God had long indulged the *Persian* nation in the full enjoyment of many blessings, in consequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, making a proper use of the good things bestowed on them. He added, that as to the point at present before them, viz. the invasion of the *Turks*, it came not but by the permission of God, wherefore to him they ought first to apply themselves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be constant in prayer, to exert their courage and their understandings, in the defence of their country, and to rest stedfastly in the hope that the Almighty would not forsake them, but restore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign; as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter authors agree in fixing it at 120 years. They say likewise, that the death of *Manugjahn* was like his life majestic and serene, that he called to him his son and successor, gave him in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his subjects most affectionately to his care<sup>1</sup>.

Nudar.

*Nudar* or *Naudar* succeeded his father, but his reign was far from being as happy. He was scarce seated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties and to create seditions in his empire, which weakened it so much, that the *Turks* immediately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long set their hearts on. With this view *Pasbhangh* at that time king of *Touran*, the direct descendant of *Tour* the son of *Phridun*, called his sons together; and having expatiated, first on the right which their family had to the kingdom of *Persia*; and secondly of the low state the *Persian* affairs were then in; he told them, that the intent of his drawing them together was to know which of them had courage enough to assert the pretensions derived to him from his ancestors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other side of the *Gjeihon*. *Apherasiab* his eldest son, stung

<sup>1</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra.

with ambition, and desirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himself to raise an army in order to conquer *Iran*. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horse and foot, and with this prodigious army entered *Segjistan*. *Nudar*, as soon as he was informed of this, caused his best troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to *Soham* the father of *Zal-zer*; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march slowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him so much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleasing to *Apherasiab*, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this very great man. *Nudar*, not doubting that *Soham* and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed them, marched with his army towards *Mazanderan*, where, on a sudden and before he expected it, they came within sight of the enemy. The camps being opposite to each other, a *Turkish* champion, whose name was *Bafmon*, challenged any of the *Persian* warriors to a single combat, which challenge was readily accepted by *Kobad* the grandson of *Kaoh*, of whom we have said so much in the life of *Phridun*. The combat terminated in favour of the *Persian*, who having slain his antagonist spoiled him of his arms, and carried them as the trophy of his victory to his tent. The *Turks* were prodigiously incensed at this accident, and resolved with themselves to revenge it speedily on *Nudar* and his army. Accordingly, having possessed themselves of all the posts about it, they attack the *Persians* in their camp, where a most obstinate battle was fought, till at length there happened such a prodigious shower of rain, attended with such an extraordinary darkness, that *Nudar* laid hold of this opportunity to retire, and to order his sons *Thus* and *Gustam*, who were at the head of separate bodies, to march speedily to his relief, which they did, accompanied by *Karen* the brother of *Kobad*, who had found means to withdraw the royal treasures out of *Segjistan*, and to send them to a place of safety. *Apherasiab* observing the measures taken by *Nudar*, and conceiving that his intent was to spin out the war, he, to prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been destructive to his troops, sent an officer of his, whose name was *Karahon*, with positive orders to attack *Karen*, and the body of *Persians* under his command, which accordingly he did, killed their commander, and effectually dispersed the rest. Not long after *Apherasiab* attacked *Nudar* in his camp, and, after obtaining a signal victory, took that monarch prisoner in his flight with many *Persian* nobles. As soon as they came into his presence



*Apherasiab* ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his brother, a prince of great humanity and wisdom, hindered him, and prevailed on him to content himself with putting them in prison, to which with much ado he yielded. The next step after this victory was to possess himself of the court and treasures of *Nudar*, in order to which *Apherasiab* instantly detached a body of 30,000 men; they entering the province of *Segjistan* made themselves masters of the capital and of the royal palace, the *Persians* being every-where so intimidated that they durst not stir, but submitted tamely to the yoke, which conquest had imposed upon them. *Meherab*, it seems, after the marriage of his daughter to *Zal-zer*, had retired into *Persia*, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this sudden overthrow of the empire threatened him as well as the rest of its inhabitants. *Meherab*, being a man of great policy, bethought himself of a means to divert immediate danger by sending a messenger to *Apherasiab*, with very rich presents, and a letter to this purpose; "That though he lived in *Persia*, he was by nation a *Turk*, and not only so, but in some measure allied to him in blood, being lineally descended from *Zoak*, wherefore he hoped his family and this early testimony of obedience would be sufficient to recommend him to his special protection." Having thus amused the victor, he gave notice to his son-in-law *Zal-zer*, who assembling, as privately as he could, several small bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendezvous, where he himself joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt somewhat against the common enemy, he began to act offensively, and in a short time drove the *Turks* out of the province of *Segjistan*. Of which when *Apherasiab* received intelligence, it provoked him so much, that he ordered the unfortunate *Nudar's* head to be struck off in prison, which was accordingly put in execution without the least regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided, some making it seven, others enlarging it to nine years. *Mirkhond*, whom we generally follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince contemporary with *Jeshua*, others place him much higher; we shall not determine here who are in the right<sup>m</sup>.

*Aphera-  
siab.*

*Apherasiab* or *Afrasiab*, notwithstanding this rebellion, or rather insurrection, looking upon himself as monarch of *Persia*, sent an account to his father *Pasbangh* of the happy success with which his expedition had been crowned. But it

<sup>m</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. NAUDHAR.

was not long before he had news of another nature to send him; for the *Persians*, universally detesting his haughty and insolent temper, began to raise seditions in every part of the kingdom; nay, their aversion engaged them in steps which carried their intrigues farther, and made them endeavour to stir up the brother of *Apherasiab*, who had at first saved *Nudar*'s life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him first assistance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engage *Zal-zer* to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of *Segjistan* in the spring, assuring them, that the war once begun he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that *Apherasiab* gained intelligence of them, and immediately set all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he caused his brother to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising of troops, resolving to reduce all his opponents. *Zal-zer*, being informed of these proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loss of the young *Turkish* prince, openly excited the *Persians* to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand, that more than half their enemy's strength lay in their fears. His discourses by degrees had such an effect, that the inhabitants of *Persia*, assembling together in small bodies, marched by night through secret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, *Zal-zer* found himself at the head of a very formidable army<sup>a</sup>. *Apherasiab*, who had his spies every where, receiving an exact account of *Zal-zer*'s situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This gave the *Persian* captain a great deal of trouble; but at last he found an opportunity of bringing *Apherasiab* to a battle; it was very bloody, and so obstinate that it lasted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found, that neither side had any reason to boast of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any decisive action, whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and on the heels of this a grievous pestilence, which, falling at once into both camps, filled *Apherasiab* and *Zal-zer* with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that *Apherasiab* should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation and retire into *Tou-ran*, while *Iran* and all its dependencies should remain under

<sup>a</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra.



the protection of *Zal-zer*; this peace concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have raised himself to the throne of *Persia*; but he scorning to barter immortal fame for a short-lived royalty, sought out *Zab* or *Zoub* the lawful heir of the house of *Keyomaras*, and put the crown upon his head °.

**Zab.**

*Zab*, *Zoub*, or *Bazab*, at the time of his accession to the royal dignity was far advanced in years, but had notwithstanding a tolerable share of health and spirits; he applied himself to the restoring, as well as he could, the shattered affairs of *Persia*; the more effectually to do this he associated with him in the empire *Gherfchasp* his nephew, whom some have called *Kischtasf*, and have made him not the nephew and associate, but the son and successor, of *Zab* or *Zoub*; but this seems to be a mistake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this *Gherfchasp* being called *Kischtasf*. But to return to *Zab*; he sacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people easy, and to enable them to recover their losses after the wretched depredations committed by *Apherasiab* and his troops; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treasury, and as often as any sums were paid in there, he first paid his soldiers, and then distributed the rest among the poor. These were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice, particularly infamous on a throne, viz. that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various sorts of sauces and broths, unknown before in these regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his successor. *Mirkhond* makes him expressly the last of the first race of kings, who from the surname of *Hushangh* were called in general *Pischdadians*, though to us it seems more probable, that they received this appellation, because during the several reigns of these princes the laws and constitutions of *Persia* were thoroughly settled<sup>p</sup>. According to other authors *Gherfchasp* or *Kischtasf* succeeded in the empire by the voluntary cession of *Zab* or *Zoub*; his mother is said to have been a *Jewess* of the tribe of *Benjamin*; he proved a prince of great merit, and deserving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to restore the *Persian* diadem to its ancient lustre. *Apherasiab*, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the disorder the kingdom was in,

**Gher-  
schasp.**

° KHONDEMIR, in *Khelassat Alakbar*. D'HERBELOT. Art. AFRAZIAB, ZAB. ZOUB. MIRKHOND. hist. Sect. 10. <sup>p</sup> MIRKHOND. hist. Sect. 11. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. NAUBHAR.

to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to possess himself of various provinces. The new king fought under great disadvantages, but in spite of these he frequently defeated the *Turks*, and recovered various places out of their hands; at last, however, he fell into the error of many of his predecessors, that is, he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he lost, and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign some say of six, others of thirty years; but whether the latter may not include the reigns of *Zab* and of this prince too, or whether the former ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the empire of the *Pischedadians* ended, and that *Apherasiab* the descendant of *Tour* became a third time absolute lord of *Persia*; how he afterwards lost the possession of this empire will be shewn in its proper place<sup>1</sup>. In the mean time it may not be amiss to insert here some remarks on the foregoing period, in order to justify the observation we have so often made, that oriental history, though mixed with fables, is not altogether useless.

IN the course of this work our method has been to speak first of the chronology, and afterwards of the history of each country; in the present case it was impracticable, unless we had tormented the reader with needless repetitions and nauseous tautologies. We have therefore chosen to give the series of the *Persian* history relating to the kings of the first race, as it lies in *Mirkbond* and other authors; and, after laying down these facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we esteem the true state of the ancient *Persian* empire. In the first place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings *Medians* by descent. The province of *Aderbayagjan*, of which they make *Keyomaras* to have been at first sovereign, is a part of *Media*, taking in also a part of *Armenia*, so that in all probability it was one of the first peopled provinces of the dominion of *Shem*, if we suppose that territories were ascertained and set out immediately after the flood. Within this province stands the little town, that is, considering it in its present condition, *Nakshivan*, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the first town built after the flood; and indeed in the *Armenian* language the very name implies as much, it being equivalent to *the first place*, or *first habitation*<sup>1</sup>. Thus

<sup>1</sup> D'HERBELOT. Art. GHERSCHTASB, KISCHTASB. TAVERNIER. Voyag. tom. i. p. 43. CHARDIN. Voyag. tom. i. p. 250.



the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every way probable, and consistent with the most antient accounts sacred and prophane. As the power of *Keyomaras* increased, he extended his territories towards the east, and towards the south; for it is agreed that he made himself master of *Irak-agemi*, afterwards *Parthia*, and in process of time joined thereto the province of *Phars*, or *proper Persia*, where some historians affirm he founded the city of *Istachr*, afterwards called *Persepolis*, though others deny it, and say it was built later. The successors of this prince conquered *Kbirman* and *Segistan*, and afterwards many other countries on the east of the present *Persian* empire. It was *Phridun* or *Feridoun* who settled the dominions of *Persia* in pretty near the same order we find them at this day; it is evident therefore, that the kings of the first race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extensive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of *Keyomaras*, some think it was at *Balch* in *Chorasan*, others at *Istachr*. Perhaps he might first fix his residence at *Balch*, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. *Hushang* resided again at *Balch*, *Gjemschid* settled himself at *Istachr*, and is by most of the *Persian* authors esteemed its founder. In the reigns of succeeding kings, though their royal residence might sometimes be changed, yet *Istachr* remained the capital, and received from time to time great improvements from the *Persian* monarchs. *Kischtas* the last of them had a peculiar liking to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have sustained through the course of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards so famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Persepolis*, began, as we observed in our description of *Persia*, under the first race of kings<sup>f</sup>. How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are still remaining, we shall shew in the history of the princes of the second race; in the mean time let it be remembered, that several princes of the dynasty of *Pischedadians* were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in their time, especially in the days of *Manugeher*, who is particularly famous in the oriental history for delighting in architecture and every thing dependent thereon; if in his days, we say, there were any artists capable of carving in stone, they might have employed their time in cutting some of those wonderful histories in *Bass-relief*, which are yet visible in the living rock, behind the

<sup>f</sup> Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESTEKAR.

ruins of *Chilminar*, or of the other works of the like kind remaining in other parts of *Persia*. This, we say, is possible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety, however, of *Manugeber* is a circumstance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in sight of the sun, represented in the mountain before-mentioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of these antient kings which we have already shewn to be very near the true religion, that is, the religion of the patriarchs. As to the worship of fire, it was indisputably a very antient doctrine, and there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of what some authors have affirmed, that it took its rise in, if not before, the time of *Keyomaras*. Certain it is, that the province where he began to reign was the first in which magism prevailed, and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for *Aderbayagjan* is no more than the *place of fire*, *Ader* or *Azer* signifying *fire*, and *Bayagjan* a *place*, whence it comes to pass, that we frequently find this word thus written *Azerbayagjan*. The high mountain of *Albors* was the principal place of worship in these early times, and the people were persuaded, that celestial fire was preserved there; on this account when the treasures of *Nudar* king of *Persia* were removed out of *Sigjistan*, as we have before related, they were for security placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this superstition is not yet worn out of the heads of the *Ghaur*s, if we may believe Sir *John Chardin*; on the contrary they yet speak confidently of celestial or elemental fire, which they say is still to be seen in this mountain<sup>c</sup>. On the whole therefore, the religion of the *Persians* under the first race of kings differed very little from that which still subsists among the *Ghaur*s. Some indeed have been of opinion, that there were no *Pyræa* or fire-temples at all before the time of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; others, on the authority of some *Arabian* writers, assert the contrary, so as it seems probable that the former is the opinion nearest truth. Our reasons for saying this are these, first the antientest historians extant say nothing of temples till after the time of the *Exodus* of the children of *Israel*. Secondly, because *Herodotus* says expressly, that the antient *Persians* had no temples, but sacrificed on the tops of high mountains *sub dio*; and thirdly, because of *Pyræa* being at that time in use is not consistent with the history of *Zerdusht*, as we shall shortly have occasion to

<sup>c</sup> CHARDIN. Voyag. tom. i. 253.



shew. From the power and the religion of the first race of *Persian* kings, we come at length to the intricate question, *When they flourished?* or rather how their reigns are to be reconciled to sacred and prophane history? Before we pretend to give the solution of this problem, let us consider a little what sacred and prophane historians say of the antient kings of *Media* and *Persia*. The scripture informs us, that *Elam* was a very antient kingdom, for *Chedorlaomer* came with a great army to reduce the region of *Pentapolis* in *Canaan*, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of *Abraham*; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were in their decline. In respect to these antient times the *Greek* writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, viz. *Thucydides*, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man<sup>u</sup>, that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in history as well as in other sciences, but they seldom told their stories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. *Herodotus* pretends not to say any thing of the history of the *Medes*, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of *Cyrus*, where he places *Dejoces*, whom he makes the first king of *Media*, and speaks of his advancement to that dignity, in terms<sup>x</sup> exactly correspondent to those made use of by *Mirkhond* in his history of the election of *Keyomaras*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who really deserves the highest credit, because he took the utmost pains to be well informed, and spent a long series of years in collecting the materials for his history, gives us a list of ten *Median* kings reigning in all 282 years<sup>y</sup>; but the critics are not pleased with these, because *Diodorus* took them from *Ctesias*, and *Ctesias* had his materials from the *Median* and *Persian* records; an odd reason for disbelieving all he says. But it seems, *Ctesias*'s account did not consist well with those that the *Greeks* had given before him, and therefore he lost his credit, and his history was rejected as fabulous. By the same rule of argument our oriental history must be condemned too, for it is as inconsistent with the *Greek* history, as the memoirs of *Ctesias*, and for the very same reason; because it is taken as his history was from what the *Medes* and *Persians* say of themselves. Not to keep the reader long in suspense, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old

<sup>u</sup> THUCYDIDES, PROÆM. Hist.  
oth. lib. ii. c. 3.

<sup>x</sup> CLIO, c. 71.

<sup>y</sup> Bibli-

*Medo-Persic* monarchy, and its being destroyed by the *Assyrian* emperors. The question is, whether we will suppose, that these people lived all that time without doing any thing, because none of the *Greek* historians except *Diodorus* from *Ctesias* have vouchsafed, or indeed have been able, to tell us what they did, or whether we shall admit *Ctesias*'s exploded method, and fill up this chasm with what the *Persians* say of themselves? If this latter course be to be steered, here is room for all the *Pischedadians* at once. But then as to the synchronism of their reigns we desire to be excused from settling it, because at present we see no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactness. However, when the *Persian* history, according to oriental writers, shall be deduced as low as the reign of *Yezdegherd*, the last native of that country who swayed its sceptre, we shall reconsider this point, and set the whole chronology of the *Persic* empire in the best light we may. In the mean time we shall conclude these observations with remarking, that *Ctesias* and all others, who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the *Persian* history from the *Persian* records, have found in the most early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching vast armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immense treasures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wisdom and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we say from *Mohammedan* writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old *Persian* writers; if therefore all this be fable, 'tis at least very antient and uniform fable, or to speak seriously, it has as much the appearance of truth as any history as antient that we know of. But it is time to leave reasoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our history, and to shew the steps by which *Apherasiab* was expelled, and the *Persian* dominions once more restored to a prince of that country.

*The history of the Persian kings of the second race, or of the dynasty of the Kainites.*

**K** *Eykobad*, or *Caicobad*, whom some writers make the *Keykobad* son of *Zab*, the son of *Tahamasp*, the son of *Manugeher*, king of *Persia*, and others call simply the nephew of *Nudar*, was seated on the throne of *Persia* by the famous *Zal-zer*, who was so loyal to the family that raised him, that he twice refused the *Persian* diadem, because he would not injure them. At this time he and his son *Rustan* put themselves at the head of such a body of troops as enabled them to give *Apherasiab* abundance of trouble, and by degrees



to put into the possession of *Keykobod* the greatest part of the provinces of *Persia*. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his subjects in general, and extremely grateful to the persons particularly concerned in raising him to the empire. He intrusted the command of all his forces with *Rustan*, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father ; by degrees his troops, under the command of the famous hero beforementioned, gained such advantages, that *Apherasiab* retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress that he desired to treat of a peace ; but his commissioners and those of the king of *Persia* differing about the terms, *Apherasiab* hazarded a second battle, wherein, notwithstanding his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, *Rustan* desired some of the officers about him to shew him *Apherasiab*, which when they had done, *Rustan* spurred towards him with such an impetuous force that he beat him from his horse, and afterwards dismounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. *Apherasiab*, finding himself left alone, struggled with such force that he at last got loose ; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as *Rustan* had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horse, with whom he made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the army of *Keykobod*, *Rustan* rode up to salute him. Amongst other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himself having made *Apherasiab* prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding to that end, to the place where he had thrown the *Turkish* monarch, he found with surprise a dead man tied in his place ; for this oversight of his he asked pardon of *Keykobod*, and solemnly promised, that if he met *Apherasiab* in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince, finding his affairs desperate in *Persia*, retired into *Turquestan*, and sent from thence an ambassador to treat with *Keykobod*, who was easily prevailed on not to carry his arms into *Touran*, when the right of him and his family to *Iran* was acknowledged by *Apherasiab*, and all the scattered remnants of his army withdrawn<sup>2</sup>. The peace once settled, *Keykobod* applied himself to the restoring the affairs of his kingdom, and in the first place fixed his court at *Spahawn*, which had been built by the famous king *Houshangh*, adorned by

<sup>2</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xii. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. AFRASIAB, CAIKOBAD, RUSTAN.

*Phridun*, and afterwards given by him to *Kaoh* the smith and his family. The reason in all probability which determined *Keykobod* to reside here, was its convenient situation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next bestowed his favours on such as had been instrumental in the expulsion of the *Turks*; to *Rustan* he gave the province of *Zablustan*, on the borders of *India*, watered with many pleasant streams, and adorned with the finest prospects that can be wished. This province afforded a surname to *Rustan*, and received itself a new name from him. That hero being stiled in most of the romances *Zabeli*, because he was governor of *Zablustan*; and that province, or at least a great part of it, was thence forward called *Rustandar*, because it had been the government of *Rustan*. *Maharab*, surnamed *Kabuli*, because he had been governor of *Kubul*, was another of *Keykobod*'s generals, and highly esteemed by him. *Kavan*, one of the descendants of the famous *Kaoh* the smith, was also a person highly esteemed by this king of *Persia*; but what particular rewards he received authors do not mention. It seems he was a sort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the surname of *Rezm Khuah*, or *the searcher of adventures*. A fourth captain of *Keykobod*'s was *Keschvad*, surnamed *Zerin Kulah*, from a golden tiara which he was allowed to wear, in reward of the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. *Keykobod* divided all the spoil that had been brought into his treasury among his soldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, setting up public marks at the end of every four thousand paces, which space by the *Persians* is called *Pherfengh*, and from thence by the *Greeks* *Parasang*. As this monarch was renowned for his wisdom and prowess, so he was no less famous on account of his piety; the *Mohammedan* writers insist very much upon this, they assert, that he had many prophets who resorted to his court, that he received, honoured, and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to understand that he was not a fire-worshipper; but in this they are certainly mistaken. They make him also contemporary with *Samuel* the judge of *Israel*, and assert, that he had some intercourse with him. In the last years of his life he grew blind, and continued so till the day of his death, which happened, as some historians say, after a reign of one hundred years, according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. REZM KHUAW, &c.



**Keykaus.** *Keykaus* or *Caikaus*, the son, or, as some say, the grandson of *Keykobad*, succeeded him in the throne of *Persia*, on which he was scarce seated before a war broke out in *Mazanderan*, a province bordering on the *Caspian* sea, which required his presence; a rebel prince, taking occasion from the demise of *Keykobad*, made himself sovereign there, and fortified the capital in such a manner that he made it the strongest place in the east. *Keykaus* marched immediately against him, and coming with too great an army to be opposed, the rebel shut himself up in the city of *Mazanderan*, and prepared for a siege. *Keykaus* having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all sorts of ammunition and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in such cases 'tis usual for experienced generals to have recourse to stratagems, *Keykaus* devised one which answered his end effectually; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely distressed for provisions, and should be on that account obliged shortly to raise the siege. His emissaries in the place immediately insinuated to the keepers of the stores, that by supplying the king of *Persia* with small quantities of victuals immense sums might be got; this trade once on foot, *Keykaus* paid so well, that in a short time there was not a loaf left; he then summoned the city peremptorily to surrender, and on a discovery of their circumstances the inhabitants were forced to submit<sup>b</sup>. He had not the like success in another war, undertaken in this province against *Apherasiab*; for the *Persian* army being defeated, king *Keykaus* was taken and thrown into a prison, from whence he was released by the timely care of his general *Rustan*, who entering *Touran* with a numerous army, wasted all before him with fire and sword, declaring, that he would destroy the whole country if they did not set his master at liberty; which so terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on *Apherasiab* to dismiss *Keykaus* on his promise to recal *Rustan*. As soon as the *Persian* monarch had regained his liberty, he made use of the hero we have so often mentioned to curb his enemies on every side; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into *Mexr*, i. e. *Egypt*; *Shamah*, i. e. *Syria*; and *Rum*, i. e. *Asia Minor*. After these wars were over and all things in a quiet situation, *Keykaus*, to shew the high esteem he had of *Rustan's* services, gave him his sister in marriage; the name of this princess was *Gehernax*, i. e. *endowed with all virtues*, and with her by way

<sup>b</sup> *MIRAKHOND. Hist. sect. xiii.*

of portion he gave him the office of generalissimo of all his armies, and made him vicar general of his kingdom, with the title of *Pehelevan Giban*, i. e. *supporter of the Persian empire*. We are not told who it was *Keykaus* himself married, but whoever she was he had by her two sons, named *Siavek* and *Phrailarz*; the eldest of these, viz. *Siavek*, was sent to live with, and to be bred up under, his uncle *Rustan*. How long things continued in this tranquil state does not appear, but the next war we hear of was against *Zulzogar* king of *Arabia*; what provocation he gave *Keykaus* is uncertain, but the king of *Persia* carried his resentment so far, that he had well nigh reduced the whole kingdom of *Yemen*, over which *Zulzogar* reigned, under his dominion; at length it came to the ears of *Keykaus*, that this *Arabian* prince had a daughter the most lovely woman in the world; upon which the *Persian* king sent to demand her in marriage; the king of *Yemen*, desirous to be rid at any rate of such an enemy, sent immediately his daughter to the king of *Persia's* *Haram*. As soon as *Keykaus* beheld *Saudabab*, he was so struck with her beauty, that he conceived himself the happiest man in the world by having her in his possession. Overcome therefore with the violence of his passion, he abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all sorts of diversions in his camp, without so much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. *Zulzogar*, who foresaw all this, drew together privately a considerable body of horse, and falling unexpectedly on the *Persian* army absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court prisoners. The news of this no sooner reached *Persia*, than *Rustan* put himself at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediately into *Yemen*. *Zulzogar* knew very well, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of *Rustan*, and for this reason he treated the king of *Persia*, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect, so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to send his general orders to forbear hostilities and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and son-in-law, whereby the latter quitted all pretensions to the kingdom of *Yemen*, and promised to invade it no more, while the former engaged to be the friend and ally of the *Persian* nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his power; in consequence of which *Keykaus* was immediately set at liberty, with all those who had been taken prisoners with him, and returned triumphantly into *Persia* with his new spouse *Sauda-*



*bab*. Not long after this *Siavek* came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. *Saudabab*, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting so to be, solicited him to an incestuous amour, which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence; upon which waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, *Saudabab* rushed in with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against *Siavek*, who had made an attempt upon her honour; the king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a tryal; some say he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of *Saudabab* clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heart-burnings in the court of *Persia*, *Apherasiab*, who waited all opportunities of distressing that nation, failed not to take this, and to pass the river *Gjehon* with a great body of troops, in order to besiege *Balch*. *Keykaus*, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into *Sigjistan* with twelve thousand horse, there to join the forces under the command of *Rustan*, in order to make head against the enemy. *Siavek* readily obeyed, and after joining his uncle *Rustan*, marched with such expedition, that they were soon in the neighbourhood of *Apherasiab* and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very strong camp. *Apherasiab*, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein, which *Rustan* foresaw, and provided so well for his reception, that he was not only repulsed, but his troops suffered so much in the attack, that he began sincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of *Persians* into his dominions. With this view he sent commissioners to the camp of *Siavek* and *Rustan*, in order to settle the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince, his uncle and two *Persians* of great quality, who were of his council, settled with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to *Persia*, which being ratified by *Apherasiab*, the young prince dispatched an express to carry an account of the peace to his father. It seems the intrigues of *Saudabab* had created this deserving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who

\* D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICAUS. MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xiii.

took the opportunity of persuading the king, that *Siavek* had exceeded his commission, and injured the majesty of the *Persian* empire by the treaty which he had made. *Keykobad*, influenced by these suggestions, dispatched his uncle *Thus* to the army with letters full of sharpness with respect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to *Thus*, and to signify to *Rustan*, that the king thought him now old enough to take his rest, and therefore desired him to retire to his government of *Segjistan*. *Rustan* obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of *Turquestan*, in order to act offensively against *Apherasiab*. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Gjeihon*, the prince, taking with him *Piran Vissch*, an officer of distinction in the Turkish army who had remained with him as an hostage, went directly to the court of *Apherasiab*, to shew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. *Apherasiab* received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter *Franghiz* in marriage <sup>d</sup>. The nobility of *Turquestan* were so much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually such strong marks of their esteem, that *Garfiavesch*, brother to *Apherasiab*, took umbrage at it, and resolved to have him taken off. *Siavek*, who was a prince of great penetration, discovered his intention, and foreseeing that in a strange country it was impossible for him to guard against such attempts, he spoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in case he should be murdered, to send his son, if she should be brought to bed of one, into *Persia*. A small time after what he feared came to pass, he was killed by some assassins, hired by *Garfiavesch*, who would also have dispatched his wife, if *Piran Vissch* had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. *Franghiz* was afterwards brought to bed of a son, called *Key-chofrau*, who in time succeeded his grandfather. The people of *Turquestan* were so much grieved for the death of *Siavek*, that, to shew their concern, they mourned in *Persian* habits, a custom which has ever since remained amongst them. The news of the prince of *Persia*'s death reaching *Rustan* in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered *Turquestan* with a considerable army, burning and destroying all the country before him. *Garfiavesch* raised a body of troops as soon as he was able, and marched to oppose him; but coming to an engage-

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. RUSTAN, SIAVEK, PIRAN VISSCH. MIRRHOND. HIST. ubi supra.  
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ment, they were soon defeated, and *Garstausch* himself had his head struck off by the sword of *Rustan*\*. The desire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew *Siavek*, put him upon enquiring for his son; but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out, which gave *Rustan* inexpressible concern; some years after, however, *Keykaus* sent *Guiu* the son of *Gudarz*, a young *Persian* nobleman of great capacity, into *Turquestan*, in order to discover his grandson. Some say, that *Guiu* having sought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting, and, knowing him by the resemblance he bore of his father, addressed himself frankly to him, told him his name and his commission. *Key-chosrau* listened greedily to the proposal made him of retiring into *Persia*, but desired, that he might carry his mother and *Piran Vissch*, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted so well, that they quitted *Turquestan* and got safe into *Persia*, little to the satisfaction of *Apherasiab*, who was mighty well pleased with having in his hands the heir of the *Persian* diadem. He ordered them immediately to be pursued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they passed the river *Gjeihon* in sight of their pursuers. On the arrival of *Key-chosrau* at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed; those who had been avowed enemies of the prince *Siavek* his father were immediately removed, and *Keykaus*, to shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and raised *Guiu*, who had brought him back, to the highest honours. Thus, who had been no friend to *Siavek*, began to be apprehensive of the power of *Key-chosrau*, and therefore took all opportunities of influencing *Fraiborz*, the son of *Keykaus*, by suggesting to him, that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of *Persia*, which ought by no means to be placed on the head of one descended by the mother's side from *Tour*, the implacable enemy of their name and nation; these seeds of dissention sown, the *Persian* court was quickly in disorder, all the nobility taking one side or other, to the no small detriment of the affairs of the nation. *Keykaus* in the mean time was unwilling to declare either against his son or his grandson. At last, to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniencies

\* D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICAUS, SIAVEK, GHERSCIAVESCH.

that might attend a disputed succession, he resolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of displaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greatest desert his heir. One *Bahaman*, who had been intrusted with the city of *Ardebil* or *Ardevil* in the province of *Aderbagjan*, had made himself prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of *Persia*. *Keykaus* sent a body of troops, under the command of his son *Fraiborz*, to invest the town on one side, and an equal number under *Key-chosrau* to sit down before it on the other, informing both the princes, when they set out for their respective commands, that whoever reduced the place, he would declare successor to the throne. Thus, according to his repeated professions of friendship to *Fraiborz*, set out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him master of *Ardevil*, but to no purpose; *Bahaman*, apprised of the siege, had provided all things necessary for a long defence, and was himself so consummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the *Persian* army under *Fraiborz*. *Key-chosrau* had better success; the troops commanded by this young prince behaved better than those under his uncle, insomuch, that *Bahaman*, finding it impossible to hold out, surrendered *Ardevil* into his hands. According to agreement therefore, when he returned to court, *Keykaus* declared him heir apparent of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had so long subsisted. Some small time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandson in the possession of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years<sup>f</sup>.

ACCORDING to the method we have hitherto pursued, we should here take leave of *Keykaus's* reign. But as it is our design to inform the reader, as far as we are able, of every thing relating to the history of those kings we speak of, we find ourselves obliged to take notice here of some variations in circumstances, into which the *Persian* historians have fallen, as to the most material facts reported in the history of *Keykaus*: Thus, as to *Saudabab*, some make her to have been the daughter of *Gherschiavesch* brother to *Apherasiab*; they say likewise, that she was the mother of *Siavek*, and that taking some disgust in his father's court, the young prince fled to that of his uncle in *Turquestan*, where, marrying the daughter of the king, he made himself so con-

<sup>f</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICAUS & CAIKOSRAU.



siderable, that his grandfather by the mother's side caused him to be destroyed<sup>s</sup>. *Mirkhond*, speaking of the invasion made by *Rustan* on *Apherasiab*'s dominions, in revenge for the death of *Siavek*, mentions one *Keydab*, the son of *Apherasiab*, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by *Rustan*. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of *Nachs-Rustan*, which we took notice of in our description of *Persia*<sup>h</sup>. A *Persian* writer hath taken upon him to assert, that *Keykaus* ought to be regarded as the *Nimrod* of the *Hebrews*, and he will have it, that both these names signify *the long liver*, or *the immortal*, adding, that *Keykaus* was so called because of his extraordinary long reign, viz. of one hundred and fifty years. *Mirkhond*, like a good historian, reports this fact, and observes, that some have stigmatized *Keykaus* with building the tower of *Babel*, and attempting to scale heaven thereby, but he says expressly, that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of *Persia* being a wise and pious prince, who knew well, that to ascend to heaven, there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our history<sup>i</sup> (G).

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<sup>s</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Oriental. Artic. GHERSCHIAVESCH.

<sup>h</sup> MIRKHOND. hist. ubi supra. Univers. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 464.

<sup>i</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. NEMBROD.

(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the *Persians* had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the first and second race, on the north-east the inhabitants of the extended country of *Touran*. We have already spoken so copiously of the sense and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding any thing further on that subject; here it is sufficient, that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed, and that it was always designed by an indefinite term, as well by the *Romans* as by the orientals; the former stiled all the provinces on the other side that river which they call *Oxus*, the antient *Persians* *Gjeibon*, and the modern *Amu, Transoxana*; and the orientals called the same provinces *Mauaralnabar*, i. e. *on the other side the river* (6). This country was inhabited by the *Turks*, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the *Tartars*, and that those we generally call *Turks* have very little right to that appellation (7). On the east of *Persia* lay the empire of the *Indies*, then governed by

(6) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Art. Touran.

(7) History of the Tartars, Vol. II. p. 384.

princes

*Key-chofrau* or *Kai-khofru* succeeded peaceably to the throne *Key-chof-  
of* his grand-father, and shewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given him ; for in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition of earning bread, issuing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest ease to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having represented

princes who were natives of that country. To the south of *Persia* lay the peninsula of *Arabia*, governed by its own kings ; and on the west the territories of *Sham* or *Sebamah*, for so the *Persians* styled *Syria*, and the other dominions of the kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Nothing can be darker or more confused than the accounts we have from the *Persian* historians of the state of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us there seems some reason to doubt, whether the word *Khakhan*, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand *Tartary* by *Mirkbond*, was really heard of in those early times ; it seems more likely, that our *Persian* historian bestowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the antient historians to have reigned then in these parts, in order to familiarize the style of his history to his cotemporaries. As the country of *Touran* bordered as well as *Iran* on the *Caspian* sea, and as the last battle fought by *Apherafiab* happened in the plains of *Kbuerezm*, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains nearest at hand, in hopes of returning that way into *Touran* ; and when he found the enemy possessed of the passes near the mouth of the river *Gjsibon*, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of *Adeibayagjan*, and so round the *Caspian* sea, till he entered *Touran* on the north ; in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the *Tartar* hero *Zinjis Khan*. From the observations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that *Iran* under the reign of this monarch *Key-chofrau* contained very nearly the same extent of country and the same provinces, which are still comprehended under the empire of *Persia* ; and that whatever difference there might be, must have lain on the provinces in the west side of the empire, the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the *Persian* historians. As to the new kingdom on the *Persian* gulph erected in favour of *Fraiborz*, we shall have occasion to mention it hereafter ; in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of *Key-chofrau's* empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present *Shah's*.

the



the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of *Turquestan*. They came unanimously into this proposal, whereupon *Piran Vissch* returned into his own country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with *Key-chosrau* and his mother. The king of *Persia*, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to *Thus*, and to his uncle *Fraiborz*, and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he intrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war by invading the dominion of *Turquestan*<sup>k</sup>. At their setting out he spoke to them thus, “ You must know, “ That before my father married the princess *Franghiz* my “ mother, he had by the daughter of his friend *Piran Vissch* “ a son called *Ferud*. This young man I am informed has “ at present a command in the army of *Apherasiab*; but “ wherever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that “ wherever you find him you do him no injury, but render “ him all the honours due to so near a relation of mine”. It happened unluckily, that the *Persian* army no sooner entered the country of *Turquestan*, than *Ferud* came to reconnoitre them at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the *Persians* were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of *Thus*, who, as soon as he understood that *Ferud* was at the head of the *Turks*, ordered his forces to retire, and presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the king of *Persia*. *Ferud*, full of imprudent bravery, would not be persuaded to retire, but causing the *Turkish* horse to make a fresh attack, the *Persians* repulsed them with great slaughter, and *Ferud*, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place<sup>l</sup>. *Key-chosrau* received this news with great concern, and apprehending that *Thus* had been in some measure instrumental in his brother’s death, he sent orders to his uncle *Fraiborz* to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back *Thus* a prisoner, to answer in *Persia* for his conduct. *Fraiborz* executed the king’s commands exactly with respect to *Thus*, and then marched farther into *Turquestan*. *Apherasiab* gave the command of the great army he

<sup>k</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xiv.  
Orient. Artic. CAICHOSRAU.

<sup>l</sup> D’HERBELOT. Biblioth.

had raised to *Piran Vissch*, the most experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the *Persian* discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him, he gave *Fraiborz* and *Gudar* so much trouble, and knew so well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the *Persians* were constrained to retreat, not without very considerable loss; *Gudar*, who commanded in the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain<sup>m</sup>. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to *Gudar*, to whose valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof escaped. He also sent *Thus*, who had fully justified himself as to the death of *Ferud*, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. *Apherasiab*, perceiving that the *Persians* were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the *Kha-khan* or king of great *Tartary* and *Schangal* king of the *Indies*, and by the help of his confederates pushed the *Persian* troops so closely, that they being far inferior in number were forced to retire into the mountains of *Chorasfan*, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the best manner they could. *Key-chosrau*, informed of their distress, sent orders to *Rustan* to march with the utmost diligence to their assistance. That experienced general readily obeyed his master, and the *Persian* army that was besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no question of carrying the victory. *Rustan*, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the *Turkish* officers, and passing their advanced guards in the night, entered the *Persian* camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the most bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been seen in *Persia*. *Rustan* did wonders, he took prisoner the *Kha-khan* and *Kaimus*, one of the principal generals in the service of *Apherasiab*. In the end victory declared itself for the *Persians*, and *Apherasiab*, having lost half his army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his own dominions. Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of *Turquestan* meditated new invasions, exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for his purpose. *Key-chosrau* on the other hand set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of *Balch*, under the command of *Gudar*. Against him *Apherasiab* sent a detachment of his choicest troops under the command of *Piran Vissch* the best officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neigh-

<sup>m</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient.  
Art. CAICHOSEAV.



bourhood of each other, before an action ensued, wherein *Piran Visséh* was killed and his army beaten. When *Gudar* saw the body of *Piran Visséh* on the ground, he alighted from his horse, and remembering the courtesies that nobleman had formerly done to *Siavek*, and to *Key-chosfrau*, when a young man, he bedewed it with his tears, and took care afterwards to see it interred with all the honours due to so great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of *Persia* was informed, he highly commended his general, and spoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend<sup>n</sup>. *Apherasiab*, when informed of this new disaster, sent his son *Schidah* to command the remains of the army, which he caused to be reinforced as soon as possible. By this time *Key-chosfrau* was come in person to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea. *Schidah*, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the *Persians* with great resolution; but his success was not answerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of *Persia* surveying the field of battle, and the vast number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cried out aloud, *Khuarefmi-bud*, i. e. *I have seen my desire*; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lie, received the appellation of *Khuarezsm*, which they still retain. *Key-chosfrau* pushed on the war now with the greatest vigour, marching directly towards the capital of *Turquestan*, whither *Apherasiab* had retired; but this prince not thinking himself safe there, because the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, first sent away his *Haram*, and then retired himself. His wives and children fell a short time afterwards into the hands of *Key-chosfrau*, who treated them with all imaginable kindness and respect; *Apherasiab* wandered from province to province with a small body of troops, till being shut up in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, he was at last taken prisoner, and by the orders of *Key-chosfrau* put to death<sup>o</sup>. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhausted both empires. After it was finished *Key-chosfrau* fixed his court at *Balch*, for the conveniency of governing *Touran* as well as *Iran*; there it was, that seeing himself in full possession of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predecessors had thought of. He com-

<sup>n</sup> D'HERBELLOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra, & Artic. PIRAN-VISSEH.

<sup>o</sup> D'HERBELLOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. CAI-CHOSRAU.

puted all the levies which had been made on *Persia* for the carrying on the war against the *Turks*, and out of the mighty treasures which were fallen into his hands, he restored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He sent for his uncle *Fraiborz*, and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected several provinces on the shore of the *Persian* gulph into a kingdom, and made him sovereign thereof. He assembled the nobility of *Touran*, and having shewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of *Iran*, as they had hitherto done, he advised them to consider of ways and means for re-establishing the peace of their country, and assured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He then marked out the quarters, and settled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the state of all the provinces, reformed several abuses in religion; and when he had done all this, he said he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the rest of his days to God. With this view he introduced his successor *Lohrass*, into a grand assembly of the nobility, he put the *Tagi* on his head, and retired himself to a cell in the desert, having attained to the age of ninety years, sixty of which he had passed upon the throne <sup>p</sup>.

WHAT has been above related of the reign of *Key-chosrau* is taken from the best and most credible historians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; let us now see what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not so well be reduced into the order we have followed. With respect to the decisive battle fought against the king of *Turquestan*, some writers tell us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve *Turks* and as many *Persians* fought in the fight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally stiled *Genk duazde Rokh*, i. e. *the combat of the twelve heroes*. The terms on which this combat was fought were these; that if the *Turks* were victorious, the *Persians* should own *Apherasiab* for their lord, but in case the *Persians* were successful, then the *Turks* were to retire into their own country, and so quit all pretensions to *Iran* <sup>q</sup>. *Apherasiab* complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, say the same writers, he soon after broke the peace by sending his son with a numerous body of horse to make in-

<sup>p</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. ubi supra.

<sup>q</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra.



roads into *Persia*. In consequence of which followed the battle of *Kbuarizm*, in which they make *Apherasiab* and his brother to have been present. They add, that, after the loss of the battle, *Apherasiab*, with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the *Caspian* sea, intending to pass if possible behind it, and so through the extended territories of the *Kipjaks* into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of *Key-chosrau* surrounding the handful of troops *Apherasiab* had with him in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, so that he was at last taken prisoner and put to death<sup>r</sup>. *Mirkhond* and the writers we have followed do not say much as to the personal bravery of *Key-chosrau*, but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which separate *Irak Agemi* from *Phars*, or as we call them, *Parthia* from proper *Persia*, a monstrous serpent, which struck the people with such terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country desolate; this formidable dragon they stiled *Gavschid*. The king, being informed of this, resolved like a good prince to go immediately and destroy this monster. *Key-chosrau* hunted it for some time before he came up with it, but at last he found it in its den in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and his guards flying at the sight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the spot where this remarkable deed was done, a *Pyraeum* or fire-temple was erected, called in succeeding times *Deir Gavschid*, i. e. *the habitation of Gavschid*, renowned to this day amongst the *Persees*, and held by some to be the first fire-temple erected in *Persia*, which however we doubt, if they mean, as certainly they do, that it was erected in the reign of *Key-chosrau*<sup>r</sup>. Though some writers are silent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly of his wisdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, most acknowledge that he conversed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty for the great regard he always shewed towards religion and religious persons. During his reign flourished *Lokman* the famous philosopher of the east, called by way of surname *Lokman Al Hakim*, i. e. *Lokman the wise*. It would lead us far out of our way should we enter here too deeply into the history of this extraordinary person; we shall therefore content our-

<sup>r</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra.  
Orient. Artic. DEIR GAVSID.

<sup>r</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth.

selves with observing, that it is generally agreed he was by birth an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*, the oriental word *Habaschi* including both, his parents mean, and himself sold for a slave, and carried from one place to another, till at last he was brought into the land of *Israel*, where he lived under the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. The *Arabian* writers tell us, that sleeping in this condition during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this salutation, *Lokman*, we are the messengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath sent us to thee to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant over the whole earth. *Lokman*, after remaining silent for a small space, returned this answer: If by the absolute command of God I am to become what you say, his will must be fulfilled in all things, and I hope, if it comes to pass, that he will afford me the necessary assistance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders; but if he would give me leave to choose, I wish rather to continue in the state I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and insupportable load. This, say these authors, appeared so just in the sight of God, that he bestowed on *Lokman* such an excellent understanding, that he composed, say they, ten thousand apologues, moral maxims, and wise sayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world. A phrase implying no more than that they are highly useful as well as wonderfully sublime. They tell us also, that *Lokman* standing one day in the midst of a great number of people, who all listened greedily to his wise and pleasant discourses, a *Hebrew* of great quality, asked him, if he was not the black slave whom he had seen formerly tending the sheep: *Lokman* readily answered, I am; and how then, said the nobleman, have you attained so high a degree of virtue? Why, answered *Lokman*, by these three easy steps: I have always spoke the truth, I have constantly kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A *Persian* poet hath recorded another extraordinary instance of *Lokman*'s presence of mind; his master sent him with some other slaves to gather fruit in his garden, the rest eat the best, and when his master missed them, they roundly swore that *Lokman* eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, said *Lokman*, is easily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting, with this difference,



that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and *Lokman* nothing but the warm water. The comment of the *Persian* poet on this story is so remarkable, that the reader will doubtless be pleased to see it; “When we shall all drink  
 “ of this hot water at our trials, in the day of the last  
 “ judgment, then whatever has been concealed in the heart  
 “ and hidden far from the sight of men, shall be thrown up  
 “ in the view of all the world; and the hypocrite, who ac-  
 “ quired the reputation of a saint by his dissembling, shall  
 “ then be covered with shame and confusion of face.” What we have reported is sufficient to shew, that there is a strong resemblance between the history of *Lokman*, as reported by the eastern writers, and that of *Æsop*, as we find it written by the *Greeks*. Both were mean in their original; both slaves through the severity of fortune; both famous for their wisdom; and both delivered their maxims in the same manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which, the oriental authors say, *Lokman* lived, and those wherein the *Greeks* place *Æsop*. As to the first, it is generally allowed, that *Lokman* lived in the reign of *Solomon*, whereas *Æsop* is said to have been cotemporary with *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* and *Solon* the *Athenian* legislator. From the history of their lives, and from the comparison of their fables, there is all the reason in the world to believe, that *Lokman* and *Æsop* were the same person; the difficulty seems to lie here, whether the *Greeks* stole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the *Greeks*. It seems most natural to believe the former, since in such cases the *Greeks* are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of antient history they were able to their own advantage. Besides the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the east, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the *Greeks*; after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader’s consideration rather than his belief. The chief reason why *Lokman* is so much considered in the east is, because *Mohammed* has mentioned him in terms of respect in the *Koran*, and has affirmed, that God bestowed on him the gift of extraordinary wisdom<sup>1</sup>. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in *Arabic* and *Latin* at *Leyden*, so that *Europe* is now no stranger to the wisdom of that famous person<sup>2</sup>. But to return to *Key-chefrau*; he is reported to have been himself a

<sup>1</sup> KORAN. SOP. LOKMAN.  
 Orient. Art. LOKMAN. Note H.

<sup>2</sup> D’HERBELOT. Biblioth.

very wise and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was so little exalted by an uninterrupted series of good fortune, that he not only resigned the crown, and retired into the deserts on the skirts of the province of *Aderbayagjan*, but left also this remarkable memento to all his successors, by causing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace <sup>w</sup>. (H).

*We*

<sup>w</sup> MIRKHOND. hist. sect. xiv. D'HERBELOT. Art. CAICHOSRAU.

(H) It is very fit that we should give an account in this note what our reasons were for inserting the life of *Lokman* in the *Persian* history. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we shall acquaint him with no more than two. First, *Lokman* wrote in the *Persian* language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in *Holland* positively affirms (8). 2dly, It is from *Persian* writers that we have the best and fullest accounts of *Lokman's* life and manners, and as they constantly speak of him as cotemporary with *Key-chosrau*, the third king of their second dynasty, it was but just, that we should insert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus justified our speaking of *Lokman* here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writings in that way. It is universally agreed, that the *Apologue* was one of the most antient methods of instructing, and of consequence that it was invented in the east, where indeed all kinds of science took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than *Lokman's* days, admitting that he lived where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the sacred writings. And that this method was long, if it be not still, cultivated in the east, is a point so notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Bishop *Patrick* has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very solid, opinion in relation to the rise and decay of fable. He says, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and histories unwritten; that as these came into vogue fable declined, because truth being always preferable to falsehood, men chose rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to suppose things which might never come to pass (9). But, with the bishop's good leave, the other side of the argument may be taken, and supported with greater force; for points of history are very seldom exactly agreed on in all their circumstances, and consequently can hardly ever be similar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed representations of facts without names, may be adjusted to the utmost

(8) *Prefat. Erpen. Locm. Fabul. paraphrase on the Proverbs.*

(9) *Vid. Preface to his*

*nicety,*



*We ought not to value ourselves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, since we are no more secure of our crowns than they of their estates; that which descended from*

nicety, and consequently are able to strike with far greater vigour than any history applied. We will give an instance which will effectually support what we say. Might not *Nathan* the prophet, when he reproved *David* for taking the wife of *Uriah*, have easily bethought him of some history, which would very nearly have represented the case of that prince; but will any man say, that a lecture from history would have penetrated the soul of *David* with so lively a sorrow as *Nathan's* noble application of his parable, *Thou art the man* (10)? Fables shew us truth in an easy natural light, and the mind having thus consented to a doctrine proposed, the understanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater ease, because we do not discern the teacher. But to return to *Lokman*, his fame is so great and so universal throughout the east, that to express an high idea of any man's wisdom, they are wont to say, as the learned *Erpenius* expresses it. *Non necesse est docere Locmanum, There is no need of teaching Lokman* (11). His fables were doubtless almost without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir *John Chardin* has printed a French translation of them, which agrees exactly with the Arabic and Latin versions above referred to; we call them versions, because, as we observed before, *Lokman* wrote originally in Persian; and at this day, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, this nation is so fond of them, that they are the first things they teach their children, and spare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An instance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

*The Boy in the River.*

“ A little boy went one day into a river, and, not having learned to swim, had like to have been drowned; seeing a man at a distance he called out to him for help: the man, as soon as he saw the lad's distress, began to expostulate with him on the folly of going into a river before he had learned to swim: the boy instead of answering him, cried out, *Save me, save me, and then chide as long as you will.*”

*The Smith and his Dog.*

“ An honest smith had a dog that slept all the while his master was at work; but as soon as he left off and sat down with his companions to dinner, the dog waked, and solicited him for

(10) 2 Samuel, c. xii. (11) *Præfat. Erpen. Locman. Fab.*  
p. 7. (12) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. iii. p. 227.*

“ meat;

from several monarchs to me will descend, when I am gone, to several others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itself, and cannot at best last long?

Lohrasp, or Lohorasp, was the successor of Key-chofrau, Lohrasp. and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The

“meat; Worthless animal, said the smith, how canst thou sleep amidst the noise of hammers which shake the very earth, and yet wake at the wagging of one’s jaws, which scarce make any noise at all?”

*The Goose and the Swallow.*

“The Goose and the Swallow entered into a league of friendship, and resolved to live together. They came unluckily to a place where the fowlers were watching; the Swallow, as soon as she saw them, flew away, but the poor goose not being able to make use of her wings, was taken and killed.”

The passage in the *Al Koran*, referred to in the text, is the whole xxxi<sup>st</sup> chapter, which therefore bears the title of *Lokman*. *Mohammed* speaks in his own person at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming against irreligious persons and idolaters, such especially as despised the *Koran*, and lived in the errors of their fathers; he then makes God speak thus: “We inspired knowledge into *Lokman*, and taught him to give God thanks; he that returneth thanks to God for his graces doth good to his soul, for God hateth the ungrateful, and praise is in all places due to him. Remember, thou, that *Lokman* said to his son, O! my son, believe not that God hath equals; it is an exceeding great sin; we have commanded man to honour his father and his mother, his mother bringeth him forth with sorrow, and weaneth him at two years old; be not thou forgetful of God’s benefits; honour thy father and thy mother, for thou shalt one day be judged before God.” The rest of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of *Lokman*, and consequently shew how high this philosopher stood in the opinion of *Mohammed*. To say the truth, he was a very artful person, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of *Lokman* was too well established to be overturned by him, and therefore he very wisely represented him as one who had long ago taught the same doctrines which he now sought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to pass, that some commentators on the *Koran* have taught that *Lokman* was a prophet, though others understand what *Mohammed* says of that Sage’s having only the gift of Teaching (13).

(13) *D’Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lokman.*



authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the several princes of the first and second race, differ in no part of their accounts so much as where they speak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's ease as well as our own, we will first give, as succinctly as we can, the story of this monarch's reign, according to *Mirkbond*, and we shall afterwards set down such variations as seem of greatest importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. *Lobraſp* was either nephew to king *Keykaus* or his brother, and was the next heir male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without considerable opposition; his temper was known to be severe and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the sceptre into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was *Zal-zer* the father of *Ruſtan*; but their cabals were vain, *Lobraſp* carried it in spite of them all, and was declared king. As soon as he was seated on the throne he determined with himself to raise his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both sides thereof; in consequence of this resolution, he fixed his court at *Balch*, and took all possible methods for putting every thing in the best order in the eastern provinces of *Iran*. He sent in the mean time his general *Gudarz* with a puissant army into *Shamah* or *Syria*, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. *Gudarz* effectually answered his master's expectation; he conquered all *Syria* as far as *Damascus*, and also *Palestine*, with the famous city of *Jerusalem*, called by the *Persians* the *Habitation of the saints*. The reigning king of the *Jews* submitted and promised to pay tribute, for which he put as hostages into the hands of the *Persian* general several persons of quality, whom *Gudarz* quickly afterwards caused to be slain; this provoked the *Jews* to a rebellion, and gave *Gudarz* the opportunity he wanted of sacking *Jerusalem*, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpressible cruelty; and having loaded his soldiers with riches he retired, and carried into *Persia* with him a vast number of captives. King *Lobraſp* had two sons, the eldest called *Gushtaſp*, the younger named *Zaris*; the former was of a fierce haughty disposition, but was at the same time warlike, and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many, who were desirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion against his father, in which he had at first success, and gained over to him a very considerable party; but *Lobraſp*, having drawn together all his friends, and having also done every thing in his power to engage the people to his service, marched so briskly against his son, that *Gushtaſp*'s adherents, fear-  
ing

ing the fortune of the day in case of a battle, abandoned him by degrees, which he observing began immediately to provide for his own safety, by retiring into *Turquestan* in so distressed a condition, that he lived even at that court unknown and unsuspected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it seems a custom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to dispose of a daughter in marriage, public notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, where being disposed into the best order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple, enriched with precious stones; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and she, after walking round, and observing every body diligently, bestowed her apple and herself on the man she liked best. It happened not long after *Gushtasp's* arrival in *Turquestan*, that the king determined to marry his eldest daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before described, she, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her person to this *unknown*. The grandees of *Touran* were inexpressibly vexed at seeing themselves despised by the princess for a stranger, whom they supposed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princesses of *Touran* should have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had still two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth; these were demanded in marriage by the two sons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of *Touran* made no scruple of promising them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devastations throughout all *Touran*. The young princes, considering the difficulty of this task, had recourse to *Gushtasp*, of whose prowess they had seen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be assistant therein. *Gushtasp*, as soon as he had undertaken to serve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he also brought to the chace a small body of resolute friends. When they were assembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain castle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and to storm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition; this was immediately agreed to, and instantly carried into execution. *Gushtasp* entered the place

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first himself, and having seized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and presented them to the king. The *Turkish* monarch was prodigiously pleased with this feat of arms, and very readily made good his promise to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he caused great feasts to be celebrated, and appointed public tournaments, wherein *Gushtasp* behaved himself in such a manner that he carried the glory of the day from all who were present. The king, who had hitherto shewed him but little countenance, spoke to him on this occasion very kindly, and gave him the highest praise. *Gushtasp* took this opportunity of saying, that if he had excelled in combats that were not in earnest, he had likewise been of some use in quelling the disturbers of the public peace. This struck the king's mind, who easily comprehended the meaning, and, having diligently sought out the truth, made *Gushtasp* henceforward his favourite. It is to be observed, that after the conquest of *Touran* by *Key-chosrau*, though the people were left to live under their own laws and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of *Iran*, and to pay them a considerable tribute. *Gushtasp* persuaded his father-in-law that this was at once dishonourable and needless, and therefore advised him to throw off the yoke by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war against *Lobrasp*, in case he should dispute his independency. This *Gushtasp* did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension, that if he was ever discovered, the nobility of *Touran* in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. *Lobrasp* was exceedingly surprised at the arrival of the *Turkish* ambassador in his court; he treated him however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true source of these extraordinary proceedings. The ambassador at first thought to put him off with trivial answers, but on the king's pressing him, he acknowledged at last, that a certain stranger, who had married his master's daughter, was the true author of all this mischief. *Lobrasp* no sooner heard this, than he guessed it was his son, and immediately dispatched a messenger to enquire privately whether it was so or not; as soon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy of his was his son *Gushtasp*, he took at the same time a most strange and most generous resolution, which was to spare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old, he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing less than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful

undutiful to him, he determined to resign to him his dominions ; and in order to this he sent his younger son *Zaris* with the *Tagi*, or ensign of the royal dignity in *Persia*, to his brother in *Turquestan*. *Zaris* took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival ; *Gushtasp* went immediately to pay him a visit, and being informed of his father's resolution, accepted the *Tagi* or *Tiara*, and caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed king of *Persia*. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed, conceiving, that there was some treason against him in these proceedings, but when he found that things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed to the highest degree ; and the nobility of *Touran* came in crowds to pay their compliments to the new king of *Persia*. These ceremonies over, *Gushtasp* took leave of his father-in-law, and with his wife *Karathun* set out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue and a considerable number of camels loaded with riches. *Lohrasp* received his son with all the marks of tenderness and joy ; *Gushtasp* retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice ; at last the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of God. A short time after he died, having first sent for his son, and given him in his last moments the most salutary counsels, in respect to his own glory and the good of his people. This *Lohrasp* was surnamed *Balki*, i. e. *the Balchian*, because he resided mostly at *Balk* or *Balch*, one of the most antient cities in his dominions <sup>P</sup>.

It must be owned, that the foregoing account taken from *Mirkhond* is by no means agreeable to what other *Persian* authors have written on the same subject. In two of the most celebrated histories of this people we find it recorded, that *Lohrasp* was the grandson of *Keykobod*, and that he was opposed by the *Persian* nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as *Mirkhond* suggests, but because his father and himself had led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed, he had not the capacity of reigning ; it is also said that he was the first *Persian* monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed

<sup>P</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. xv.

T 2

round



round about, reserving to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his footstool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade *Syria* and *Palestine* was *Raham*, and that he was surnamed by the *Persians* *Bakhtalnassar*, from whence the *Hebrews* framed the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Greeks* *Nebuchadonosor*. We have also on the same authority the history of *Gushtasp's* flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of *Persia*; but we are likewise told what little agrees with *Mirkhond's* history, that *Lohrassp*, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of *Balch* by *Arjasp*, nephew of *Apherasiab* the famous *Turkish* monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of *Persia* to be put to death, after he had reigned 120 years <sup>1</sup>(I). *Khendemir*, the famous *Persian* historian, differs not only from *Mirkhond*, but the writers last cited; he says, that *Lohrassp* was the son of *Keykaus's* brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtue;

<sup>1</sup> LEBTARIK. TARIK. MONTEKEB.

(I) We have already spoken of *Mirkhond* from whom the greatest part of our history is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a short account of the two histories, mentioned in the text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in some measure of the credit due to each. *Tarikh Montekheb* is the *Turkish* name of a translation of a *Persian* history, stiled in that language *Tarikh Khodzideh*, i. e. *the chosen chronicle*, written originally in *Persian* verse, and afterwards reduced into prose by its author *Hamdallah Ben Abibekr Ben Ahmed Ben Nasser Al Maslousi al Cazvini*, i. e. *native of the city of Casbin*. It contains a general history from the creation to A. H. 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of *Lebtarik* is properly called *Lobb Al Taovarikh*, i. e. *the marrow of histories*; it was written, in the *Persian* language, by *Jabia Ben Abdallathif Al Cazvini*; it is divided into four books; the first containing the life of *Mohammed* and the twelve *Imams*; the second the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of *Mohammedism*; the third the history of the reigning family in *Persia*; the fourth an universal history of the dynasties prior to *Mohammed*: it comes down to A. H. 948, the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

(14) D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Tarikh. Khodzideh. (15) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lobb. Al. Taoverikh.

according

according to him it was *Gudarz* who conquered *Palestine*, and was surnamed by the *Persians* *Bakht-Nassar* ; which surname has occasioned such confusion among the *Hebrew* and *Greek* writers. As to the flight of *Gushtasp*, this writer says, that he retired to the court of a certain *Greek* prince, where he married the king's eldest daughter, called by him *Kenaioum*, and who, as he tells the story, presented him publicly with an orange, which is plainly substituted for the golden apple. Instead of the two rebellious lords he speaks of two terrible monsters, that this *Grecian* prince, whoever he was, insisted should be killed by those who pretended to the young princesses who were still unmarried.

THE first of these was a furious serpent, which had its den in a wood so very thick, that it was thought almost impossible to penetrate it, in order to combat this destructive animal : the other was a lion prodigiously fierce, which traversed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind or cattle. Two of the chief princes of *Greece*, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whose court *Gushtasp* lived, were quite abashed at these proposals, despairing of the conquest of the monsters, and consequently of the princesses. However, they informed *Gushtasp* of the answer the king had given them. *Gushtasp* readily offered them his assistance, and accordingly attacked the monsters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of these extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two *Greek* princes, which procured for them the wives they desired. Some time after this, *Gushtasp* growing a little into the king's favour, that prince asked him one day how he passed his time ; *Gushtasp* answered that he sometimes went a hunting, and that lately, as he was taking that diversion, he killed two extraordinary creatures ; the king immediately understood what he meant, and, having caused the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found that *Gushtasp* had slain the monsters, upon which he immediately made him his chief minister as well as favourite ; and at his persuasion refused to pay the king of *Persia* that tribute which he was wont to send him yearly, and also to declare war against him. *Lohrassp* being informed of this immediately conceived it was his son who had influenced this king to such bold proceedings, and therefore, instead of providing for the war, he sent his younger son with the tiara, or royal diadem of *Persia*, to *Gushtasp* as a pledge of his friendship, and a certain sign that he intended him for his successor. On his return to his father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet



meet him, kissed his feet according to the *Persian* custom in submitting to a sovereign ; and, after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands ; after which he retired from the world to lead a recluse life at *Balch*, where he was killed. The prophets *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Esdra*s, were his cotemporaries<sup>r</sup>. If we may believe the eloquent author of the *Shah Nameh*, or *Royal Chronicle*, *Balch*, at the time *Lohrasp* resigned the kingdom to his son *Gushtasp*, was esteemed by the *Persians* as the *Holy City*, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthiest of their esteem, as *Mecca* is now by the *Mohammedans* ; on this account therefore, *Lohrasp* made it the place of his abode, where laying aside his royal robes he put on the habit of a priest, applying himself wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predecessor *Gjemschid* for the space of thirty years till he was slain, as will be hereafter related in a cloister of his own building which he called *Nau-bahar*, i. e. *the new spring*<sup>t</sup>.

*Gushtasp* or *Kischtas*p, the son of *Lohrasp*, succeeded his father with general applause ; he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of mind. He leaving *Balch* to his father, went to reside at the antient metropolis of the kingdom *Istachr*, i. e. *cut out of the rock*, which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years ; at the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared, that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way ; this person was the *Zoroastres* of the *Greeks*, and the *Zerdusht* of the *Persians*. But as the history of this famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of *Gushtasp*, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

<sup>r</sup> KHONDEMIR. in *Khelassat*. Al Akbar. <sup>t</sup> PHIRDAUSI in *Shah Nameh*. Hyde. *Relig. veter- Persar*. c. xxiii. p. 302.

*The Life of Zoroastres, Zoroaster, or Zerdusht: extracted as well from Greek and Latin, as Oriental historians.*

IF to be famous after death can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, or philosopher, must needs receive high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused throughout the whole learned world, and subsisted even to latest ages. The *Greeks*, who were very inquisitive after the inventors of science, amongst the nations whom they stile *Barbarians*, and from whom notwithstanding they drew all the learning they had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning *Zoroastres*, that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. *Arnobius* is thought to have reduced them to four, but such is the misfortune of all who have written about *Zoroaster*, that the sense of this very passage is disputed, some affirming, that *Arnobius* speaks but of three *Zoroasters*, others, that he mentions only two (K).

However,

(K) In the text we have mentioned a passage from *Arnobius*, which has been very differently understood. This *Arnobius* was a rhetorician, and the master of the famous *Lactantius*; being converted to the christian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory style against the *Gentiles*, wherein there are many things contained of high use in respect to the history of learning among the antients; for tho', as a christian, he wrote but indifferently, these books being composed soon after his conversion, and before he was well instructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning he was a great proficient therein; and his authority in such a case as this, must have consequently considerable weight. The passage, which has been so differently interpreted, runs thus; *Age nunc veniet quis super igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori: Bactrianus & ille conveniet cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo; Armenius Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilius Cyri* (16). *Patricius*, the famous collector of the *Zoroastrian* oracles (17), *Gabriel Naude*, a man of distinguished learning (18), and *Kircher*, who well understood these things (19), believe, that *Arnobius* mentions here four *Zoroasters*, the first a *Chaldean*; the second a *Bactrian*; the third a *Pamphylian*; the fourth an *Armenian*. *Salmasius* will needs have the text read thus (20):

(16) *Declam. cont. Gentes.*

(17) *Comm. sup. Orac. Zoroast.*

(18) *Apolog. pour les Grand Hommes, &c.* (19) *Obel. Pamphil.*

(20) *Exercitat. Plin.*



However, four was certainly not too large a number; since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak

*Age nunc veniat quæso per igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo & assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiaram exponit in primo, Armenius, Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri.* It is evident by these alterations, that *Salmasius* has got rid of one *Zoroaster*, though one would think he has introduced another; since of the the three *Zoroasters* which he admits to be spoken of in this passage, the first is said to be an *Ethiopian*, or one coming from a country near the torrid Zone, for so *Salmasius* expounds *per igneam Zonam & ab interiore orbe*, which *Ethiopian* or *Libyan Zoroaster* *Hermippus* makes a *Bactrian*; the second *Armenius*, nephew of *Hostanes*, of whose actions *Ctesias* gives us an account in the first book of his history; the third named *Pamphilus*, friend to *Cyrus*. *Ursinus*, from the same words, is positive, that *Arnobius* mentions but two, exploding the *Bactrian Zoroaster* of *Hermippus*, and shewing from *Ctesias* that *Zoroaster* was not so antient as *Eudoxus* fancied, but that he lived in the time of *Cyrus* (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the *Zoroaster* of the *Greeks*; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this *Persian* history we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these; first, in order to gain any credit for the history of *Zerdusht*, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the *Greeks*; and to do this, the best and shortest method was to shew what the *Greeks* had said, and what from their writings the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which we presume to say is very little or nothing. *zaly*, We thought it necessary to shew the reader, that in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the antients in relation to *Zoroaster*, who by the way is called by a greater variety of *Greek* names, than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we have shewn, the orthography of this name is far from being settled; I say, we thought it convenient to shew, that several *Zoroasters* have been supposed, in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours bestowed on the true *Zoroaster* may be reduced to two, the *Chaldean* and the *Persian*, and the very ingenious *Mr. Stanley* has, with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly, our history of *Zerdusht* will set this matter in its true light, by shewing, that there is in reality but one *Zoroaster*. If it be enquired, how the *Chaldean* magi came to derive themselves and their doctrines from this *Persian*; and how this is to be reconciled to that chrono-

speak as succinctly as we can ; the first is thought to have been a *Chaldean*, *Suidas* calls him an *Affyrian*, and says also, that he was struck dead by fire from heaven <sup>c</sup>. It is very probable, that this is the same *Zoroaster* spoken of by *Dion Chrysostom*, and said to have appeared in fire <sup>u</sup>. The second was a *Bactrian* and a king, whom *Justin* and the authors who follow him make cotemporary with *Ninus* the *Affyrian*, by whom he was vanquished in battle and slain <sup>z</sup>. He is reputed to have been the inventer of magic, and is said by *Arnobius* to have contested with *Ninus*, not only with steel and strength, but by magical force and the occult sciences of the *Chaldeans* <sup>v</sup>. The third was a *Persian*, as *Laertius* informs us <sup>z</sup>. *Clemens Alexandrinus* styles him a *Mede* <sup>a</sup>, *Suidas* a *Perfo-mede* <sup>b</sup> ; but they all speak darkly and ambiguously. The fourth was a *Pamphylian*, commonly called *Er*, or *Erus Armenius* : concerning this *Zoroaster* *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes *Plato*, affirming that he began a book thus : “ This wrote I *Zoro-*  
“ *after Armenius*, by descent a *Pamphylian*, dying in war,

<sup>c</sup> Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. <sup>u</sup> Orat. Boristh. <sup>z</sup> lib. i. <sup>v</sup> Decl. contra. Gent. <sup>z</sup> LAERT. in Proœm. <sup>a</sup> CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. i. <sup>b</sup> In vocibus Μαργος Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστρης.

logy, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and sets the *Chaldean Zoroaster* far higher. We shall answer, that in the first place we are not accountable for the mistakes of others, the *Greek* writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him ; for, as Mr. *Stanley* justly observes, “ the same name it is, “ which some call *Zabratis*, others *Nazaratas*, others *Zares*, others “ *Zaran*, others *Zaradas* ; all which are but several corruptions “ from the *Chaldee* or *Persian* word, which the *Greeks* most gene- “ rally render *Zoroaster* (22)”. What certainty can be expected from such writers ? But then, secondly, lest this should seem an evasive answer, we alledge, that *Zoroaster* was not the institutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we shall shortly prove at large ; and this, as we conceive, occasioned the great confusion about *Zoroaster* ; it was a received opinion, that he was the founder of magism ; it was easily discoverable, that magism was as antient as the days of *Abraham*, and that it was the religion of *Chaldea* ; it was natural enough therefore, for such as looked upon *Zoroaster* to be the institutor of the magian doctrines, to say with assurance, that he lived in these times, but then ; discovering from the *Persian* records at what time he truly lived, they chose, rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two *Zoroasters* ; the first a *Chaldean* or *Affyrian*, cotemporary with *Ninus* ; the second a *Persian*, flourishing in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*.



" and being in *Hades*, I learned of the gods". He is reported by the same author to have risen again after being ten days dead, and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space<sup>c</sup>. The fifth was a native of *Proconnesus*, mentioned by *Pliny* <sup>d</sup>. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with *Aristæus* the *Proconnesian*, mentioned by *Suidas* to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased<sup>e</sup>. The sixth lived at *Babylon* at the time *Pythagoras* was carried thither by *Cambyfes*, as we are told by *Apuleius* <sup>f</sup>. As the *Greeks* made several *Zoroasters*, so they placed them in different ages of the world; *Justin* makes him thirteen hundred years older than *Sardanapalus* <sup>g</sup>. *Eudoxus*, cited by *Pliny*, places him six thousand years before the death of *Plato* <sup>h</sup>. *Plutarch* makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of *Troy* <sup>i</sup>. Some authors, mentioned by *Suidas*, fix him at 500 years before the *Trojan* war <sup>k</sup>. *Apuleius* <sup>l</sup>, *Jamblicus* <sup>m</sup>, *Porphyry* <sup>n</sup>, *Clemens Alexandrinus* <sup>o</sup>, and *Agathius* <sup>p</sup>, place him, where he ought to be placed, about the time of *Cyrus*; and *Pliny*, discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little before *Xerxes* <sup>q</sup>. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours. *Plato* <sup>r</sup>, *Aristotle* <sup>s</sup>, *Plutarch* <sup>t</sup>, and *Porphyry* <sup>u</sup>, acknowledge him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. *Pliny* tells us, that he laughed the same day he was born, that his brains beat so hard that they lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a presage of his future sagacity; he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deserts 20 years, upon cheese so mixed that it did not grow stale <sup>x</sup>. *Solinus* draws his character in few words; He was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus, in the best arts skilful* <sup>y</sup>. *Apuleius* styles him *omnis divini arcani antistes, the chief doctor in all divine mysteries*, and adds, that he was the preceptor of *Pythagoras* <sup>z</sup>. *Agathius* tells us he lived under *Hystaspes*, and that he was the author of magism among the *Persians*, changing their old religion and introducing new

<sup>c</sup> PLATO. Polit. lib. x.<sup>d</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. &

l. vii c. 16.

<sup>e</sup> Sub voce Ἀρίστων.<sup>f</sup> Florid. ii.<sup>g</sup> Ubi supra.<sup>h</sup> Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.<sup>i</sup> De Iside

&amp; Osiride.

<sup>k</sup> Sub voce Ζωροάστρης.<sup>l</sup> Florid. ii.<sup>m</sup> In vit.*Pythag.*<sup>n</sup> In vita Pythagoræ.

• Stromat. l. v.

<sup>p</sup> Hist.

lib. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Ubi supra.<sup>r</sup> In Alcibiade. 1.<sup>s</sup> In libro de

Magia citante Laertio in Proem.

<sup>t</sup> De Iside & Osiride.<sup>u</sup> In vita Pythagoræ.<sup>x</sup> Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.<sup>y</sup> Cap.

1.

<sup>z</sup> Florid. ii.

opinions <sup>a</sup>. *Dion Chrysostom* says more of him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered he had from the *Persians* themselves, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew <sup>b</sup>. *Ctesias*, an author universally condemned, was in all probability more in the right about *Zoroaster* than those who have answered him, since we know from *Arnobius*, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and spent the first book of six, which he wrote on *Persian* affairs, in delivering his history <sup>c</sup>; the sum and conclusion of all we have hitherto said is this, that, except *Ctesias* and *Dion Chrysostom*, all the antients, who have written concerning *Zoroaster*, knew little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wise man, and the principal of the magi; in respect to which *Eusebius* indeed says, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, seems to have contained the chief doctrines of the *Persian* religion <sup>d</sup>.

THE oriental writers are somewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call *Zerduſht*, *Zaradusht*, *Zaratusht*, and *Zard-husht*, for they, generally speaking, acknowledge, that he flourished in the reign of *Gushtasp*. The author of *Lebtarikh* indeed says, that some old writers confound him with *Dohak* or *Zohak*, one of the *Pischedadian* princes <sup>e</sup>; but all the *Persian* historians, who are to be supposed best acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, speak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer, of the magian religion, which, they say, he performed by the assistance of *Gushtasp* (L). With respect to his family, the common opinion

<sup>a</sup> Hist. lib. 2. <sup>b</sup> Orat. *Boristhen*. <sup>c</sup> Contr. Gentes. <sup>d</sup> Præpar. Evangel. <sup>e</sup> D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. *Zerduſcht*.

(L) Some *Arabian* writers have endeavoured to insinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worshippers is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit, that magism began very early, nay, even before the time of *Abraham*; certain it is, that the oldest book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus speaks *Job* in his protestation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. "If I beheld  
"the sun when it shined, or the moon, walking in brightness: and  
"my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed  
"my hand: this also were an iniquity cognizable by the judge: for  
"I should have denied the God who is above (2)". Nothing can

(2) *Job*. xxxi. 26.



opinion of the *Persian* and *Arabic* writers is, that he either was a *Jew*, or went very early into *Judaea*, where he received his

be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this heresy was as old as the *Persians* make it, who affirm, that *Keyomaras*, their first king, was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themselves *Keyomarsians*, or *Keyomartbites*. But the point they chiefly laboured in respect to antiquity was the persuading themselves and others, that their religion was the religion of *Abraham*. It would be no difficult matters to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also touched elsewhere ; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical enquiries, we choose to insert here some extracts from a celebrated *Arabian* history of the religions of the east, rather than to amuse our readers with conjectures of our own. “ The *Persian* kings in general, says this writer, adhered to the religion of *Abraham*, and their subjects were always of the religion of their prince ; there was likewise a chief or high-priest, reputed the wisest of wise men, from whose mandate there was no appeal, and whose sentence was never reversed, the same reverence being shewn to them as we heretofore shewed unto our caliphs”. A little after he says, “ The peculiar doctrine of the magi was the duality of the spiritual nature, which they affirmed to be good and evil, virtuous and wicked, benevolent and destructive ; these natures they distinguished, by calling the one light and the other darkness, or rather in their own terms *Yezdan* and *Abreman*. Hence it came to pass, that their whole religion, and all the questions of the magi, turned on these two points, the explication of light being mixed with darkness, and of light freeing itself from darkness”. Some pages farther the same author speaks thus : “ Though the magi affirm these two principles, yet the most antient of them did not think themselves under a necessity of affirming that both existed from eternity ; on the contrary, they held only light itself existent, and that darkness was produced ; but in accounting for this they were sometimes at a loss : however, they constantly asserted, that they received these doctrines from wise men and prophets among their ancestors, first, from *Keyomaras* ; secondly, from *Zervan* the Great ; thirdly, from another prophet whose name was *Zerdusht*. The *Keyomartbites* insist, that *Keyomaras* is the same with *Adam*, wherein they agree with some *Indian* and *Persian* chronologers ; yet they are contradicted by others skilful in that art. The *Keyomartbites* also affirm, that their great master established the opinion of two spiritual beings *Yezdan* and *Abreman*, acknowledging the former to be eternal and self-existent, and owning the latter to be produced and created, and that after this manner : *Yezdan*, i. e. God, said in himself, Unless I am opposed, how shall it be ? i. e. how shall my glory arise ? which thought

his education, under one of the prophets with whom he lived as a servant, and, emulous of his glory, set up for a prophet afterwards himself <sup>f</sup>. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; some say *Elias*, others *Ezra*, and some again one of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. Doctor *Prideaux* thinks *Elias* was too early, and *Ezra* too late, he therefore fixes upon *Daniel* <sup>g</sup>. Dr. *Hyde* inclines to *Ezra* <sup>h</sup>. How true the whole of the story is, is hard to say, since the *Mohammedans* are all great enemies to *Zerdusht*, and if we take a part of their evidence we ought to take the whole, and then it will stand thus; he quitted the service of the *Hebrew* prophet, because having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed; if so, then *Zerdusht* must have been the same with *Gebazi*, the servant, not of *Elias*, but *Elisha*, and consequently the credibility of the whole tale will be destroyed. The *Persees* in *India* pretend, that *Zerdusht* was originally a *Chinese*, that his father's name was *Espintaman*, and his mother's *Dodo*; but in this they are mistaken; for as to his genealogy we are not at all at a loss, since it is thus set down in the book *Sadder*; *Zaratasht* was the son of *Purthasp*, who was the son of *Piterasp*, the son of *Hitcherasp*, the son of *Thechshuneshch*, the son of *Espintaman* <sup>i</sup>; hence *Zerdusht*, being frequently called the son of *Espintaman*, the *Persees* in *India* mistook him for his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote ancestor. He first took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which was always the residence of the fire-priests, as we have already shewn. *Khondemir* gives us this account of his turning prophet; he says, that *Zerdusht*, from his great skill in astrology, discovered, that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to *Moses*, whose voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he must needs be that prophet; upon this, retiring into a cave and revolving these things in

<sup>f</sup> ABU MOHAMMED MUSTAPHA in vita Gushtasp. ap. HYDE, R. V. P. p. 313. MEGJDI in Zinato L'Magjalis. ap. HYDE, p. 315. <sup>g</sup> Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 331. <sup>h</sup> Relig. V. P. c. xxiv. p. 314. <sup>i</sup> HYDE. R. V. P. p. 312.

“ thought produced darkness which is opposite to light, and then  
 “ began the controversy which has since subsisted between them (3)”.  
 We are informed by the same author, that *Zerdusht* himself owned *Keyomaras* to have instituted that religion he came to reform, so that it may pass for a point tolerably well established, that the religion of the *Persians* is as antient as their monarchy.

(3) *Sharistani* ap. *Hyde Rel. vet. Persar.* c. xxii p. 294.

his



his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who conversing with him out of the midst of the fire, *Zerduſht* no longer doubted, that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called *Zend*, and having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples \*. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer says; but we presume his notion of the devil's appearing in the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to *Zerduſht*, is a stroke of *Mohammedan* zeal, and not much to be depended on. That *Zerduſht* really retired into a cave, and there studied, and composed his *Zende-aveſtâ*, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, embellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a spirit of imposture, is what we dare not assert, since his doctrine, if we except his permission of incest, which, however, is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of *Satan*; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the *Persians*, and even for *Darius Hystaspes* the patron of *Zerduſht*, and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, insinuating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed, *Zerduſht* made it his business to fix beyond dispute (M). How long he remained

\* D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerduscht.

(M) We have already given our reasons for deferring our thoughts on the chronology of the *Persian* history, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the last monarch of the *Persian* nation. But this hinders not our applying the prophecies recorded in the sacred scriptures, relating to the *Persian* kingdom, and therefore, for the sake of clearing the memory of *Zerduſht*, we shall in this note shew, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to *Cyrus*, as of and to a prince acquainted with him the true God, and never reproaches either him or his people with idolatry; thus the prophet *Isaiab*, having with wonderful eloquence displayed the power of God, and assured his countrymen, that after all their sufferings, which their  
sins

remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we are told indeed, that he brought twelve

sins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raise up a deliverer for them, which was *Cyrus* king of *Persia*; this, saith the prophet, is the God, that “saith to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be inhabited; and to the cities “of *Judah*, Ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed “places thereof. That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry “up thy rivers. That saith of *Cyrus*, *He is my shepherd*, and “shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt “be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid. Thus “saith the Lord to his anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose right-hand I have “holden, to subdue nations before him: and I will loose the loins “of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the “gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the “crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, “and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the “treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that “thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, “am the God of *Israel*. For *Jacob* my servant’s sake, and *Israel* “mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name, I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me (4).” This remarkable prophecy, which does so much honour to *Cyrus*, was spoken of him a hundred years before he was born, and surely, if language can prove any thing, the style of this prophecy will be sufficient to shew that *Cyrus* was no idolater. We are very well aware, that there is an expression at the close of what *Isaiab* says of this glorious monarch, which has been construed in this sense; but we can easily, and, at the same time, fully prove, that it ought not so to be understood; the expression is this, *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me*; the meaning of which, we say, is this; that God gave him the title of his shepherd and his anointed, and actually employed him as the minister of his will, before *Cyrus* knew any thing of the matter; but how does this shew, that he was an idolater, or that he worshipped not the true God, though he was unacquainted with the Jewish dispensation, and knew not that God by the name of *Jehovah*? After the taking of *Babylon* *Daniel* certainly explained all these prophecies to *Cyrus*, and shewed him, that while he believed himself acting only in consequence of the schemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what God had told of him; in all which he was furthered and assisted by the divine power, particularly in his amazing stratagem for taking *Babylon*, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, *Isaiab* had distinctly foretold, making the Almighty speak thus: *That saith to the deep, Be dry, And I will dry up thy rivers*. As soon as *Cyrus* was acquainted with these

(4) *Isaiab* xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6.



twelve volumes to *Gushtasp*, each of which contained a hundred skins of vellum ; but this will be the less wondered at, if

prophecies, he readily testified his obedience to *Jehovah*, and his sincere belief that he was the only true God, as appears by his edict for restoring the *Jews*, which begins with these remarkable words ; “ Thus saith *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, *Jehovah*, God of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at *Jerusalem*, which is in *Judab*. Who is there among ye of all his people his God be with him, and let him go up to *Jerusalem*, which is in *Judab*, and build the house of *Jehovah*, God of *Israel*, he is the God which is in *Jerusalem* (5). We suppose there needs no commentary to prove, that *Cyrus* was now acquainted with *Jehovah*, and was convinced, that *Jehovah*, who revealed himself to the *Hebrews*, was the only true God, or, as *Cyrus* himself styles him, God of heaven. The very king, of whose reign we are now speaking, viz. *Gushtasp*, knew all this as well as *Cyrus*, for in his decree, relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, we find these words ; “ That which they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oyl, according to the appointment of the priests which are at *Jerusalem* ; let it be given them day by day without fail, that they may offer sacrifices grateful unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons (6)”. But the close of this decree is yet stronger : “ God, who hath caused his name to dwell there, i. e. at *Jerusalem*, destroy all kings and people that shall put to their hand, to alter or to destroy this house of God at *Jerusalem*. I *Darius* have made a decree, let it be done with speed (7)”. But let us return a little to *Isaiah*, and mark what God says of himself, after the long description given by him of the power and empire of *Cyrus*. “ I am *Jehovah*, and none else ; there is no God besides me : I girded thee, i. e. *Cyrus*, though thou hast not known me, i. e. by my name *Jehovah*, that they may know from the rising of the sun and from the west, that there is none besides me ; I am *Jehovah*, and none else ; I form the light, and create darkness : I make peace, and create evil : I, *Jehovah*, do all these (8).” It is most evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the *Magian* religion in respect to light and darkness, and the powers presiding over them. That *Zerdusht* rectified these errors, and expressly taught what is declared in the text, that there was one self-existent being, author of light and of darkness, of good and of evil, is acknowledged by antient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of *Zerdusht*, nay by dean *Prideaux* himself, who yet loads

(5) Ezra i. 2. (6) Ezra vi. 9. (7) Ezra vi. 12. (8) Isaiah xlv. 5, 6, 7.

If we consider, that the antient *Persian* character took up a great deal of room, and *Zoroaster* did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but also his own history, and the

him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of *Impostor* (9). *Impostor* in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to restrain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that, instead of such mean notions of the Deity, they ought to look up to the first, and most glorious creature within their ken, *i. e.* the sun, and before him, as the witness of his Maker, and the expressive symbol of his omniscience, testify their gratitude, thankfulness, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and Ruler of all things, resolving with themselves to make a right use of his blessings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt, to their neighbours; till in his own due time God should instruct them farther, by the mission of the *Great Prophet* who was to come, concerning whom *Zerdusht* as well as *Moses* spoke; surely these are no signs of imposture. If it should be asked, How comes it then to pass that the *Persees* have not acknowledged Christ? we may answer by asking another question; Why, have not the *Jews* acknowledged him? These are secrets which God hath reserved to himself, teaching us, however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the conversion of both, and of all the nations of the earth, not by the sword, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as such put into the hands of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, and *Cyrus*, but by milder methods, expressive of the christian spirit, by reasoning calmly, and by living piously. It may be justly said, that the greatest impediment to this best of all works, is the laziness of christians, their neglecting to study the grounds of their own religion, and the sources of those errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their seeing the truth of the gospel. Many learned *Jews* have been converted, nay, and are daily converted in *Germany*, not by the antichristian proceedings of an inquisition, but by proving to them, that, according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Messiah is come, and consequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the same thing be done with respect to these *Persees*? Would they not be sooner invited to christianity, if we should study and explain the writings of *Zerdusht*, with impartiality at least, if not with respect: we say, Would they not be sooner invited by this method, to consider the arguments in favour of the gospel, than by calling him whom they esteem a prophet an impostor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty? But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuse, except its subject.

(9) *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, Vol. I. p. 303.



rudiments of most sciences therein, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when we come to speak particularly of that book and of its contents. In the mean time, we need not wonder, that he retired so long from the world, or chose a cave for his abode, since works of this nature require silence and composure. The antient prophets resided much in *deserts*, that is, in *unfrequented places*. *Epiëtetus* and other philosophers had their cells, whither they retired to avoid the noise and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but *Zoroaster's* cave is made the strong proof of his being an impostor; nay, it is said, that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impostors, particularly his scholar *Pythagoras*, who, as *Iamblichus* informs us, had his cave as well as *Zoroaster*. Nay, *Mohammed* borrowed this notion too from *Zerduſht*, and wrote his *Koran* in imitation of the *Zend-aveſta*. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this; every institutor of a new religion, at least that we have ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his disciples; *Moses* did this; *Zerduſht* did this; and *Mohammed* did this; does it follow, that *Mohammed* had in view *Zerduſht* rather than *Moses*, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of *Zerduſht* than of the antient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already shewn, that his retirement to a cave was natural and reasonable; in the next note we shall prove, that, as far as we know any thing of it, there is no just ground to suspect, that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the instructing of mankind may be esteemed so. This we do not say out of any prejudice in favour of *Zerduſht*, arising from the pains we have taken in compiling his history, but because we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expence of truth. If we err, it shall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any bias of our inclinations; we therefore make no question, but even such as differ from us in sentiment will be satisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they censure our opinions (N).

As

\* Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 312.

(N) There cannot be a more difficult task assigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make sense of what *Greek* authors have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; sometimes they speak truth

As our design in this section is to follow the oriental historians, we think it necessary to insert here what is delivered by

truth and are not believed; at other times they tell the most arrant falsties with such an air of knowledge, that such as are not acquainted with these matters readily take for granted all they say; the *Latins* copy, generally speaking, after the *Greeks*, and therefore are as little to be depended upon as their masters, or rather less; sometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which destroy in a line or two all the romantic stories that are told us elsewhere. For example, *Porphry* has quoted an oracle, which, he says, was pronounced at *Delpbos*, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

*Chaldees and Jews are wise in worshipping  
A Self-begotten God, of all things King.*

These *Chaldees* were the *Magi*, which we can easily prove from another learned writer, viz. *Laertius*, who speaks thus (10): It is said, that philosophy had its original from the *Barbarians*, since among the *Persians* were the *Magi*; among the *Babylonians* or *Assyrians* the *Chaldeans*; among the *Indians* the *Gymnosophists*, and among the *Celtes* the *Druids*. For this *Laertius* quotes *Aristotle*; nay, *Porphry* himself had the highest esteem for the *Magi*, since he describes them thus; *Among the Persians those wise persons who were employed about the divinity, and served him, were called Magi*; *Laertius*, on the authority of *Aristotle*, or the author of the treatise of *Magic*, speaks of the manner in which they lived; *They refrain*, says he, *from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are mostly white; their beds the ground; their food nothing but herbs, cheese, and bread; their chief employment is praying to God, and exhorting men to live uprightly.* *Dion Chrysostom*, the most polite writer among the *Greeks*, corrects the errors of his countrymen with respect to these *magi*, in these words: "The *Persians* called "those *magi* who were employed in the service of the gods; but "the *Greeks*, being ignorant of the meaning of that word, apply "it to such as are skilled in magic, a science unknown to the *Persian* sages (11)." These *magi* were not only the scholars, but the masters, of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; they flourished long before his time, and he doubtless acquired the rudiments of that knowledge, which he afterwards so much improved, from them. *Dion Chrysostom* has very happily set down what from good authorities he learned in relation to *Zoroaster*. "It is reported, says that admirable writer, that through love of wisdom and justice, he, "i. e. *Zoroaster*, withdrew himself from men, and lived alone in "a certain mountain; that afterwards leaving the mountain, a great

(10) In *Proœm. Hist. Dogm. & Vit. Philosoph. Beristhen.*

(11) *Orat.*



by the *Persian* historians, relating to the appearance of *Zerduſt*, when he first took upon him the character of a prophet,

“ great fire descending from above, continually burned about him.  
 “ Upon this the king, with the prime nobility of *Persia*, came  
 “ and prayed with him to God. That he was unhurt by the fire,  
 “ delivered himself in terms which discovered more than human  
 “ wisdom, exhorting the people to be chearful, and to offer cer-  
 “ tain sacrifices, as if God had come with him to that place;  
 “ thenceforward he conversed not with all men, but with such on-  
 “ ly as were most addicted to truth, and by reason of their studies  
 “ more capable of the knowledge of the gods, whom the *Persians*  
 “ style *magi* (12).” Having thus learned from an unbiassed au-  
 thor, what it was that led *Zoroaster* to mountains and deserts, let  
 us next see, what we can discover as to his employment in his  
 cave. But before we proceed to quote authorities on this head,  
 let us observe, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto  
 had of the *magi*, they were very indifferently fitted to act in sub-  
 serviency to an impostor, such as *Zerduſt* has been reported; for  
 they were spiritual people, who sought not power and wealth, but  
 wisdom and truth; they resembled rather the baptist in his coarse  
 cloathing and simple diet, than those who are to be seen in the  
 courts of king, prostituting religion to private ends, and unwor-  
 thily taking the name of God in vain, to gratify the pride of mor-  
 tals. In our account of the *Persian* religion, we have given *Zer-  
 duſt*’s rules for the clergy of all ranks, and from thence it evident-  
 ly appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the con-  
 sciences of men for the aggrandizing the priesthood, which among  
 the *Persians* was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his priests  
 superior to other men, by the single method whereby one man can  
 excel another, *viz.* through purity of morals and improvement of  
 the understanding (13). Such a scheme as this needed neither con-  
 juring nor fanaticism to recommend it, and therefore, *prima facie*,  
 it should seem, that a man of *Zerduſt*’s character retired to a  
 cave, for the sake of privacy and silence, and not to raise devils  
 or coin lying fictions; these are fit works for illiterate and ambi-  
 tious men, such as *Mohammed* was, but not for *Zerduſt*. It so  
 happens, however, that we have some proof of this great man’s  
 employment in his cell: *Porphyry* tells us, “ that *Zoroaster*, first  
 “ among the *Persians*, did consecrate a natural cave in the moun-  
 “ tains in honour of *Mithra*, the king and father of all, signifying  
 “ by this cave the world framed by *Mithra*; by the other things  
 “ disposed within it in fit distances, the elements and quarters of  
 “ the world (14).” The very learned *Celsus*, as we find him  
 quoted by *Origen*, gives us also an account of these caves in these  
 words,

(12) *Ubi supra.*(13) *Universal History, Vol. IV. p 514.*

(H) &amp; seq.

(14) *In Antr. Nymphar.*

phet, and demanded from *Gushtasp* and his subjects the obedience due to a *Messenger* from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a *Persee*, from the authentic memoirs of antient times, preserved by the judicious *Dr. Hyde*, the substance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtless it stands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it and other things. However, the fabulous history of the *Persians* is at least as well worth knowing as the conjectures

words, "The *Persians*, says he, in their *Mithrian* rites, represent " symbolically the two-fold motion of the stars, *viz.* of those " stiled fixed, and of the planets, and the passage of the soul through " them. To demonstrate this, they set up a ladder, on the ascent of which there were seven gates with the eighth at the very top; the first of lead; the second of tin; the third of brass; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed mass; the sixth of silver; and the seventh of gold. They attributed the first to *Saturn*, the slowness of that planet's motion being intimated by the lead; the second to *Venus*, on account of the softness and brightness of tin; the third being of brass, than which nothing is more solid or durable, to *Jupiter*; the fourth to *Mercury*, because, like iron, he is suited to all sorts of labours, from whence profit may be drawn; the fifth, because of its mixture, variability, and irregularity, to *Mars*; the sixth to the moon, and the seventh to the sun, because of the likeness in their colour to silver and gold (15)." Here is a great deal of philosophy, but no witchcraft or enthusiasm in these representations; and if *Zoroaster* be condemned, either as a magician or an impostor, on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of orreries? We will conclude this very note with observing, that the most judicious *Dion Chrysostom*, whom we have so often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falsehood of the *Greeks*, in what they reported of the religion of the *Persians*, and of their consecrating horses to the sun (16). They were far, says he, from fancying the chariot of the sun, the most sublime spectacle in nature, they were acquainted with the supreme charioteer who put the universe into motion, and still guides it. Of this subject, not *Homer*, not *Hesiod*, but *Zoroaster*, and the *magi*, his disciples taught by him, have sung in strains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their discourses are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay directly opposite from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge, that the director of the universe is inaccessible and inscrutable; they compare the motions of the sun and moon to horses under direction, but as to horses consecrated to them, the *Greeks* have reported numberless fables.

(15) *Celsus ap. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi.*(16) *Orat. Boristhen.*



jectures of western authors on this subject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author : “ In this reign flourished *Zerduſht* the prophet. “ He, coming into the preſence of *Gushtaſp*, informed him of “ his commiſſion in theſe terms. I am a prophet, ſent to “ thee by the moſt wiſe God, and this book, *viz.* the *Zend-aveſta*, I brought from *Paradiſe*; alſo he gave me this “ caſſock and this girdle, ſaying, Put on this caſſock, and “ gird thyſelf with this girdle, that thy ſoul may be delivered “ from *Gehenna*, and that thou mayeſt find ſalvation; go “ alſo and propagate the true religion throughout the world. “ When *Gushtaſp* had heard this meſſage from the prophet, “ he ſaid, But how ſhall I know that thou art really a prophet, and came to me from the moſt high God? For “ without a ſign the truth of what you ſay cannot be known, “ neither ought a religion to be received, till it be ſupported “ by miracles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, ſhew “ us ſome ſign, that I may know and be aſſured thou art a “ meſſenger of God. When *Zerduſht* heard what the king “ demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought the following miracle. He planted before the gate of the palace “ a cypreſs tree, which grew in a few days ſo wonderfully, “ that it was near ten fathoms in girt and full ten in height; “ and in the top of this tree he erected a ſummer-houſe. “ When the king had beheld this miracle, he was convinced, and determined in his mind to embrace the religion “ of *Zerduſht*. He was, however, adviſed to call for certain wiſe men who might diſpute with *Zerduſht*. This was “ accordingly done, but they could not convince him; on “ the contrary *Zerduſht* prevailed. Theſe, however, hating “ him, deviſed this method for his deſtruction. *Zerduſht* “ had his lodgings in the palace, and as often as he went out “ he left his keys with the porter. This porter they corrupted, and engaged him to be ſilent and not diſcover any “ thing they did. They then made uſe of him to gain entrance into the lodgings of *Zerduſht* when he was abroad, “ and when they had ſo done, they threw into his wardrobe, “ put into his book *Zend*, and into his cloak-bag, all ſorts “ of unclean and impure things, ſuch as the bones of cats “ and dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies; theſe they “ ſcattered amongſt his things; which when they had done, “ they went out, ſhut the doors carefully, and returned the “ keys to the porter. *Zerduſht* in the mean time walked “ in the ſimplicity of his heart, praizing God, but his enemies conſidered not this. They immediately addreſſed “ themſelves to the king to this purpoſe : This wicked man, *viz.*

“ viz. *Zerduſht*, is employed every night in diabolical practices, by which, O king, thy heart will be inevitably inſnared, unleſs thou wilt inſtantly ſend ſome of thy guards to ſearch his apartments, that thou mayeſt be certified whether theſe things be ſo or not. The king ſent hereupon his guards to the apartments of *Zerduſht* to ſearch them, and to bring all things they found in them before him. This accordingly was done, and all ſorts of unclean things, ſuch as the bones of dogs and cats, the hair and nails of dead bodies were found in his cheſt of cloaths, his book of *Zend-aveſta*, and in his cloak-bag. The king ſeeing all this, turned to *Zerduſht*, and ſaid in a high paſſion, How is this, thou profligate, and what is it thou haſt been doing? *Zerduſht* heard his accuſers and the king patiently and without emotion. At laſt he thus answered for himſelf; O king, all that thou ſeeſt I know nothing of, neither belongeth it to me. Then the king called for the porter, and having examined him, the king threw from him the book *Zend*, and commanded *Zerduſht* to be ſhut up in priſon. Thus, notwithstanding his innocence, *Zerduſht* was thruſt into confinement, which he endured chearfully, ſtanding all day in one poſture, praying to and praizing God, without receiving any ſuſtenance whatever. It happened ſhortly after, that a black horſe, of which the king was particularly fond, was taken in an odd manner, its four feet ſhrinking up to its belly in ſuch a way, that the creature fell down to the ground, and could no way be raiſed up. The maſter of the horſe, called in the *Persian* language *Mih-mard*, when he came, as he was wont, into the ſtables, and perceived what had befallen the king’s favourite ſteed, went immediately and acquainted *Gushtaſp*. The king no ſooner heard it than he went in perſon to the ſtable, and, having viewed the horſe, called for the wiſe men who had engaged him to imprifon *Zerduſht*, and deſired them to contrive immediately ſome remedy for this extraordinary malady of the horſe, which they were unable to do, and confeſſed as much to the king. When *Gushtaſp* found this, he grew very uneaſy, becauſe he valued his horſe extremely. On the fourth day the porter went to ſee *Zerduſht* in priſon. Of him *Zerduſht* enquired news, and why he came not before to viſit him. The porter told him the court was much diſturbed, on account of a miſfortune which had befallen the king’s black courſer. *Zerduſht* bid the porter tell the king, that, when he ſhould be releaſed out of priſon, he would quickly reſtore his horſe. The porter ran with this news to the  
“ king,



“ king, who, as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for  
 “ *Zerdusht* out of prison, and carried him with him to the  
 “ stable. *Zerdusht*, seeing the condition the horse was in,  
 “ turned to the king, and said, Sir, this is no easy matter,  
 “ but, on the contrary, a cure very difficult to be perform-  
 “ ed. One thing, however, I have to desire, that what  
 “ you wish may be performed ; it is this ; That you believe  
 “ with your whole heart, that the religion I taught you is  
 “ true and came from God, which if you do sincerely, I  
 “ shall be able to restore your steed, otherwise it must re-  
 “ main in the state it is in. Then the king, struck with  
 “ the awful steadiness of *Zerdusht*, believed according as he  
 “ desired. Upon which the prophet advancing to the black  
 “ horse, stroaked his right fore-foot with his hand, where-  
 “ upon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the belly  
 “ of the horse, and hung in its natural position. Then *Zer-  
 “ dusht*, turning to the king, said, It is necessary, Sir, that  
 “ both your sons come hither, embrace the religion I have  
 “ taught, and promise to make war on infidels for the pro-  
 “ pagation of this religion. Then came instantly *Bashuten*  
 “ and *Isphendiyar*, the sons of *Gushtasp*, and embraced the  
 “ religion of *Zerdusht*, as he had desired. Upon this the  
 “ prophet went again to the horse, and with his left hand  
 “ stroaked the horse’s left fore-foot, which immediately the  
 “ creature extended in its natural state. Then turned *Zer-  
 “ dusht* to the king, and said, Sir, it is still necessary, that  
 “ *Ketayun* the mother of *Isphendiyar* should embrace this re-  
 “ ligion. Then *Gushtasp* sent one of his attendants with  
 “ *Zerdusht* to the palace, and the prophet, being come into  
 “ the queen’s presence, addressed her thus : O thou matron  
 “ of matrons, whom God hath preferred above all women,  
 “ and raised high above your sex, by giving thee *Gushtasp*  
 “ for thine husband, and *Isphendiyar* for thy son, like whom  
 “ there is none upon the earth. Behold now the king of  
 “ kings and thy son *Isphendiyar* have embraced, and with  
 “ their whole hearts believe the truth of the religion I have  
 “ taught : it is necessary, O queen, that you also receive  
 “ and believe it. Then answered *Ketayun*, Whatsoever my  
 “ husband and my son believe, that also will I embrace and  
 “ believe. Then *Zerdusht*, returning to the black horse,  
 “ put up his prayers, and stroaking with his right hand the  
 “ right hind-foot, it was restored to its natural strength :  
 “ Then *Zerdusht* turning to the king, said, You see your  
 “ horse has recovered three legs ; it is necessary for the re-  
 “ covery of the fourth, that you interrogate your porter,  
 “ and get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not  
 “ be

“ be blamed, seeing if he the porter told the truth, then the  
“ horse will fully recover, or otherwise remain in the state  
“ it did ; the king thereupon ordered the porter to be  
“ brought, and caused him to be severely threatened, that  
“ he might discover the truth, as to the scattering unclean  
“ and abominable things in the lodgings of *Zerduſht* ; the  
“ porter, dreading the king’s anger, most humbly besought  
“ him to grant him his life, which the king having promised,  
“ he then opened the whole conspiracy in these words : Four  
“ of these wise men, who are so much in your favour, that  
“ I was afraid of refusing them any thing, gave me a bribe,  
“ and, taking the keys from me, did all that your majesty  
“ has heard and seen. When the king had heard all that  
“ the porter had to say, he was extremely sorry, and made  
“ a long apology to *Zerduſht* for the injury he had done him,  
“ in causing him to be so long imprisoned, without any  
“ grounds at all, beseeching him to pass by and forgive it.  
“ Then the four wise men were hanged on a gibbet, and  
“ *Zerduſht*, having lift up his hands in prayer, stroked with  
“ his left hand the left hind-leg of the horse, which imme-  
“ diately fell from his belly, and rested on the ground as it  
“ used to do, so that quickly after the beast rose and stood  
“ upon all his feet. At this the king greatly rejoiced, treat-  
“ ing *Zerduſht* with greater honour and respect than ever,  
“ causing him to be placed on a golden seat, himself, *i. e.*  
“ the king believing the book *Zend-avasta*, and living in  
“ exact conformity to its precepts. It is reported, that some  
“ time after this king *Gushtasp* applied himself to *Zerduſht*,  
“ and said, there is one thing that I desire of thee, and I de-  
“ sire it so earnestly, that I hope you will not refuse it, since  
“ if you grant me this request, then shall I be thoroughly sa-  
“ tisfied, that thou art a prophet sent unto me by the most  
“ high God. *Zerduſht* desired the king that he would ex-  
“ plain himself, that he might apply to God for the gratifica-  
“ tion of the king’s will. Then king *Gushtasp* said, My de-  
“ sire is this, that while I am yet alive my soul may be sa-  
“ tisfied as to its future state, by beholding the joys of hea-  
“ ven, that it may be certain concerning them, and at ease.  
“ Moreover, I desire, that I may know all things that shall  
“ pass till the day of judgment, with the same exactness as  
“ I know things present. 3dly, I desire, that in all the wars  
“ I wage on account of religion, my body may remain as it  
“ is, and I become invulnerable. 4thly, I desire, that my  
“ soul may continue to exist to the day of resurrection, and  
“ that I die not at all. The prophet of God hearing this,  
VOL. V. Y “ answered,



“ answered, I will certainly put up my prayers to the crea-  
 “ tor of all things, neither doubt I at all, that the most high  
 “ God will grant what you have desired. But your four re-  
 “ quests must be yielded to four different persons, since it be-  
 “ longs to God alone to enjoy them all at once. Do you  
 “ therefore consider who these persons shall be, and I will  
 “ put up prayers that one of your requests may be granted to  
 “ each. Then king *Gushtasp* desired for himself, that he  
 “ might be permitted to behold his place in paradise, and take  
 “ a distinct view of all that was therein. He likewise menti-  
 “ oned three other persons on whom the remaining blessings  
 “ should be bestowed. Then *Zerduشت* being satisfied, re-  
 “ tired to his own lodgings, and spent the whole night in  
 “ prayers and praises to God, beseeching him, that if it  
 “ were possible all these things might come to pass. The  
 “ next day when light appeared, and the sun displayed his  
 “ beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind  
 “ of *Zerduشت* to consecrate the four following things, viz.  
 “ wine, a rose, a cup, and the kernel of a pomegranate.  
 “ And after he had consecrated these by prayer, having the  
 “ sacred twigs in his hand, he presented the wine to *Gushtasp*,  
 “ and as soon as the king had drank thereof, he fell down as  
 “ if in a deep sleep, and continued for three days and three  
 “ nights in the same position, his soul within that space  
 “ ascending into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the  
 “ blessed. At the end of three days he awaked, and going  
 “ to *Zerduشت* beseeched him to pardon his incredulity. Then  
 “ the prophet gave to *Gjamasپ* the rose which he had conse-  
 “ crated, which he no sooner smelt, than he knew all things  
 “ that passed, all that had happened from the beginning, and  
 “ which were to happen, and which should happen to the  
 “ day of resurrection. Then *Zerduشت* gave milk in the cup  
 “ to *Bashuten*, the son of *Gushtasp*, who by drinking thereof  
 “ was made immortal. As to the fourth thing, *Isphendiyar*,  
 “ having eaten the kernel of the pomegranate, had his body  
 “ rendered as invulnerable as brass. After this the religion  
 “ of *Zerduشت* spread, and was propagated every where, all  
 “ men readily yielding belief thereto, excepting *Argjasp*, king  
 “ of *Touran*, who embraced it not <sup>1</sup>”.

THE great desire all people have to magnify the princes  
 who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them,  
 hath doubtless encouraged the *Persees* to propagate a multitude  
 of strange things in relation to *Zerduشت*; the foregoing long

<sup>1</sup> E libr. rarissim. cui titul. Shah nama-neshr.

quotation is sufficient to shew the nature of their notions, and to excuse us from making any farther transcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the story of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together, as succinctly as we may.

THE two reigning heresies before the birth of *Zerduſht* were *Zabiſm* and *Magiſm*; the latter was far leſs groſs than the former, and conſequently there required more care to keep its profeſſors from going over to the oppoſite religion. For hiſtory informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifeſt, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily ſuperſtition than truth. Hence it came to paſs, that the *Zabians* gained ground in *Persia*, and multitudes, eſpecially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into groſs errors in their manner of worſhipping him, living alſo in continual fear of that evil ſpirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their ſpecies, and the continual diſturber of the world. *Zerduſht* took pains to root out all theſe notions, and to make the people eaſier than they had been, by inſpiring them with reaſonable opinions; he taught them, that the ſupreme being was independent and ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity, that *light* and *darkneſs*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual ſtruggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but becauſe ſuch was his will, and becauſe this diſcordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general reſurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein ſuch as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, ſhould go with the angel of light into a realm of light, where they ſhould enjoy peace and pleaſure for evermore; and thoſe who had done evil ſhould ſuffer with the angel of darkneſs everlaſting puniſhment in a land of obſcurity, where no ray of light or mercy ſhould ever viſit them; that thenceforward light and darkneſs ſhould be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to perſuade his diſciples of all the attributes of the divinity, eſpecially of his wiſdom and his juſtice; in conſequence of which he aſſured them, that they had none to fear but themſelves, becauſe nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vices. Of all virtues he eſteemed what the *Greeks* called *philanthrophy*, and the apoſtles *brotherly love*, the greateſt; for which reaſon he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; ſometimes alluring them by promiſes, at other times driving them as it were by threatnings. The *credenda* of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though, according to the



mode of the east, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations ; as for example, when he taught that on the fourth day after death the soul came to the bridge *Tchinavar*, and was there met by the angels *Mibr-Izad* and *Reshu-Izad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass ; and in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge, if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is into the regions of darkness, where the souls of the wicked are punished <sup>m</sup>. That this is really a parabolic description, and not a literal account, of what is to happen after death, we suppose, appears from the very face of the relation ; for it cannot be supposed, that *Zerduشت*, who was indisputably a very wise and learned man, and who took pains to make all his disciples so, should nevertheless attempt to impose upon them so absurd a thing as this, taken in a literal sense, viz. that a spirit divested of matter should travel over a bridge, lying across hell and leading to heaven ; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of scales, the good angel should either lead him over safe, or the bad one push him down ; this is absolutely incredible. But that he should make use of these terms to insinuate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds transcend the grave, and either lead us to everlasting rest, or project us into never-ending misery, is easy to be understood, and might as easily have been believed. In the book *Sad-der*, which is a compendium of the doctrines of *Zerduشت* collected in his own words, this description of the state of the dead is placed in the first chapter ; and in the second it is thus applied ; men who believe the religion of *Zerduشت* will be afraid not only of great but of small sins ; for since all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that scale the soul is to be happy or miserable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left hand scale, and earnestly desire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right hand, because his all rests on this trial. This is very sound divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind is unprejudiced ; otherwise it is easy to ridicule the *soul-supporting bridge*, and the *action-weighing angels*, and consequently to expose *Zerduشت*, not only as a wicked, but as a weak, impostor. But to proceed ; he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to

<sup>m</sup> *SAD-DER*, Port. I.

amend ;

amend ; he declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works ; this he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *Sad-der*, and which runs in these words : “ It is reported of *Zerduſht*, the  
 “ author of our religion, that one day, retiring from the pre-  
 “ sence of God, he beheld the body of a man plunged in  
 “ *Gehenna*, his right foot only being free, and sticking  
 “ without. *Zerduſht* thereupon cried out, What is this  
 “ that I see, and wherefore is this man in this condition ?  
 “ he was answered, This man whom you see in this condi-  
 “ tion was formerly the prince of thirty three cities, over  
 “ which he reigned many years, without doing any one good  
 “ action ; for besides oppression, injustice, pride, and vio-  
 “ lence, nothing ever entered his mind ; and though he was  
 “ the scourge of multitudes, yet, without regarding their  
 “ misery, he lived at ease in his palace. One day, however,  
 “ as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by the foot  
 “ in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from  
 “ food, that it must have perished ; this king, moved at the  
 “ sight, alighting from his horse, released the sheep from the  
 “ thicket, and led it to the pasture ; now for this act of ten-  
 “ derness and compassion his foot remains out of *Gehenna*,  
 “ though his whole body be plunged therein for the multi-  
 “ tude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all the good  
 “ thou canst without fear or apprehension ; for God is be-  
 “ nign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good  
 “ thou doest.” These hints of his doctrines, compared with  
 what has been already delivered in speaking of the religion of  
 the antient *Persians*, cannot but be sufficient to shew the ge-  
 neral import of *Zerduſht*’s scheme of religion ; as to exterior  
 rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of  
 mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engag-  
 ing his followers to erect *Pyræa* or fire-temples throughout  
 all the dominions of *Persia*, that this symbol of the divinity  
 might not at every turn be liable to be extinguished. He gave  
 them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought  
 to him from heaven, and therefore refuse to make any altera-  
 tions therein, though the language in which it is written is long  
 ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests



themselves. The priests, or, as we stile them, the magi, were, according to his institution, of three ranks. The first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. *Prideaux* very significantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn times to acquaint the people with the contents of *Zerduſht's* books, and to paraphrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendance of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us: these too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar to provide it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thither, with their advice and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, *i. e.* the high-priest, or, as the *Persians* stiled him, the *Mubad Mubadan*. *Zerduſht* himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Balch*, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life and his extensive knowledge supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour and the same application to study unto his successors. These injunctions were for many ages pursued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch that *Pliny* tells us, *in his time this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the east over the king of kings*. It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws still extant among the *Persees*, and indubitably written by *Zerduſht*, whether he was prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life and his immature death, they belong to the reign of *Gushtasp*, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

*Zerduſht's* book, containing the institutes of his religion, is stiled *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, usually pronounced *Zund* and *Zundavastaw*, which is not a *Persian* but an exotic word, signifying a *Tinder-box*; its author, in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal; he likewise

likewise caused it to be stiled the book of *Abraham*, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary *Persian* character, but in the old *Perfic*, called from thence, among the ordinary *Persees*, the *Zund* character. The very learned Dr. *Thomas Hyde* proposed to the world to publish a correct edition of it with a *Latin* translation, but meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity. It was originally written in twelve hundred skins, and consists of one and twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, which is the reason, that we have had in *Europe* so many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the sake of the people who profess this religion, and who have notwithstanding no knowledge at all either of the *Zund* character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned priest has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern *Persian*, which is the book *Sad-der*, so often quoted by us from the *Latin* version published by Dr. *Hyde*, and annexed to his impartial history of the religion of the antient *Persians*. This learned critic is of opinion, that *Zerduſht* did not originally intend to have made this book consist of any more than two parts, viz. the *Zend* and *Pazend*, resembling the *Mishna* and *Gemara* in the *Jewish Talmud*; the first containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the second a commentary on them, explaining and shewing the rationale of them; but as new adversaries rose up daily, and other occasions required new treatises, *Zerduſht* continued to write them, and to add them to his *Zend-avasta*, which still retained the general title of the volume. Amongst the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of *Zeratusht-nama*, i. e. the history of *Zerduſht*, which is no other than his life written by himself. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common *Persian* by the priest who published the book *Sad-der*. The celebrated Dr. *Prideaux*, speaking of this book, acknowledges that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very pressingly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of incest; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by *Zerduſht*, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his sister or his daughter, but his mother;

• *Histor. veter. Persar.* p. 25.

• *H. R. V. P. c. xxv. xxvi.*  
and



and he very justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But in support of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itself, or its compendium the book *Sad-der*, or any other treatise written by an avowed *Persee*, but the authorities of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Strabo*, *Philo-Judæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* <sup>9</sup>. It is but reasonable, that we should suspend our belief till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider, that in other respects these authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the *Persian* kings (if we give intire credit to the *Greek* historians); but admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof, that *Zerduſht* allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the *Persees* at this day is a demonstration that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find at the bottom of the page some farther memorandums relating to the works of *Zoroaster* (O).

WE will conclude our account of this extraordinary person, with observing, that he is said by credible authors, to have

<sup>9</sup> Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 320.

(O) In this note we shall speak largely of *Zerduſht*'s writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and, that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known to the *Persees* and oriental nations in general? secondly, as they are known to the *Greeks*.

The *Zend-avasta*, as we have said in our text, is divided into one and twenty treatises, each called by the *Persees* *Nesick*, or broadly pronounced *Nush*, i. e. a part. Every one of these treatises has its proper title suited to the subject of which it treats. Thus *Paxend*, which is the name of the second treatise signifies, the prop or buttress of the *Zend*, because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the *Zend*; the sixteenth treatise is that called *Zeratusht-nama*, or the life of *Zerduſht*, mentioned in the text. Dr. Hyde, who, like a generous man, desired, that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the public, as to enable him to publish the book itself. It contains forty chapters and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole mystery of *Zerduſht*'s

have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied as well to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken; nay farther, it is affirmed, that the wise men out of the east, recorded by the evangelist<sup>r</sup> to have come to *Bethlehem*, and there worshipped our Saviour on account of his star which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of *Zerdusht*. Some of the learned indeed, slighting this relation, have fixed on *Balaam's* prophecy<sup>t</sup>, in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened, that so learned a man as *Hornius* was of opinion, that *Zoroaster* might have been the same person<sup>t</sup>. Far be it from

<sup>r</sup> MATTH. ii. 1.    <sup>t</sup> HYDE, H. R. vet. P. p. 384.    <sup>t</sup> Hist. Philosoph. lib ii. c. 4. p. 80.

*Zerdusht's* character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for the propagation of his religion, are set forth at large (17). The twentieth treatise in the *Zend-avasta* is called *Bizisbk-nama*, i. e. *the Book of Physicians*, because it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of *Zerdusht* contain not only the religion, but the learning, of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his successors in the office of high-priest to be perfect masters of all useful learning. As the book *Zend* is the bible of the *Perses*, so to express a right or just thing, they say *Zend-aver*, i. e. *permitted by the Zend*, and an evil action they call *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *not permitted by the book Zend*. *Zend laph*, signifies a *zealous Persee*, but *Zend-chuan*, which literally rendered is a reader of the *Zend*, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish church, so that it is equivalent to what the *Jews* call *Chacham*, and the *Mohammedans* *Imam*. As to the notion of *Curtius*, of the magi's singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern *Jews*, and perhaps with many other nations (18). Dr. *Prideaux* is very severe on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popish priests celebrating their mass (19); but in respect to those things which are regulated by custom, perhaps those censures should be spared, since it is hard to find the reason why the custom of one country should render ridiculous the custom of another.

As to what the *Greeks* knew of *Zoroaster's* writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed; *Ensebius* speaks of a collection

(17) Hist. vet. Pers. c. xxiv. p. 329, 330.    (18) Ibid. p. 342.    (19) Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 309.



from us to countenance any superstitious stories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth; we are writing the life of *Zerduſht* from such authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumstance of such consequence, and supported by various testimonies. If the distrust

of physics written by this great man, and quotes from thence the following description of God's attributes, affirming them to be the express words of *Zoroaster*; "God hath the head of a hawk, he is "the first incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, most like "himself, the charioteer of every good, one that cannot be bribed, "the best of things good, the wisest of things wise; he is more- "over the father of equity and justice, self-taught, self-existent, "infinitely perfect, omniscient, and the sole ruler of nature (20)". *Suidas* ascribes to him four books of nature, one of precious stones, five of the wisdom of the stars (21). *Pliny* says he wrote two millions of verses, on which *Hermippus* wrote commentaries, a treatise on agriculture, and a book of visions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the *Greeks* his oracles are the most considerable, because of them there are still some remains, could we be sure they were genuine; but *Porphry* says expressly, that some christian heretics, boasting of the secret works of *Zoroaster*, attempted to deceive the world, and, if they believe what they say, are deceived themselves, since these treatises are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of *Mirandula* gave the oracles yet extant some reputation by the following account of a manuscript in his own possession; "I was, says he, forcibly taken off from other things, and "engaged to study the *Arabian* and *Chaldean* learning, by certain "books in both those languages, which came to my hands, not accidentally, but, questionless, by the disposal of God in favour of "my studies; hear the inscriptions and you will believe it. These "Chaldaic books, if I ought to call them books and not treasures, "are the oracles of *Zoroaster*, *Aben-Exra*, and *Melchior*, magi, in "which those things which are faulty and defective in the *Greek* "are read here perfect and entire. There is also an exposition "by *Chaldaic* wise men on these oracles, concise, and somewhat "obscure indeed, but full of rare mysteries, and curious learning. "There is besides a book of the *Chaldaic* theology, with a copious and admirable discourse of the wisdom of the *Persians*, *Grecians*, and *Chaldeans* (24)". *Ficinus*, to whom he directed this letter, found these books after his decease, but so worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles,

(20) *Eusebius Prepar. Evangel.*(21) *In voce Ζωροάστρης.*(22) *Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1.*(23) *In vita Plotini.*

(24)

*Epist. ad Ficinum.*

which

trust which critics affect to shew of all things reported by oriental writers should be sufficient to overturn the credit of these predictions in the judgment of an impartial reader, it is not our fault; we are to relate, but in cases of this nature every man must determine for himself (P). On the whole  
we

which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at *Paris* by *Lewis Tillet* in 1563, with the commentaries of *Gemistus Pletbo*; the same were afterwards translated, and with the comment of *Psellus* published at *Paris* 1607. But *Franciscus Patricius*, having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from *Proclus*, *Hermias*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, and *Arnobius*, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman Mr. *Stanley* took them, and published them with the commentaries of *Pletbo* and *Psellus*, at the end of his *Chaldaic philosophy* in 1661 (25).

(P) The wisdom of the east was not only a scripture phrase, but used also by the best prophane authors, who knew very well, that notwithstanding the boasting of the *Greeks*, science came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable, opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle; though they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of *Persia*, to enquire for the Messiah. That they might come, as some have insisted, from *Arabia* is true, because *Arabia* lay in their way; but that the magi came from another country than *Persia*, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed; but that these magi or wise men went into *Judæa* in pursuance of *Zerduſt*'s prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not seen the *Zend-avasta*, but even without seeing it we shall be able to justify what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities. *Sharistani*, whom we have more than once quoted in his history of the religions of the east, says expressly, that *Zerduſt* prophesied in his *Zend-avasta*, that in latter times there should arise a man called *Oshanderbegha*, i. e. *Homo Mundi*, which differs little from the title Christ often gives himself of the *Son of Man*, of whom *Zerduſt* prophesied, that he should teach the world true religion and justice, that for a time his kingdom should be oppressed by the devil; but in the end this righteous person shall triumph, and shall establish peace and happiness upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary passage from the travels of Mr. *Tavernier*: "They give, says he, three children  
" to their prophet, and though they have not hitherto appeared  
" in the world, their names are however settled. As he passed the

(25) Vide Preface to the *Chaldaic Oracles*.  
ap. Hyde rel. vet. Persar. c. xxxi. p. 383.

(26) *Sharistani*



we may be permitted to say, that on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning *Zerdusht* and his writings, he stands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary person, especially when we reflect, that his ministry was of no long continuance, according to the most

“ river, say they, *ab ipso cecidere tres seminis genitalis guttæ*, which  
 “ are preserved to the end of the world. That God shall send a  
 “ virgin for whom he has a favour into the same water, who, *per*  
 “ *receptionem primæ guttæ*, shall be impregnated, and bring forth  
 “ a son, who shall be called *Ocbder*, he shall appear in the world  
 “ with great authority, and shall oblige it to receive the law of his  
 “ father, and shall discourse with much eloquence, and confirm what  
 “ he says with miracles. The second who shall be called *Ocbi-*  
 “ *derma*, shall be conceived in the same manner, he shall second  
 “ his brother in his designs, and shall assist him in preaching, he  
 “ shall stop the course of the sun ten days, to force by that sign  
 “ the belief of the people whom he teaches. The third shall be  
 “ conceived by the same mother in the same way; his name shall  
 “ be *Senoiethotius*, he shall come into the world with greater au-  
 “ thority than either of his brothers, that he may reduce all na-  
 “ tions to the true religion; after which shall be the general refur-  
 “ rection, when the souls in heaven and in hell shall return and take  
 “ possession of their bodies, the mountains and all the metals shall  
 “ then melt, and sinking into the gulph of hell shall fill it up, so  
 “ that the mansions of the devils shall be ruined. After this great  
 “ change the earth shall be plain and pleasant, and men shall live  
 “ happily therein, praising God and his Prophet (27)”. Dr. *Hyde*  
 observes very judiciously, that these three sons represent the three  
 states of the Messiah. His nativity, when his coming was published  
 to the world by various means; his ministry while he continued  
 upon earth, preaching and doing miracles; and his second advent  
 when he shall judge the world in righteousness, and his saints shall  
 rejoice and sing (28). But the strongest evidence of this matter is  
 the testimony of the famous *Abul Pharajius*, who writes thus:  
 “ *Zorodasht* or *Zerdusht*, the preceptor of the magian sect, began  
 “ to teach in *Aderbayagjan*, or as some say in *Assyria*. He taught  
 “ the *Persians*, that our Lord Christ would manifest himself, com-  
 “ manding them to carry him gifts, telling them that in the latter  
 “ times a virgin should conceive without the help of man, and that  
 “ when she should bring forth, a star should appear shining in the  
 “ day time, in the middle of which the figure of a virgin should be  
 “ seen. You therefore, O! my children, having notice of his  
 “ birth before all other nations, when ye see that star, follow it,

(27) *Tavern. Voyage. Tom. I. lib. iv. p. 485.*  
*vet. Pers. c. xxxi. p. 383.*

(28) *Hist. Rel.*

“ which

most authentic accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his presenting himself to *Gushtasp* to his being slain at the sack of *Balch*; but it is now time for us to return to the history of *Gushtasp*, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign (Q).

## THE

“ which will direct you to the place where he is born, adore him,  
 “ offer him your gifts, for he is that word which established the  
 “ heavens (29)”. This passage is quoted by Dr *Hyde*, but there  
 is another in the same author which he has not mentioned, which  
 we therefore shall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers;  
 “ The same year *Cæsar* the emperor sent *Cyrenius* into *Ju-*  
 “ *dea* in order to tax it. *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, going up  
 “ upon this occasion from *Nazareth* to *Jerusalem*, that he might  
 “ give in his name, when he came to *Bethlehem* in the way *Mary*  
 “ did bring forth a son. The magi brought their gifts from the  
 “ east, and offered to Christ gold, myrrh, and frankincense. Be-  
 “ ing questioned on this head by *Herod* in their passage, they an-  
 “ swered thus: A person of great fame among us, in a book which  
 “ he left us, hath thus admonished us: There shall hereafter be  
 “ born in *Palestine* a male child descending from heaven, whom the  
 “ greatest part of the world shall obey; now the sign of his ap-  
 “ pearance shall be this; Ye shall see a strange star which shall di-  
 “ rect you till it stops, which when ye shall behold, take ye gold,  
 “ myrrh, and frankincense, and offer them to him, and adore him,  
 “ then return ye, lest great evil should overtake ye. Now there-  
 “ fore this star appearing, we come to do as we were commanded  
 “ (30)”; a noble testimony surely.

(Q) The death of *Zerdusht* was violent indeed, but we cannot  
 call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which  
 certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an im-  
 postor as some would make him. A *Persian* historian tells us, that  
*Argjasp* overturned the *Fire-temples* erected by *Zerdusht* in *Balch*,  
 and slew seventy priests, putting out the sacred fire with the blood  
 of the magi (31). Whether this must be understood literally or  
 figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had  
 not related it more at large. “ Notice, says this writer, being  
 “ given to the king of *Touran* by certain merchants, that there  
 “ were no soldiers left in *Balch*, all of them having repaired to  
 “ the army of *Gushtasp*, and that his father *Lobrasp* was left alone  
 “ in that city, with such as attended on the *Pyraa*, and eighty  
 “ priests; *Argjasp* on this information drew together an army of  
 “ fifteen thousand men, sending his son *Kabram* before him, and  
 “ following with all expedition himself. It is said, that when  
 “ *Argjasp* entered *Iran*, *Lobrasp* receiving advice thereof came out

(29) *Abul Pharajius in Histor. Dynast. p. 33.* (30) *Ibid. p.*  
 110. (31) *Megjdi apud Hyde Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. p. 319.*



The old animosities between the inhabitants of *Touran* and *Iran* broke out into a fresh war, while *Gushtasp* sat on the throne of his ancestors; it is not easy to say, whether this monarch or *Argjasp*, who then reigned in *Touran*, was the aggressor. *Mirkhond* inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce *Argjasp* and his subjects to the faith of *Zerduشت*, that prince being, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, a zealous *Zabian*<sup>u</sup>, which if he was, we know not how to account for it, since it should seem, that the old religion of *Persia* flourished there in the days of *Phridun*; and, as we have seen, *Zerduشت* was not the institutor of a new, but the reformer of the old religion; however it was, *Mirkhond* informs us, that *Gushtasp* having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into *Touran*, and meeting *Argjasp* in battle he vanquished him, slew his son in the field, and, before the *Turkish* monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers, after which returning triumphantly into *Persia*, he, on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son *Isphendiyar* in a strong castle, seated on the top of a high mountain, called *Ghird Kouch*, i. e. *the round mount*; but he had soon reason to repent the ill usage of so deserving a prince; for *Argjasp*, irritated by the usage he had met with, raised all the forces of *Touran*, and making a sudden inroad into the province of *Chorasán*, he sacked the city of *Balch*, where he killed *Lobrasp*, the father of *Gushtasp*, in his cloister, slaughtered *Zerduشت* with all his priests attending there on the chief *Fire-temple*, which

<sup>u</sup> Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 321.

“ of his retreat, and put himself at the head of a small troop,  
 “ with whom he killed many of the enemy, but in the end *Lob-*  
 “ *rasp* with the eighty priests before mentioned was slain, and the  
 “ holy fire extinguished with their blood; with these priests also  
 “ fell *Zerduشت* the prophet, who then resided at *Balch* (32).”  
 Hence it came to pass, that *Suidas* affirms of the *Assyrian Zoro-*  
*aster*, that he desired to die by fire from heaven, and advised his  
 countrymen to preserve his ashes, assuring them, that while they  
 were kept their kingdom should never fail (33). All which the  
*Alexandrian* chronicle refers to the *Persian Zoroaster* or our *Zer-*  
*duشت* (34). Of these fables we have said enough, perhaps too  
 much, already.

(32) In *Shahnama-nasr.* ap. Hyde *Relig. vet. Persar.* p. 325.

(33) *Ubi supra.*

(34) *Chron. Alexand.* p. 89.

he likewise overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind stung with the remembrance of what the *Persian* king had done in his own country could suggest <sup>w</sup>. Elate with this conquest, he advanced so briskly into the dominions of *Iran* that *Gushtasp* did not think fit to meet him in battle, but chose rather to consider how an army might be drawn together, able to fight that of *Argjasp* on his return. His counsellors advised him to set his son *Isphendiyar* at liberty, and to intrust him with the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly sent his brother *Gjamasp* to *Isphendiyar*, not only to release him, but also to assure him, that his father would resign to him the throne, in case he proved victorious. As soon as *Isphendiyar* arrived in the army, the *Persians* took new courage, and numbers resorted to his standard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages, and coming suddenly on *Argjasp*, he defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of *Persia*, and make all the haste he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory *Gushtasp* received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem; however, he declined putting him in possession of the crown, and in order to amuse him, he observed, that it would be unbecoming so brave a prince to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at the sack of *Balch*, remained still in captivity. *Isphendiyar* piqued at this pretence of his father, which shewed that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, that noble youth immediately determined to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view he selected out of his army 12,000 foot, and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of *Touran*, accompanied by his brother *Bashuten*, who was elder than himself. Having received intelligence, that *Argjasp* was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads, the one plain and easy fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty difficult, but so direct, that by it a man might reach the court of *Touran* in a month; the third, which was hardly passable, lay through woods and morasses, and afterwards over high mountains covered with snow. *Isphendiyar* having directed his brother to advance as expedi-

<sup>w</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xvi. LEBTARIK.



tiously as he could through the second of these roads, he with some resolute friends threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these, that when he drew near the residence of *Argjasp*, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in those meadows, he should order his horse to advance, and execute the orders which should then be given them. *Isphendiyar* and his retinue, making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of *Touran*. The prince being introduced to *Argjasp* as a merchant who fled from the severity of *Isphendiyar*, and was desirous of selling his goods in the dominions of *Touran*; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to *Isphendiyar*'s wishes, for in a short time he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was apprised, that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dressing the provisions, these served as signals to *Bashuten*, who at the head of his horse suddenly charged the *Turks*, and made themselves masters of the city. *Isphendiyar*, and those who were about him, dispatched without delay the most considerable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand *Argjasp* king of *Touran*. Then putting his sisters, whom he had released out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother *Bashuten*, he advised him to retire with part of his forces into *Persia*, while he with the rest marched against several *Indian* princes, in order to force them and their subjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of *Zerdusht*, in which expedition *Isphendiyar* had prodigious success, and returned afterwards into *Persia*, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at *Isfachr*, he expected, that his father would without delay perform the promise, he had so solemnly made and so often repeated, of resigning to him his dominions; but the politic *Gushtasp* intended nothing less. He received his son as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderness; but instead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a studied discourse on his own great abilities, and the laudable

laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained, that there was still one enemy left to be subdued, even in the heart of his dominions, *viz. Rustan*, who, having fortified himself in the provinces committed to his charge, absolutely refused to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of *Zerdusht*. *Gushtasp* insinuated, that it was necessary for *Isphendiyar* to reduce this nobleman before he assumed the diadem, since otherwise he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous *Isphendiyar* set out for *Sigjistan*, carrying with him his son *Bahaman*; on their arrival there *Rustan* met him and conferred with him at first with great civility and respect; but when the prince insisted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and professing immediately the faith of *Zerdusht*, *Rustan* grew angry, and from hard words they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great strength and agility of body, as well as of high spirit and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful; at last it inclined to *Isphendiyar*, but *Rustan*, collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince so deep a wound that he died upon the spot, having only time to recommend his son to *Rustan*, and to desire his brother *Bashuten* to take care of his body; both his requests were exactly complied with, *Bashuten* carried back his body into *Persia*, where it received the highest funeral honours, and *Rustan* carefully sent home his son. *Gushtasp* was inconsolable for the death of so deserving a prince. His grief, however, was forced to give way to the necessity of the state; for the new king of *Touran* no sooner heard what had happened in *Persia*, than raising a great army he invaded that kingdom, and wasted it without mercy with fire and sword. *Gushtasp*, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched with all possible diligence to oppose him, and, after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, constrained him to retire into his own dominions. The public peace being now restored, *Gushtasp*, to shew the respect he had for his son's memory, resigned the crown to *Bahaman* the son of *Isphendiyar*, and, according to the example set him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleasure-house he had erected not far from *Schiras*, a palace of such superb architecture, that in after-times, as *Mirkhond* tells us, it was attributed to *Solomon*, the son of *David*, to express its excellence\*. In all probability it stood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind

\* *MIRKHOND. hist. xvi.*



the famous palace of *Persepolis*, is held to be the sepulchre of the antient *Persian* kings. We have seen from various instances, that it was a common thing among the *Persian* monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that *Gushtasp* was the *Hystaspes* of the *Greeks*, then we may apply what *Ammianus Marcellinus* says of the latter to this retreat. “*Hystaspes*, says this historian, “was a most wise person, who boldly penetrating into the “inner parts of upper *India*, came to a woody desert, whose “calm silence was possessed by those high wits the *Brachmans*; from these he learned the true system of the heavenly bodies and their motions, and the pure rites of true “religion, with which knowledge he returned into *Persia*, “and taught it to the magi, amongst whom it has by tradition been preserved even to this time”<sup>1</sup>. But perhaps, admitting *Gushtasp* and *Hystaspes* to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into *Touran*, from whence his journey into *India* was not difficult. There are some *Persian* writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehension, if he recollects what from an antient *Persian* historian we cited, as to *Zerdušt*’s promising king *Gushtasp* to fulfil his extraordinary requests. These historians say, that not *Gushtasp*, but his son *Bashuten*, addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this *Bashuten*, in conformity to the prophet’s promise, was transported to the mountain *Dunbavand* or *Damavand*, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living creatures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick steams of sal-armoniac issuing from all sides of the mountain<sup>2</sup>. Our famous traveller, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, ascended this mountain, and passed directly over it without meeting any such steams; he acknowledges, however, that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon, and that in the night some luminous vapours are seen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from the sulphur<sup>3</sup>; but the learned Dr. *Hyde* is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to sal-armoniac, but the doctor confesses, not only that the history of *Bashuten* is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort related of *Gushtasp* are likewise unworthy of belief<sup>4</sup>. We may with to-

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. MARCEL. hist. lib. xxiii.    <sup>2</sup> HYDE, hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. xxiii. p. 306.    <sup>3</sup> HERBERT’S Travels. p. 112.  
<sup>4</sup> HYDE, R. vet. P. ubi. supra.

lerable certainty affirm, that the reign of *Gushtasp* was the reign of learning in *Persia*. In his time flourished a celebrated astrologer whose name was *Gjamasp*, surnamed, according to the oriental custom, *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the wise* or *the sage*. That such a person there was, and that he flourished about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; some have made him the son of *Daniel* the prophet<sup>c</sup>; others the counsellor of king *Gushtasp*; but the greater number, and those too of the most credible writers, say, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only so, but his confidant and chief minister<sup>d</sup>. The science for which he was particularly famous was astrology, and from his skill therein he is said to have predicted the coming of the Messiah. Some treatises under his name are yet current in the east, of which the reader will meet with some account at the bottom of the page (R).

*Bahaman,*

<sup>c</sup> CHALIL. SUPHI. ap. HYDE, R. vet. P. p. 385. <sup>d</sup> MIRK-HOND. ubi supra. LEBTARIK.

(R) Dr. Hyde, speaking of the philosopher mentioned in our text, cites a passage from a very antient author, having before told us, that this author asserted, there had been among the *Persians* ten doctors of such consummate wisdom, as the whole world could not boast the like; then he gives the author's words, to the sense following: "Of these the sixth was *Gjamasp*, an astrologer, who was counsellor to *Hyftaspes*. He is the author of a book entitled, "*Judicia Gjamaspis*, in which is contained his judgment on the planetary conjunctions. And therein he gave notice, that *Jesus* should appear, that *Mohammed* should be born, that the *Magian* religion should be abolished, &c. nor did any astrologer ever come up to him (35)". Of this book there is an *Arabic* version, the title of which runs thus: *The book of the philosopher Gjamasp, containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them*. This version was made by *Lali*, the title he gave it in *Arabic* was *Al Keranat*, and he published it A. D. 1280. In the preface of his version it is said, that after the times of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht* reigned *Gushtasp* the son of *Lobrasp*, a very powerful prince, who possessed not only *Iran* but *Touran* and *Habascchia*; i. e. *Æthiopia*, that in his reign flourished, in the city of *Balch* on the borders of *Chorasán*, a most excellent philosopher, whose name was *Gjamasp*, author of this book, wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets, which had happened before the time of this astrologer, and which were to happen in succeeding ages, and wherein the appearances of new

(35) *E Lib. Mucj. p. 227. ap. Hyde. R. vet. P. cap. xxxi. p. 385.*



**Bahaman.** *Bahaman*, the son of *Isphendiyar*, succeeded his grand-father *Gushtasp* in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before

religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece styles *Zerduſht*, or *Zoroaſter*, our Prophet (36). That astrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a *Science*, if we may be allowed ſo to call it, very early in vogue among the *Persians*, might be eaſily proved if this were a proper place. To ſay the truth, the very terms in uſe among astrologers are irrefragable proofs of it, for they are moſt of them either *Arabic* or *Perſic*; and for this reaſon *Chaldaea*, the miſtreſs of our weſtern astrology, was in antient times always in the poſſeſſion either of the one or the other of theſe nations. The notion of predicting the riſe and progreſs of religions from the grand conjunctions of the planets has been likewiſe propagated in our weſtern parts; *Cardan* was a bold aſſerter of this doctrine, and if he did not intend it himſelf, we are pretty certain, that his ſcholar *Vaninus* actually thought of ſubverting the belief of the goſpel diſpenſation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominacy to the influence of the ſtars (37). The modern *Persians* are ſtill great votaries to this ſort of knowledge; but they diſtinguiſh between astronomy and astrology, they ſtile the former *Elm-nejoum*, i. e. *the ſcience of the ſtars*, and the latter *Eſte-Krag*, i. e. *the revelation of the ſtars*; they have, however, but one word to expreſs aſtronomer and astrologer, viz. *Manegjim*, which is exactly equivalent to the Greek word *Aſtologos*. Of all the provinces of *Perſia* *Choraſan* is the moſt famous for producing great men in that art, and in *Choraſan* there is a little town called *Genabed*, and in that town a certain family, which for 6 or 700 years paſt has produced the moſt famous astrologers in *Perſia*; and the king's astrologer is always either a native of *Genabed*, or one brought up there. Sir *John Chardin* affirms, that the appointments in his time for theſe ſages amounted to ſix millions of *French livres per Annum*, which ſhews how highly theſe ſort of people are yet eſteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the tranſcendent ſkill of the antient profeſſors of that art, the author juſt now mentioned gives us a ſingular inſtance in the hiſtory of *Alkendi*, a Jew, who was profeſſor of judicial astrology at *Bagdad* in the caliphate of *Almamoun*. Againſt this *Jewiſh* astrologer all the *Mohammedans* had a very great ſpleen; one more hardy than the reſt reſolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs him of the caliph's eſteem; to this end he repaired to *Bagdad*, and finding *Alkendi* in the caliph's preſence, he aſked him why he took upon himſelf to know more in astrology than other people? *Because I know* replied *Aikendi* *what you know not, and you know not what*

(36) *D' Herbelot. Biſt. Orient. Art. Giamap. theatr. & Dialog.*

(37) *In Amphib.*

*I know.*

fore we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is necessary that we should settle his name. *Mirkbond* calls him as we do  
*Bahaman,*

*I know.* This provoked the *Mohammedan* doctor so much, that he would needs make a trial of his boasted knowledge in the sight of the caliph. In order to this each drew a circle about himself, and sat down therein with his books and instruments. The *Mohammedan* doctor at last took a piece of paper and a pen, and, after seeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph, desiring *Alkendi* to give a proof of his skill, by telling what was written in his paper; to which the other after a little time answered, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The caliph opening the paper found this to be true. And this adventure spread the fame of *Alkendi* throughout all the east. It happened there was then resident in the college at *Balch* a young student of bright parts, who had been scholar to the *Mohammedan* sage, over whom *Alkendi* had triumphed. He was so much piqued at the dishonour done his master, that as soon as he heard this story he bought himself a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred *English* miles from *Balch* to *Bagdad* on purpose to murder *Alkendi*. When he arrived at this last-mentioned city, he inquired the time when *Alkendi* taught in the public schools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a student come to hear him. *Alkendi* was in the midst of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full stop, and turning his eyes on this stranger, addressed him thus; I know who you are, and to what purpose you come. Your name is *Albumazar* (the true orthography is *Abu Ma Sbar*) and you will become one of the greatest astrologers of your time; but then you must lay aside the bloody design which brought you hither, and you must throw into the midst of the school that poignard which you carried on purpose to kill me. *Albumazar* struck at this speech, first threw down his poignard, and then himself, at the feet of *Alkendi*; thenceforward he applied himself strictly to the study of astrology, and became, as that sage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of *Albumazar* of *Balch* (38). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unnecessary digression; but we had our reasons for inserting it. We were speaking of *Gjamasp's* predicting the coming of Christ. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the same thing from *Albumazar*, his words are these: "In the sphere of *Persia*, saith *Aben-Exra*, there ariseth upon the face of the sign *Virgo* a beautiful maiden, she holding two ears of corn in her hand, and a child in her arms, she feedeth him, and giveth him suck, &c. This maiden, saith *Albumazar*, we call *Adrenedefa*, the pure virgin.

(38) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. iii. p. 203.*



*Bahaman*, and says, that he had two surnames, the one *Dirazdest*, i. e. *long-hand*, because his right hand was longer than his left, and the other *Ardshir* on this account; when his mother was big with this son, there came a great astrologer to the court of *Gushtasp* his grandfather, and addressing himself to *Isphendiyar*, presented him a small basket, which he told him was for the use of the son that should be born to him, upon opening it there was found a vessel full of milk and a little flour, the person who brought it alledging by way of excuse, that his circumstances did not allow him to bring any thing better. *Isphendiyar* and his spouse were so much satisfied with the present, that they took from thence the name of their son, *Ard* signifying *Flour*, and *Shir* *Milk*, in their ancient language; hence it came to pass, that this prince was better known by his surnames than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental histories *Ardshir Dirazdest*, and by the Greeks *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. He is represented by *Mirkhond* as one of the wisest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre; he was so solicitous for the impartial distribution of justice to all his subjects, that he sent some favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour; and when the time of their governments was expired, he sent for them into his presence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or else punished what they had done amiss according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his accession to the throne, he summoned the states of his kingdom, whom he addressed in terms full of tenderness and love; he told them, that he had assumed the regal dignity, not

“ She bringeth up a child in a place which is called *Abrie* (the Hebrew land) and the child’s name is called *Eisi* (*Jesus*). This was enough to make *Albertus Magnus* believe that our Saviour Christ was born in *Virgo*, and therefore cardinal *Alliac* erecting our Lord’s nativity by his description, casteth this sign into the horoscope. But that was not the meaning of *Albumazar*. His meaning was (saith friar *Bacon*) *Quod beata Virgo nata fuit, quando sol fuit in Virgine, & ita habetur signatum in Calendario, & quod nutriet filium suum in terra Hebræorum. That the said virgin was born, the sun being in that sign, as also we have it set down in the calendar, and that she was to bring up her son in the Hebrew land* (39)”. The reader is to observe, that *Albumazar* wrote expressly from the antient *Persic* astrologers, it may be from the very works of *Gjamasp*, which induced this note.

(39) *Mr. John Gregory’s notes on various passages of scripture*, p. 152.

to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong steps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the public, that they would freely censure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depose him, for he said, that kings ought to be public blessings, and that such as were not so ought not to wear the title. The states, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they desired, separated, and going into their respective provinces, carried with them the highest sentiments of duty and respect for so deserving a prince. *Ardshir* or *Bahaman* took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which, during the wars in *Iran*, had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay; this being done, and his empire every where in a flourishing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of *Sigjistan* and *Kabul* to his estates; and to this end he raised a considerable army, and marched into the territories of *Rustan*, whither he was no sooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead, but that his son *Feramorz* had taken possession of his government, and was marching to oppose him with a great army. The king of *Persia*, being desirous that the war should have a speedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the success he could desire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and *Feramorz* killed upon the spot. He took likewise *Zal-zer*, the father of *Rustan*, prisoner, and returned triumphantly into *Persia*, after obliging the inhabitants of those provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful lord. *Mirkhond* gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of *Rustan*, which happened a little before this war commenced; he had, according to this historian, a brother whose name was *Chajal*, whom he sent to collect his revenues in *Kabul*, where it so happened, that *Chajal* fell desperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman of most accomplished beauty and of the rarest qualifications; the governor, observing how much the young man was smitten, gave him all the interruption possible in his amour, until he promised to do for him whatever he desired, provided he might have his daughter; *Chajal* having promised this, the governor proposed to him the putting of his brother into his hands, that he might secure to himself the absolute possession of his own territories by putting him to death, to which *Chajal*, for the sake of his mistress, assented. On his return home, discoursing with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of *Kabul*, whom  
he



he trusted so much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction. *Rustan*, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family, to which end he assembled his forces; but his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in *Rustan's* temper, persuaded him, that his presence alone was sufficient to fright the governor of *Kabul* into submission, whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend and this treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Kabul*, the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his submission, and most humbly besought *Rustan's* pardon, which *Rustan* having given him, the governor entreated, him to rest that night at his house, which was but a small distance from them; when they came near its gates, *Chajal* rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left, when on a sudden the ground gave way, and *Rustan* and his horse fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. *Rustan*, being apprised of their treachery, intreated one of the governors attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts; the man touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands, whereupon *Rustan* drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly two arrows with such dexterity, that he struck the treacherous governor and his perfidious brother each to his heart, dying a little after himself of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the *Persian* historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and support of his country and of its kings; but we shall shew in the note below, that this story of the life and adventures of *Rustan* must not be understood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction of the provinces formerly

(S) The title of this section is *the history of Persia, according to the oriental writers*. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic historians; but it does not follow, that we must either believe ourselves, or obtrude on our readers, all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as sensible as the most inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the best *Persian* historians, and it is not impossible, that we may sometimes mistake their meaning. For example, we know that *Apberasfab*, king of *Touran*, must have lived several hundred years, if what we have set down in our history be true, or else for a long series of years the princes of that country were stiled *Apberasfab*, as the kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaoh*, and the kings of the *Philistines* were intituled *Abimelech*. But then the same difficulty recurs

merly held by the hero we have just now mentioned, *Bahaman*, or *Ardshir*, extended his empire on all sides; some historians

as to *Rustan*. His father *Zal-zer* lived to be carried away prisoner by *Bahaman*, of whose reign we are now speaking, he must then have been near seven hundred years old, and *Rustan*, who was lately dead, must have been greatly upwards of six hundred; these are incredible things, and therefore we must suppose, that, notwithstanding the *Persian* historians speak all as of one man, there was a succession of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of *Sigjistan*, and called from their famous ancestor *Rustan*. Something of this sort we meet with in scripture, where not only two kings of *Gerar* are called *Abimelech*, but both the captains of their host are stiled *Phicol* (40). What renders our conjecture still the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a succession of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a suspicion, that we swallow without consideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we shall have closed our history of the *Persian* kings, natives of that country, we shall, as we have promised, give a large account of the chronology of these times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumstances, which we have not had occasion to insert in the text, as to the family of which we were just now speaking. The author of the *Gulistan* tells us, that *Zal-zer* gave his son *Rustan* this caution. *Never despise an enemy, however impotent he may seem at present, for a stream, which will scarce bear a straw at its source, grows in its course strong enough to carry away a camel and its burden* (41). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums bestowed by the oriental romance writers on our hero *Rustan*. Of all his exploits none, however, furnishes them with so much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with *Ispendiyar*. These stories were so pleasant in themselves, so agreeably embellished by those who took them for their theme, that they gave no small interruption to *Mohammed* in his settling his new religion. It seems there was one *Nesser* who had been in *Persia* about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of *Rustan's* combats with *Ispendiyar*, he vehemently opposed *Mohammed*, and laughed at his pretended mission, and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with these stories, which had such an affect, that when *Mohammed* brought them a new chapter of the *Koran*, they would frequently cry out, *This is an old story; there is no great matter in this; it is not half so pleasant as the stories of Nesser*, which provoked the pretended prophet very much; and put him upon cursing this *Nesser* violently as an enemy to God

(40) Genes. xxi. 22. xxvi. 26.  
ent. Art. Zal.

(41) D' Herbelot. Bibl. Ori-



torians say, that *Kiresh*, i. e. *Cyrus*, was his governor in *Babylon*; but this is a palpable mistake grounded on a real fact, viz. the great kindness which this prince expressed for the *Jews*; some have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son whose name was *Sassan*, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a sovereign; however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did pretend to the succession on the demise of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shewn in the next period of our *Persian* history from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of *Dirazdest* derived from thence, *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* died, and left his empire to his wife *Homai*, whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of

and the true religion (42). It is to these stories of *Nesser's*, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that *Mohammed* alludes in the following passage of his *Koran*: "There is with God great reward for the righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear God, he shall remove your enemies far from you, and pardon your sins, his goodness is infinite. The wicked have conspired against thee to punish and slay thee, or drive thee from *Mecca*; but God hath rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, he knoweth all the designs of conspirators. When his miracles were related to them and his commandments taught them, they said we have heard them; we had said the like things, had we so inclined; it is but a song and a fable of old men: Remember thou how they said, My God, if what *Mabomet* declareth be true, cause a shower of flint stones to fall upon us, and rigorously chastise us; he shall not chastise them when thou art with them, neither when they beg pardon of him; who is he that is able to hinder God to punish them? They are not in his grace when they hinder true believers to enter the temple of *Mecca*, he protecteth only such as have his fear before his eyes, but most of them understand it not. Their prayers are very light, they go hand in hand in the temple, but shall one day feel the punishment of God because of their iniquity (43)."

(42) *Ibid. Art. Alcoran.* (43) *Koran. cap. Alfan. i. e. Of the booty.*  
this

this prince was, *That the gate of a king ought never to be shut*<sup>c</sup>.

*Homai* or *Khamani*, about five months after her accession *Homai*. to the throne, brought forth a son of wonderful beauty. According to the custom of those times, the astrologers were consulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it seems, were unanimously of opinion, that his fate would by no means correspond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himself, for which reason they advised that he should be immediately destroyed. The tenderness of a mother would not permit *Homai* to follow their counsels, and yet her love for her country extended so far, that she determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it those mischiefs the astrologers had threatened. With this view she caused a little wooden ark or chest to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious stones, and then suffered the vessel to sail down the *Gihon* or *Oxus*. The floating cradle came at last within the view of a poor man washing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He struck with the novelty of beholding a chest on the water, took pains to draw it on shore, and was mightily surprised on finding therein a child with things of such value, not doubting but it was the descendant of some great family. He carried it with the precious stones which were in the cradle with it to his wife; who, concurring with him in opinion that it was the son of some person of distinction, bred it up with as much tenderness and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of *Darab*, from the vehicle in which and the element wherein he was found; *Dar* signifying a wooden vessel, and *Ab* water. When this child was grown up to such an age as required its learning some trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy shewed a visible reluctance thereto, and appeared to have a strong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, strained his abilities to the utmost to furnish the young *Darab* with an equipage necessary to his serving in the army, then raised for the reduction of *Roumestan*, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but *Darab* performed therein such extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the whole army; wherein, though the flower of the *Persian* nobility had served, yet none had attained to so high a reputa-

<sup>c</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xvii. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. BAHAMAN.



tion as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported such favourable things of him to the queen his mistress, that she would needs see him. *Darab* upon this was introduced into the royal presence, where, after some discourse about the war and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered as to the first, that his name was *Darab*, but that as to his parents he was able to say nothing; that the persons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little chest, and that from thence they had given him the name of *Darab*. The queen, having considered and inquired into this story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor with the general approbation of her people<sup>f</sup>. This princess, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions *Istachr*; to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the *Persians* call *Chilminar*, and is the palace of *Persepolis*. We will not take upon us to affirm, that these authors are in the right, but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen *Homai*'s choosing to erect it here is neither absurd nor incredible; they alledge, that *Gushtasp* having erected several *Pyraa* or *Fire-temples*, and cut for himself and for his successors superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, *Homai* was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of *Persian* magnificence might appear together, and set off each other; to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids, smaller but not unlike those in *Egypt*, scattered throughout all *Persia*, and every where overturned by the soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. This princess is likewise said to have built a city called *Semrim* or *Semirah*, whence a famous *Persian* author hath been led to think, that the *Homai* of the *Persians* was the *Sciramis* of the *Greeks*; but in this perhaps there is more of criticism than solidity<sup>g</sup>. The author

<sup>f</sup> MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xviii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. HOMAI.

<sup>g</sup> TARIK. MONTEKEEH.

of another *Persian* chronicle is so far from thinking her either the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*, or so famous a queen of *Persia* as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the *Persian* monarchs of the dynasty of the *Kainites*<sup>h</sup>. *Mirkond*, however, assures us, that she reigned thirty two years, and then resigned the crown to her son *Darab*<sup>i</sup> (T).

<sup>h</sup> TARIKCOZIDEN.

<sup>i</sup> MIRKOND. ubi supra.

(T) The oriental histories mention various queens who flourished and did great things in their respective countries, and yet are little known to us in the west. If we consider what the *Persian* historians say of her building the glorious palace at *Istachr*, we shall find it not so improbable as at first sight it may seem. We have shewn before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of *Gushtasp* arts and sciences flourished exceedingly in *Persia*; his grandson and successor *Babaman* must have carried them still higher, for he was very successful in all his wars, and after he had finished them applied himself to the adorning his country with stately buildings, as *Mirkbond* expressly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was also a potent and successful princess, should endeavour to establish her fame by erecting so magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; she might adorn this new-raised palace of hers with the spoils brought by her immediate predecessors out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and as to the grand procession which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be supposed to represent the homage paid to *Babaman* or *Ardshir* by the states of *Persia*, when he assembled them in the first year of his reign, and submitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their censure? That he did this, *Mirkbond* affirms, and that they were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and loyalty on that occasion. What more noble transaction could this princess choose, than this recognition of her husband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as descent, by a generous and wise people. But let this procession be what it will, it may as well be placed here as any-where else, and till the learned by dint of their enquiries and criticisms can furnish us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the *Persian* historians. As to the modern *Persians*, they, as we have here before observed, speak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king *Solomon* and the fairies, have nothing to offer against queen *Homai*'s being the founder of that stupendous fabric, the ruins of which are now called *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty pillars*, though, if we may trust *Dr. Hyde*, its old *Persic* name was *Hazar-sutun*, i. e. *a thousand columns* (44).

(44) *H. R. Vet. P. cap. xxiii. p. 304.*

*Darab,*



Darab.

*Darab*, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a *Persian* writer, that the young *Darab*, being one day at the water-side with his supposed father, addressed himself thus to the dyer: “ I should be very glad if you would tell me the truth as to my birth, for I begin to imagine, from the aversion I have to this business, and from my contempt of all manual labour, that I am not really your son, as you have hitherto made me believe.” “ Whoever, said the dyer, beheld a ruby and supposed it dropt from a common stone, might conceive that a youth of your shining parts was what till this time you have passed for, the son of a fuller.” “ Whatever my parts may be, returned *Darab*, I should be much pleased to hear, without either allegories or metaphors, who I am to suppose myself, and whether that spirit of ambition which I feel in my breast ought to be checked or cherished; upon this the honest old man related to him all he knew, which as soon as *Darab* heard, he demanded the jewels, and having received them went directly to the army, and applying himself to the commander in chief, told him all that his reputed father had related.” The general was at that very time about to give battle to the *Greeks*, he therefore gave no answer to *Darab*, but advised him to keep his own counsel, and to serve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which instructions of his he exactly pursued, and behaved with such prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave easy credit to what he had told him, and, on his return from the war, presented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her son. Which of these stories is true, or which comes nearest the truth, we pretend not to determine. All historians agree, that he ascended the throne as the son of *Bahaman* or *Ardshir*, and that he gave the highest proofs of his royal descent by his wife and gentle administration. His valour had been sufficiently distinguished before he ascended the throne, he suffered it not to rust after he assumed the royal dignity; for at the same time he loved justice, and took care to have it exactly administered throughout all his wide dominions; he was likewise a munificent patron of arts and sciences, easy of access, eloquent in speech, and one of the most humane princes that ever swayed a sceptre. On some account or other he found it necessary to turn his arms on *Filikous*, that is *Philip*, king of *Macedon*; at first by his captains, and at last in person with such success, that *Philip*,  
being

being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept such terms as *Darab* thought fit to impose; and they were these; that the king of *Macedon* should pay yearly the sum of forty thousand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and should give his daughter, one of the handsomest princesses in *Greece* to *Darab* for a wife, which was accordingly done. The very first night that *Darab* passed with his new spouse, he found her breath so offensive, that he resolved to send her back to her father, notwithstanding that, as some writers say, she was with child. After the *Macedonian* war was over, *Darab* applied himself wholly to the arts of peace, and to the settling such things as were still in disorder, and inventing new methods for giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects. Amongst other wise and glorious acts of this good prince, the settling posts throughout all *Persia* is particularly recorded, which he executed with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers setting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleasant and beautiful city in proper *Persia* on which he bestowed his name, calling it *Darabgerd*, i. e. *Mount Darab*, in the middle of which rose a hill in shape of a tent or a pavilion, and without its walls lay a circle of hills, producing salt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of *Persia*; he likewise erected another city called *Khourch*, and after a reign of four years, according to *Mirkhond* <sup>k</sup>, of fourteen, says another writer <sup>l</sup>, and of twelve, says a third <sup>m</sup>, he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son (V).

*Darab*

<sup>k</sup> Hist. sect. xix.  
TARIKH.

<sup>l</sup> TARIKH MONTEKEBN.

<sup>m</sup> LEB-

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an historian, that in his writings he should forget his country, or rather, that he should lay aside that partiality which a man naturally has for his country; the *Persian* historians, as we have said in our text, represent *Darab* moralizing in his last moments, and reading a lecture on the vicissitudes of this world with his expiring breath, closing all with passionate intreaties, that *Alexander* would use his subjects kindly, and take his daughter *Roushengh* to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, so truly a prince, even in the sight of death? The *Greek* writers on the other hand make *Darius* moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero; he was so struck with the virtues of the *Macedonian*, that he yielded to him his sceptre rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what *Plutarch* puts into the mouth of *Darius* on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own, that the desire of making all facts contribute as far as possible to the  
glory



Darab II. *Darab* the second, or the younger, surnamed *Darab Kuchek*, came very young to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince ; he was of an ill disposition, haughty, brutal, false and cruel, properties which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The *Persians*, unused to such treatment, entered into private negotiations with *Ascander*, the son of *Filikous*, that is *Alexander the Great*, the son of *Philip*, whom many of the *Persian* writers believe to have been the son of *Darab* the first by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he sent back because of her stinking breath, and persuaded him to enter *Persia* with an army, promising him to join with him as soon as he arrived with a force sufficient to protect them, and to put him in posses-

glory of one's country is not peculiar to *Persian* writers. *Plutarch*, having long expatiated on the virtues of *Alexander*, tells us, that *Darius* was a long time of opinion that he owed his successes to fortune ; but when he understood the truth, he said, " Well, I do not yet perceive the condition of the *Persians* so deplorable, since the world can never tax us now with imbecility or effeminacy, whose fate it was to be vanquished by such a person. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and that he may still be victorious in war, to the end that in well doing I may surpass *Alexander*. For my emulation and ambition lead me in point of honour to shew myself more cordial and friendly than he. If then the father have otherwise determined of me and mine, O *Jupiter*, preserver of the *Persians*, and you his equal deities, to whom the care of kings belong, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but *Alexander* to sit upon the throne of *Cyrus* (45)." One may safely say, that there is as just ground to suspect this passage of forgery as any of the romantic stories in the *Persian* authors. *Darius* worshipped no God but the true God ; he was utterly unacquainted with the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* ; and it does not appear, that even after *Alexander* conquered *Persia*, he established the superstitions of the *Greeks* there. That *Darius* might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to *Alexander*, or that he might intreat him to use his subjects well, is credible ; but that *Darius* fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waste his empire, is a stroke of *Greek* eloquence which may please us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digested for history. We must therefore bear with the *Persians* as well as the *Greeks*, seek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another with concealing or disguising her to serve a turn.

(45) *Plutarch de fortuna Alexand.*



sion of an empire, of which they held *Darab* to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they advised *Ascander* to refuse payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to send annually into *Persia*; and with these negotiations the king of *Macedon* readily fell in. *Darab*, finding that *Ascander* did not send his tribute as usual, sent an ambassador to demand it; to whom *Ascander* answered, that those who paid tribute in his country were dead; but others say, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which signified at once a piece of corn and an egg, *Ascander* answered *Darab's* ambassador in derision, when he demanded a mighty sum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid those eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burdened his subjects with this tribute. This answer terribly provoked *Darab*, who, to shew at once his resentment and contempt of so weak an enemy, sent a second ambassador with a harsh message, accompanied with a present, more expressive of his master's sentiments than any speech or letter could have been; this present was a little casquet, containing a *dibble*, or *planting stick*, a bag full of small stones, and another full of small coin; the first to intimate that he was young and inconsiderate, and that he had better employ himself in his gardens than in matters of state; the second shewing the power and strength of the *Persian* nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying, that it was a rash, imprudent thing, for such a petty prince as he to oppose so great and powerful a monarch. However, this ambassador with his present found *Ascander* on the point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his master any answer. The troops of the king of *Macedon* were not very numerous, but they were all chosen men, such as were valiant in their persons, and at the same time enured to hardships. On his entering *Asia* he met with little opposition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived against *Darab*, and partly from the generosity of *Ascander's* behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but subjects. When he arrived in *Armenia*, he received a letter from *Darab*, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, advised him not to hazard a battle, but rather to consent to a peace while it was yet in his power, adding some menaces at the close. *Ascander* returned him for answer, that empires were bestowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this he continued his march till he entered the province of *Aderbayagjan*,  
VOL. V. C c where



where he defeated one of *Darab's* captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having done this he advanced into *Ghilan*; this province, according to *Mirkbond*, was in old times a flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants *Endsafet*, i. e. the *White Indies*, in allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the *Indies* properly so called; its situation also being remarkably happy by reason of the *Caspian* sea on one side, and their easy correspondence with *Tartary*, *Persia*, and *Armenia* lying round them. This country *Ascander* quickly subdued; from thence he marched into the heart of *Persia*, where, in the province properly called by that name, *Darab* met him with a prodigious army; after an obstinate and bloody battle, *Ascander* carried the victory, and *Darab* was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the *Persians* met with a river, wherein many entering heedlessly were drowned; at last a ford was discovered, through which *Darab*, attended by the principal persons in his army, passed; but the soldiers who followed him crowding one another, the weakest were thrown down, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king was come to a place of safety he sent once more ambassadors to *Ascander* to treat of peace, offering in case he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his troops back to *Greece*, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make some other concessions; at the same time that he entered into this treaty, he dispatched ambassadors also to the kings of *India* and *Macherek*, intreating them to yield him assistance; that he might be able to drive the *Greek* out of his dominions; which they furnished with such readiness, that in a short time he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for *Ascander*, he treated the offers made him by *Darab* with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the *Persian* forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle, in which the *Greek* gained another complete victory, *Darab* flying with a few of his captains to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several mortal wounds with their poignards, and then fled to the camp of *Ascander*, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. *Ascander* no sooner received the news, than he went with the utmost expedition to *Darab's* fortress, and found him in his last agonies, which sight so touched the *Greek*, that,  
melting

melting into tears and holding up his hands to heaven, he protested, he had neither knowledge of, nor pleasure in, so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction thereat, assured him, that he thoroughly believed all he said, besought him to chastise the traitors by whose hands he died, and intreated him to espouse his daughter *Roushengh*, and not to put the several provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers, with all which *Ascander* promised to comply. Then *Darab*, after making many pitiful complaints of the misery of human life and the inconstancy of fortune, all of which are repeated by *Mirkbond*, yielded up the ghost after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed for the most part the author last mentioned. An author mentioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that, in compliance with *Darab's* last request, *Ascander* or *Alexander* appointed for the governors of *Persia* natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this disposition, and to have appointed *Greeks* in their room; but that *Aristotle*, whom this writer calls his vizier, advised him to leave things as they stood, and not to remove any of the *Persian* lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces. It is very certain, that this circumstance is not, strictly speaking, agreeable to truth: *Aristotle* neither accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of state, except in general terms; otherwise it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, since it would evidently have contributed to the keeping of the people quiet and easy; and would also have been very conformable to the temper of *Alexander*, who, when in a right frame of mind, always professed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a desire of behaving as an universal parent towards those over whom, as an universal monarch, he sought the power of ruling; at least, this is the idea *Plutarch* would give us of him, as well as *Aristotle*, who, though a philosopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than most of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticise, his actions (W). The reader might very well expect,

IAHIA AL CASVINI in LEBTARIKH. ° De fortuna Alexand.

(W) That *Alexander* should promise a dying monarch whatever he demanded seems perfectly agreeable to his character, as drawn by eastern and western authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquished. That *Aristotle* gave him general



expect, that we should here put an end to this section, especially since he has already seen the history of *Persia*, according to the *Greek* writers, concluded at the death of *Darius*. But so it is, that in order to pursue the scheme laid down in the title of this section, we are bound to carry on our history to the death of *Alexander*; for, as we have shewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to save the credit of the *Asiatics*, have pretended, that the empire of *Iran*, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of *Alexander*, not so much by conquest as by right; in this light therefore *Alexander* was the last monarch of the *Dynasty* of the *Kainites*, and his reign consequently ought as much to be taken notice of here as the reigns of any of his predecessors<sup>p</sup>. *Alexander*,

<sup>p</sup> MIRKHOND. sect. xx, xxi. D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. Art. DARAB, ESCANDER.

precepts as to government we may easily believe; and if the authority of *Plutarch* hath due weight, we shall conceive the expedition of *Alexander* against the *Persians* to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philosopher to civilise all mankind. It would be, however, a difficult matter to swallow this; we shall therefore, instead of pressing it farther, produce the passage from the *Greek* author last mentioned, to which we alluded in the text, and which will sufficiently shew, that the *Persian* writers are not absolutely in the wrong, when they ascribe some points of *Alexander's* conduct to the influence *Aristotle* had over him, though they are grossly mistaken in making him his vizier. “ If philosophers, says *Plutarch*, assume to themselves their highest applause “ for cultivating the most fierce and rugged conditions of man, “ certainly *Alexander* is to be acknowledged the chiefest of philosophers, who changed the wild and brutish customs of so many “ various nations, reducing them to order and government. “ 'Tis true indeed, that so much admired commonwealth of *Zeno* “ no, first author of the stoic sect, aims singly at this, that neither in cities nor in private houses we should live under laws distinct one from another, but that we should look upon all men “ in general to be our fellow countrymen and citizens, observing “ one manner of living, one kind of order, like a flock feeding “ together, with equal right in one common pasture. This *Zeno* “ wrote, fancying to himself as in a dream a certain scheme of civil order, and the image of a philosophical commonweal. But “ *Alexander* made good his words by his deeds: For, as *Aristotle* “ sagely advised him, he did not rule the *Grecians* like a moderate prince, and insult over the barbarians like an absolute tyrant; neither, like one that took particular care of the first as “ his friends and domestics, but scorning the latter as mere brutes “ and vegetables, did he fill his empire with fugitive incendiaries “ and perfidious tumults. But believing himself sent from heaven

“ as

*Alexander*, son of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, is by the *Persian* writers stiled *Iscander Ben Filoukous*, which signifies the same thing, only they pretend, that it was a kind of surname bestowed on him for the following reason ; they will have it, that he was the son of *Darab* the first by the daughter of *Filoukous*, whom he sent home because of her stinking breath, but that *Philip* bringing him up as his own son, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himself out of gratitude *Alexander* the son of *Philip*, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Persia* as heir to *Darab* his father (X). The oriental writers

“ as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and sub-  
 “ duing those by force whom he could not associate to himself by  
 “ fair offers, he laboured thus, that he might bring all regions far  
 “ and near under the same dominion. And then, as in a festival  
 “ bowl, mixing conversations, manners, customs, wedlocks all to-  
 “ gether, he ordained, that every one should take the whole ha-  
 “ bitable world for his country, of which his camp and army  
 “ should be the chief metropolis and garison ; that his friends and  
 “ kindred should be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious  
 “ only should be accounted foreigners. Nor would he that the  
 “ *Greeks* should be distinguished from the *Barbarians* by their long  
 “ garments, by their targets, by their scimitars, or turbans ; but  
 “ that the *Grecians* should be known by their virtue and courage,  
 “ and the *Barbarians* by their vices and their cowardice. How-  
 “ ever, that their habit, their diet, their marriages, and custom of  
 “ converse, should be every where the same, engaged and blended  
 “ together by the ties of blood and pledges of offspring (46). How  
 glorious a reputation would *Alexander* have obtained, if his ac-  
 tions had been uniform, and apparently founded on such notions  
 as are attributed to him by the philosopher ? His burning of *Per-  
 sepolis* is a little inconsistent with the idea given us by *Plutarch* ;  
 but it is very probable, that great man meant no more than to  
 shew us what *Alexander* would have done, if he had always acted  
 up to the heroic maxims laid down by his tutor *Aristotle*. On  
 the whole, it may be justly said, that it was the passions of *A-  
 lexander* only which spoke him a man : in his cooler moments,  
 and when he acted without their impulse, he seemed something  
 more than man ; such are the effects of an excellent education, and  
 of such importance it is, that those who are to govern multitudes  
 should be superior in knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(X) The history of *Alexander the Great* has not only been inter-  
 mixed with fables by the *Persian* writers ; the eastern authors in  
 general, even those most esteemed, abound with very extraordinary  
 circumstances relating to that conqueror. *Joannes Malala*, a very

(46) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*



ters in general bestow another surname upon him, viz. that of *Dhoulcarnein*, or rather *Dulcarnein*, which signifies literally

celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for a very curious history of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, hath given us some strokes in his account of *Alexander*, which do not very well agree with what the *Greek* writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: for example, he makes *Roxana* the daughter of *Darius*, in which he joins with the *Persian* historians, who, as we have seen, alledge, that the emperor of *Persia*, in his last moments, intreated *Alexander* to marry his daughter *Rouscbengh*; whereas *Arrian* makes *Roxana* the daughter not of *Darius*, but of *Oxyartes*; but this is a small matter: we have in the same author a story of some length, which is quite in the oriental taste: “It was the custom, says he, “ of *Alexander the Great*, in the expeditions he made after the “ conquest of *Persia*, to go in disguise with such ambassadors as he “ sent to the courts of neighbouring princes, that in this situation “ he might make such observations as might facilitate his designs. “ Of this it seems *Candace*, queen of the inner or higher *Æthiopia*, “ had notice, whereupon she made strict inquiry as to the form and “ presence of this conqueror; the result of this was, that she was “ told, he was low in stature, had large broad teeth, some of which “ stood out; that of his eyes, one was of a light grey, the other “ quite black, which marks she carefully remembered. When “ therefore *Alexander* appeared with his ambassadors in her presence, she instantly singled him out, addressing herself to him in “ these words; *You, O Alexander, have been too wise for all the “ world, and yet one woman has been too wise for you*; to which he “ replied, *I therefore grant you and your subjects my protection, as a “ reward for your extraordinary capacity; I also accept you for a “ wife*; to which *Candace* readily yielded. After this marriage “ *Alexander* went into *Æthiopia* and several other countries (47)”. If we were critically to enquire into the origin of such stories, we should perhaps find it no difficult thing to shake off all romantic circumstances, and leave only the naked truth; but the compass of these notes neither admit of such disquisitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our present business is to shew what oriental writers have said of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leads us to cite what is recorded by *Abul-Pharajius*. This celebrated historian calls *Nebuchadnezzar* by the name of *Bochtanser*, as the *Persian* writers do, and in his short account of the *Persian* kings preserves exactly the names recorded by *Mirkbond*; I mean the latter race of kings, the descendants of *Gushtasp*, who succeeded after the *Greek* power ceased to have dominion in *Persia*;

(47) *Chronographia*, p. 249.

ly *with two horns*, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west, both of which the eastern writers affirm to

he calls the last king of *Persia Darab*, the son of *Darab*; of *Alexander* he speaks thus: "*Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, reigned six years after the death of *Darius*, having also reigned six years before his death. He subdued many nations, so that his dominions extended even to *India*, and the frontiers of *China*. He was called *Dhul-Karnain*, i. e. *two-horned*, because he seemed to have passed from one horn of the sun to the other, i. e. from east to west. Five and thirty kings he slew, and twelve cities he founded; two of these in the province of *Chorasán*, viz. *Hera* and *Marwa*; one in the region *Alsogd*, viz. *Samarchand*, and in *Egypt Alexandria*; when he returned out of *India* he went to *Babylon*, where he died of poison, and his body being put into a chest of gold, was born on the shoulders of kings and nobles to the *Egyptian Alexandria*, where it was interred. It was *Alexander* who began the wall *Yajuji*, which was composed of stone and iron, the iron being let into the stone to fasten it by the help of fire, each of the stones being twelve cubits in length, and eight broad. This wall when it was finished came down to the place called *Babo l' Abwah*, in the vallies of the region of *Kaphjak*, from whence it was carried over and through the mountains as far as the sea of the *Greeks*; nor were there wanting many of the *Persian* kings, who to defend their dominions from the incursions of the *Turks*, sought to find the foundations of this wall; at last they were found by *Yazdegerd*, the son of *Babram Fur*, who began to carry on the work, but did not live to see it finished; several succeeding kings prosecuted the same design, but none of them with effect, till God rendered it easy to *Chosroes Nusherwan*, who built it strongly, uniting it to the mountains, and at last brought it down to the sea, placing iron gates at the end, so that a hundred men were then able to defend what would otherwise require an army of an hundred thousand (48)". Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of *Persia*, it is necessary that we should give some further account. The famous *Abu l'Ghazi Baliader Khan* of *Khowaraxm*, in his genealogical history of the *Tartars*, has given us the following account of it: "*Those of Kitay* have built a great wall to cover their country, in which there are two iron gates for the passage of the merchants and other travellers. This wall is called *Sat* in *Arabic*, which signifies *Fortress*; in the antient *Turkish* language it is called *Turk-urga*; and in the language of *Kitay*, *Ungu*. *Alexander the Great* caused a like wall to be raised to cover the frontiers of his dominions; but it was composed of all sorts of metals. His design by this wall was to hinder the nation of *Jad-*

(48) *Historia Dynast.* p. 97.



to have been conquered by two *Alexanders*, to whom therefore they have given this surname. The first *Alexander*, if any credit could be given to the authors who have written about him, ought to be preferred far before the latter, since he stretched his conquests to the very extremity of the globe,

“ *futz-Madxuth*, i. e. of *Gog* and *Magog*, from carrying their ravages  
 “ into the lands under his dominion, where they had done great  
 “ mischief in times past. 'Tis a general tradition with the *Tartars*,  
 “ that those people have the muzzle of a dog ; and that this wall  
 “ being made up of all sorts of metals, they did all in their power  
 “ to make a passage through it by dint of licking, but they could  
 “ not succeed. That nevertheless before the day of judgment,  
 “ they shall come and lick their way through the wall, and that  
 “ then they shall do a great deal of mischief in the world. *Nau-*  
 “ *shir Wanadill*, sultan of *Samachy*, caused in like manner a wall  
 “ of earth to be built round about his kingdom (49)”. On this  
 passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the fol-  
 lowing remarks ; “ The remains of this wall, which the *Persians*  
 “ pretend their king *Naw-shirwan* caused to be drawn from the  
 “ *Caspian* to the *Black sea*, are at this day to be seen upon the con-  
 “ fines of the province of *Shirwan* and *Georgia* : it begins at the  
 “ higher town of *Derbend*, and extends thence north westward  
 “ across the mountains of *Georgia* towards the *Black-sea*. These  
 “ remains are every where three feet thick, but its height is very  
 “ unequal ; for in some parts it is still six and seven feet high, in  
 “ others only one or two, and in some places it is quite beaten  
 “ down. It appears at first sight to be built of stone, but when one  
 “ comes to examine it near, it proves to be only a kind of petrified  
 “ earth, sand, and shells, which has formed so solid a body, that  
 “ there is no free-stone better than it ; and it is on this account  
 “ that our author thinks it might be called a wall of earth. The  
 “ late emperor of *Russia*, in his *Persian* expedition, had the curio-  
 “ sity to go see the remains of this wall, so far as the situation of  
 “ the country and his affairs would permit him ; and he could not  
 “ but admire the solidity of that composition, which he found every  
 “ where so exceeding hard, that there was no breaking off any  
 “ pieces of it without employing a good deal of strength. He  
 “ found also some leagues within the mountain a skirt of it which  
 “ seemed to be intire, and was about fifteen foot high. In all pro-  
 “ bability, this wall had stood intire to this day, if it had nothing  
 “ to fear but time ; but the hands of men which built it have also de-  
 “ stroyed it ; and most of the towns, burroughs, and villages of the  
 “ country thereabouts are built with the ruins of this wall (50)”.

(49) *Geneal. Hist. of Tartars, Vol. I. p. 42.*  
*Vol. II. p. 722.*

(50) *Ibid.*

if we may be allowed the expression, and built a brazen wall in the north in order to hinder the descendants of Gog and Magog from pouring down like a torrent upon their southern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to discover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of *Abraham*, and say, that he lived sixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counsellor the prophet *Khedher*, who it is said found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof rendered himself immortal; which prophet, according to others, was contemporary with *Keykobod*, of whom we have spoken so much already. As to the latter part of this story, it is easily cleared up, since it is certain, that they confound *Khedher*, the counsellor of this mighty monarch, with a later prophet of the same name, or rather surname, who is no other than the prophet *Elias*, whose translation to heaven in a fiery chariot is by them changed into a discovery of the fountain of life, and gaining immortality by drinking its waters <sup>1</sup>. But enough of this elder *Dulcarnein*, unless we could say more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our *Alexander* received the same surname from his being monarch both of the east and west. The eastern writers, and especially the *Persian* historians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the *Greek* or *Latin* histories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being asked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he answered, that it was but just, because his father made him descend from heaven to earth, whereas the instructions of his master had made him to rise from earth to heaven <sup>2</sup>. One day he said to a counsellor of his, who had been long about his person, I am not satisfied with your service, for this reason, I know that I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and mistakes, for which you have never reprov'd me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you must be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you did know them, and yet were silent, it was treason <sup>3</sup>. It is likewise reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occasion to ask him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought

<sup>1</sup> MIRKHOND. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. DHOULCARNEIN, KHEDHER. <sup>2</sup> Vit. RABIALAKIAR. <sup>3</sup> HAFEZ, in BAHARISTAN.



himself to discharge its functions ; Very well, answered the courtier, since it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it, since every post requires sense and honesty to execute it well, and he who possesses these cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation. *Alexander*, having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward<sup>1</sup>. Somebody wondering, in the presence of *Alexander*, at his acquiring, so young, so large an empire, and adding it was still stranger he preserved it, he thereupon turned about, and said, By two maxims I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it their interest to become my friends ; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise out of gratitude a double affection for my service. *Khondemir*, the famous historian, speaking of *Alexander the Great*, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleasure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the style, looked next on the person of the man, and then answered him thus : Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit as neat and decent as that in which you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much better pleased with you than I am ; to which the man readily answered, Your servant has received from nature that capacity of speaking and writing which you are pleased to commend ; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must be indebted for such a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. *Alexander* was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a considerable sum of money gave it to this wise man in necessity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the *Nighiariſtan*, i. e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a gallery or place to walk in ; we are told that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of *Alexander*, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom ; which surprising those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to such a man ; and I, replied *Alexander*, who am not in yours, have pardoned him ; then after a short silence, he ad-

<sup>1</sup> MOIANNARI. ap. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. EscANDER.

ded, I the more readily pardon my enemies, because there is no comparison between the pleasure one tastes in an act of clemency and in an act of vengeance. *Khondemir*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, assures us, that finding his last moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verses to console her to the purport following ; *Your son, after having counted some moments of life, is delivered to death, he is gone like a flash of lightning, and has only left behind him matter of discourse* ". It may be supposed, that the intent of these verses was to put his mother in mind, that as human life, so human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore she ought not to grieve at his being snatched so soon from an empire so lately acquired, since, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great consequence to himself, and would have furnished only more matter of speculation to those who amuse themselves with repeating the actions, and sometimes censuring the conduct, of others. On what authority these stories are grounded is difficult to say ; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at instructing men by paraphrasing on remarkable actions and wise sayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which without such reflections instruct very little. A *Persian* author of great genius hath related a remarkable story of the hero we are now speaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the *Greeks* tell us of his sparing *Thebes*, because it gave birth to *Pindar*. The *Persian* story runs thus : " *Alexander* having given orders after the reduction of a very strong place, that it should be given up to the mercy of the soldiers, some of his courtiers informed the king, that there was in this place a philosopher of great note who deserved his majesty's notice ; the king ordered, that he should be immediately sent for ; when he appeared, it so happened, that he made but a very indifferent figure ; upon which *Alexander*, turning to those who had sent for him, said, with a smile of contempt, what strange figure have you brought me here ? Which so piqued the philosopher, that he repeated immediately the following lines, which he made upon the spot.

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,  
 Why should'st thou slight my person, though uncouth ?  
 Dost thou not know, that man's exterior form  
 Is but the scabbard of the enliv'ning mind ?  
 Why should'st thou judge then of the weapon's edge,  
 When yet you've nothing seen except the case ?



He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose :

“ One may say of a man unendued with virtue, that his  
 “ body is no better than a prison, since the soul must find  
 “ itself so penned up therein, that any other confinement  
 “ would seem liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious  
 “ man is tortured continually, there is no occasion for a  
 “ hangman and guards to punish or distress him, the very skin  
 “ which covers his body is at the same time the unsurmount-  
 “ able wall of a perpetual prison.” The same philosopher  
 added, “ There is nothing more unreasonable than to envy  
 “ others those gifts which God and nature have bestowed  
 “ upon them. The bosom of the envious man is continual-  
 “ ly full of anger and spleen against his creator, he thinks  
 “ every thing amiss which is given to others, and at the  
 “ same time covets whatever is not designed for him. As it  
 “ is thus the custom of the envious to oppose constantly  
 “ the conduct of him who governs the world with infi-  
 “ nite wisdom, so the mouth that thus murmurs against  
 “ providence deserves no other answer than to be filled with  
 “ earth. One of this disposition exclaims at every thing he  
 “ sees in the hands of his neighbour ; *For what reason should*  
 “ *this man have more than I ?*” At these words he stopped ;  
 but *Alexander*, admiring the boldness as well as prudence of  
 the man, bad him go on, assuring him, that he took all that he  
 said in good part ; the philosopher on this proceeded in his ha-  
 rangue : “ Wise men, continued he, are liberal of their  
 “ wealth, and give part of it to their friends while they are  
 “ alive, while the covetous are such fools as to fatigue them-  
 “ selves in laying up riches for their enemies. The raileries  
 “ thrown out by the great against such as are in low condi-  
 “ tion tarnish the lustre of their high qualities, and take off  
 “ that deference which otherwise would be paid them. Who-  
 “ ever wearies himself with striking those who dare not strike  
 “ again, will be easily beaten when he meets one who dares  
 “ oppose him ; and he who puts to the sword without pity,  
 “ will one day feel without pity the edge of a sword.”

*Alexander* at this stopped him, revoked his resolution, par-  
 doned the citizens whom he had destined to destruction, and  
 rewarded the philosopher for his timely advice<sup>w</sup>. It may  
 very possibly happen, that some rigid critic may object to  
 the inserting of this dubious relation in our history ; but we  
 hope, though it should be exploded as a fact, it will yet be  
 received as a proper instance of the *Persian* mode of writing

<sup>w</sup> FAREZ in BAHARISTAN.

history, and at the same time we remark this, let us be indulged another observation, that the writings of *Xenophon*, who was very well acquainted with the antient *Persian* learning correspond nearly with the manner of those authors we have lately cited ; for he reasons on all the facts which he delivers, insomuch that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the *Persian* writers, from the class of historians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatise of the education of *Cyrus* has within these few years found many warm and learned defenders, so, it may be, the time is near, when we shall see apologies written in favour of oriental historians, who, like *Herodotus*, may have their credit perhaps restored, when the subjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y).  
The

(Y) It is a common mistake which reigns in *Europe*, that the eastern nations, and particularly the *Persians*, are in the gross very illiterate, and absolutely passive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be established *jure divino*, and therefore not to be contradicted, or else stupidly drag the yoke, without daring to enquire by whom or how it is imposed. One would imagine, that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the east, and in *Persia* particularly, would have overturned this notion, because there could be no such thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject slaves ; there must be some reasoning to persuade people to take arms on the one side, and some arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other ; of consequence therefore, there must in such countries be politicians, nay, and there must have been always politicians, since rebellions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good sense in *Persia* have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it must be allowed, they have unanimously preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have professed a dislike of any form of rule but it ; it is likewise true, that they have a professed fondness for that patriarchal right of kings, which has been turned into such high ridicule by some of our great politicians ; but after all, though they allow their kings to be absolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked ; they acknowledge, that we owe them the same duty we do our parents ; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that respect ; they own, that the prince is to be looked upon as God's vicegerent, this was the old and catholic opinion among the *Persians* ; but at the same time they were far from paying him divine honours, or the king from hiding himself, as the *Greek* writers would persuade us, from the sight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one  
who



The *Persians* are not only much charmed with the character of the great *Alexander*, they are also wonderfully pleased with

who dwelt in such state ; the truth of all this will appear from an antient custom in use among the kings, of whom we have been speaking, on the first day of *April*, called from thence, that is, from this custom, *Chorrem ruz*, i. e. *the day of mirth*, on which, as a very antient writer informs us, the king descended from his throne dressed in a white garment ; afterwards riding abroad on a white horse, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiscriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aside all distinctions, and acting as if they were equals ; husbandmen and clowns sat down at the same table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made such requests as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addressed them in these terms ; I am one of you, and notwithstanding the elevation of my station, I know that all I have arises from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings ; let us then agree like brothers, since nothing but union can preserve us (51). The foregoing history hath shewn us, that the *Persian* kings in antient times were really as wise, as humane, and as condescending as any that have reigned in the north or west ; it would be invidious to say more so. If we look for the reasons which occasioned this, we may find them even in a *Greek* writer : “ At fourteen years old, says this excellent writer, those who were called the royal preceptors among the *Persians* take charge of the children of the crown ; they are in number four, the most renowned persons in the kingdom for wisdom, justice, temperance, and valour ; the first of these teaches the magic of *Zoroaster*, the son of *Oromazes* (he should have said the worshipper, for *Oromazes* was the name of God), and teaches also the royal institutions, &c. ” As to the modern *Persians*, on whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they too are wise enough to abhor slavery, and to speak and write as freely about government as we. For example, the famous poet *Sabdy* wrote an express treatise on this subject, called *an advice to kings* ; among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these : “ It is the wisdom of kings to be kind to the poor, and not to oppress the rich ; the felicity of a state depends on the good sense and right disposition of the sovereign. The security of his country depends on his administering justice impartially, prosperity follows security, and will be where that is. If a country is once known to be secure, merchants will resort thither ; the gain from thence will be large, and all temporal blessings will abound. If the country become rich, the king cannot well be poor, and besides, at the last day he shall be re-

(51) *Hyde, H. R. vet. P. c. xix. p. 253.*

“ compensated

with that of his vizier as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor *Aristotle*; this wise man they call sometimes by the name of *Aristhathialis*, but commonly by way of abbreviation *Aristou*; they report, that he was wonderfully sagaci-

“compensated amply by God for so well discharging his duty,  
“whereas he who acts in a contrary manner will in every  
“respect meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to  
“merchants and public ministers, that strangers being well received may carry agood report of you into their own country; soon will that kingdom fall wherein the souls of strangers are afflicted; be wise therefore, use the traveller well, that wheresoever he goes he may speak well of you.—A prince ought always to have before his eyes this maxim, dominion really belongs to God, and he has no certainty how long it shall be delegated to him; he ought likewise to remember, that the country he rules was given by God to the people who inhabit it, to the end he may not be misled by false ideas of things that have no solidity, and place his trust on joys that may not perhaps last five days. It is reported of the caleph *Aaron Reschid*, that he one day said to the famous *Belou* his Brother, *give me some good advice*; he answered, *There is nothing to be carried out of this world into the other but good and bad works; it is in your power to carry which load you please.*—This *Beloul* was a very knowing man, who, that he might have the more leasure to attend his studies, would never marry. The caliph his brother asked him another time for his advice, how he might govern his people for their advantage and his own; the sage answered, Let your decisions become laws through their apparent equity, and never make reason yield to your will; prevent, as far as you can, requests; give little to such as ask, but think of giving in time to such as merit and do not ask; the king is the head; the people are the body of the state; if the king is either ignorant or wicked, the head will devour the body with its teeth.—The government of an empire is an affair which requires a genius attentive and collected, and a heart which turns itself continually towards the Most High God to invoke his aid, that its owner may turn his feet, his hand, his tongue and his pen aright; and the king who acts thus God will undoubtedly endue with grace to conserve his empire and his piety (52)”. It is evident from these citations, that the *Persians* have at present, and have always had very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and subjects; and it is likewise plain, that the diffuse manner of writing peculiar to the east is not without its advantages, since the intent of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the wise sayings as well as great actions of famous kings.

(52) *ap. Chardin Voyages, tom. iii. p. 253.*



ous even in his childhood, that he addicted himself very early to the school of *Plato*, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of *Maschaioun*, i. e. the *Peripatetics*; they affirm likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all *Greece*. They are very positive, that he was prime minister to *Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, and, in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings and moral maxims under his name. *Ben Cassan* informs us, that *Aristotle* composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects, and amongst the rest mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the *Greek* writers. Its title runs thus; *A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle*, which, *Ben Cassan* says, he dedicated to *Alexander the Great*. As to his philosophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the antient *Persians*, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the *Arabians* \*. But to return to *Alexander*; *Mirkbond*, who has wrote very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of *Persia* under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the *Indies*, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of *Heri*, or *Herat*, and *Samarkand*; he reports likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the *Persian* learning, caused three celebrated treatises written in that language to be translated into *Greek*, the first relating to physick, the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z); he

\* D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. Art. ARISTHALIS.

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that *Mirkbond* might have inserted the story of *Alexander's* causing books to be translated out of the *Persic* language into *Greek*, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreasonable to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that *Alexander* was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever he thought might be useful to the common wealth of learning into *Greece*; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in *Babylon*. But as *Mirkbond* has set down the subjects of the books, which he alledges were translated by that conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indisputably better understood in *Persia* than in *Greece*. First, as to physick, if we consider the prescriptions of *Hippocrates* and other ancient physicians, we shall find, that the drugs then in use were most of them brought from the east, and not  
a few

he divided, says the same historian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and, after a short and glorious life, ended

a few from *Persia*; and if they had their drugs from these places, why should we question their learning from the inhabitants of these places how to use them? But farther still; among the works of *Zerduſht*, there is a treatise which bears the title of *Bizisbk nama*, i. e. *the book of physicians*, which is said to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been so very skilful in these matters, that *Sbarisani* in his treatise of the religions of the east, which we have so often quoted, attributes expressly all the miracles *Zerduſht* is said to have done to his skill in simples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inspired, he knew all things, if not, he knew so much of simples as to pass himself for a prophet; consequently there might be treatises on physic among the *Persians* well worth *Alexander's* directing to be put into *Greek*. Secondly, as to astronomy and other mathematical sciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the *Greeks*, and that from the testimony of the *Greeks* themselves; it is true, that the modern *Persians* stand indebted for most of their knowledge in these sciences to the writings of the *Greeks*, which are translated into *Arabic* and *Persian*; but the reason of this is plain, because the antient books relating to these abstruse sciences were not so carefully preserved as those which regard history and morality; these being valuable in the sight of many; those precious only in the eyes of few. As to moral philosophy, which was the subject of the third book mentioned by *Mirkbond*, it was the darling study of the antient *Persians*, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the subject of the book, intituled *Gjouidan Cbrad*, ascribed to *Hushang*, a king far older than *Zerduſht*. Morality was the subject of most of *Zerduſht's* writings, as we gather from such fragments of them as we have seen, and especially from the book *Sadder*, which, though written *ad captum vulgi* in verse and in a ballad style, contains as many moral sentences as are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius's* lives of the philosophers. To these arguments in favour of the learning of the antient *Persians* we may add the amazing love of science visible in the modern *Persians*; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the antient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their stores, since they far exceed the *Turks*, and indeed all the eastern nations, except the *Chinese*, in their affection for learning; as a proof of which we shall alledge the reigning maxims in their schools, not unworthy perhaps of being echoed in our universities: *Doubting is the beginning of science: he who doubts nothing examines nothing: he who examines nothing discovers nothing: he who discovers nothing*

(53) *Sbarisani* op. Hyde, R. vet. P. c. xxii. p. 300.



ended his days at *Babylon* in the thirty sixth year of his life and seventeenth of his reign <sup>†</sup>, leaving his conquests to be divided among his captains, who are distinguished by the *Arabs* and *Persians* with the title of *Molouk al Shaouaif*, i. e. the kings of nations or families. The *Persians* likewise take notice of *Alexander's* brother *Aridas*, whom they stile *Ardous*, and generally speaking make him the son instead of the brother of that monarch; they agree, however, with the *Greeks*, in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they soften this account, by pretending that he despised grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from *Aristotle* to think those goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away.

WE have now conducted the history of the *Persian* empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of *Alexander the Great*; in our next period we shall see it revive again, under a prince descended from their antient kings and of the magian religion. We have referred our researches into the

<sup>†</sup> MIRKHOND. hist. sect. xxi.

*is blind, and must remain blind.* An extraordinary affection for mysterious theology seems to have been the reigning passion of the antient *Persees*, and of the *Persians* at this day. Among the latter there is a sect stiled *Suphi* or *Sopbi*, who profess themselves admirers of the *Pythagoric* philosophy. *Pythagoras*, as we have shewn, is generally, and not without good grounds, supposed to have been the scholar of *Zoroaster*, and is thought to have learned from him those refined notions with which these men are charmed. To describe the notions of the *Suphi* in few words, we must say, that, according to their own account, they are *quietists* or *enthusiasts*; in the opinion of the vulgar *atheists*. They fast often and to excess, they pretend to ecstasies and conversations with God. They profess themselves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are saved. They have a remarkable aversion for churchmen, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy shew towards them. Sir *John Chardin* gives us a whimsical instance of this; he says he was present, when a preacher at *Spaughawn* told the people in his sermon that the *Suphis* were *atheists*, that they deserved to be burnt, and that he who killed one of this sect did an action more pleasing in the sight of God, than if he saved the lives of ten other men. As soon as he came out of the pulpit, five or six *Suphis* who were among his audience cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interposed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them answered briskly, *What! Ought a fellow who preaches up murder complain of a beating?* (54)

(54) *Chardin, Voyages, tom. iii. p. 211.*

chronology

chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native *Persians* in *Yezdegherd*; but before we close this section, it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history, which may arise from the very tenour thereof. For first it may be said, that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these *Persian* monarchs, and the years generally speaking assigned for the reign of each are so incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the antient historians must be condemned in the lump. *Berosus*, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inserted many fabulous narrations in his *Babylonish* antiquities. *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* historian, can expect no mercy if once this law be owned. *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Xenophon*, and innumerable others<sup>a</sup> will share the same fate with *Mirkhond* and the rest of the *Persian* writers. But after all, there is so tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is interwoven with the *Persian* history, that if a critic's stomach be not very nice, he may, after a little consideration, be brought to digest it. We opened this section with observing, that the antient *Medes* and *Persians* were very curious and exact in setting down all matters of consequence in their chronicles, and in preserving those chronicles through a long succession of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities sacred and profane. As to the style of these records, we may form some judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the sacred scriptures, and from the passage cited in relation to a conspiracy against *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther*<sup>a</sup>; and from all these it is plain, that though it was noble and sententious, it was far from being hyperbolic or romantic. But these records are no more; what we have now is taken from *Mohammedan* writers, who have certainly altered the old *Persian* history, and digested it according to their own taste; nay, what is still worse, many of these writers, neglecting the more antient and plain accounts of the old *Persian* empire, have taken up with the romances written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to serve other purposes, which at this distance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing history? Can we suppose, that strangers, born with a contempt for the *Per-*

<sup>a</sup> STILLINGFLEET. *Origines Sacrae*, lib. i. c. v.    <sup>a</sup> vi. 2.



*sees*, the descendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their ancestors strict justice? Can we believe, that those who, in consequence of the religion themselves profess, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever speak of it with impartiality and truth? Or can we doubt, that these writers have made many other alterations, when we find them asserting, of such kings as they report to have lived wisely and piously, that they were not *Magians*, but *true believers*, i. e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the *Persian* monarchs from *Keyomaras* to *Yezdegherd* were all of one religion, allowing for such alterations in that religion as are incident to all religions in so long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of *Persia* remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be just, but at the same time we can safely say, the same charge may be brought against every antient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the *Tartars* written, by *Abu l' Ghazi Babader Khan* of *Khovarazm*, from records the most antient and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but seventeen *Khans* between *Bertizena Khan* and *Kabul Khan*, though, according to his history, there intervened 2550 years between those princes; and in another part of his history he allows a thousand years for the reigns of six princes<sup>b</sup>. These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this single one is sufficient for our purpose; we do not pretend to say, that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended; we only alledge, that they are not more preposterous than the numbers which are met with in other oriental historians, who are notwithstanding allowed to have some truth in their works. This confession we hope will procure us some favour, and pave the way to those amendments which we shall offer in due time. But, secondly, It may be objected, that our *Persian* history from the oriental writers, being in most respects directly opposite to the history in the foregoing section, which is extracted from the *Greek* writers, one of the two must be rejected, since opposites can never be alike true. To this we may say, that we would be glad to compound the difference, and to allow that the *Persian* history from the *Greeks* is frequently to be preferred to this,

<sup>b</sup> Preface to the genealogical history of the *Tartars*, p. viii.

and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to that. Something in support of this demand has been already said on account of *Xerxes's* expedition, the life of *Zoroaster*, and the death of *Darius*. Besides, as we have before observed, the *Greeks* differ among themselves, nay, there is not one author amongst them, who in speaking of the *Persian* affairs, may not be proved to have been mistaken in several points, even from his own works. As for instance, *Herodotus*, who in one part of his history makes them worshippers of the elements, and in another polluters, in a third chastisers of them; add to this, that the *Greeks*, like all other writers, were notoriously partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the *Persians*; so that on the whole what we ask will not appear very unreasonable, especially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to decide as he pleases. But, thirdly, It may be objected, that these accounts, being opposite to what is recorded by the *Greek* writers, and having no authority to support them but their reputed antiquity, they ought for this reason to be rejected, since true history is always supported by concurrent testimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here; the strength, however, of this objection, which is the last, and perhaps the most plausible of all that can be offered against the foregoing series of facts, will be effectually weakened by the following considerations, which we had no opportunity of inserting in the body of the work. First, amongst those writers which are best known to the learned, there are none which come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the *Greek* historians the history of the *Medes* and *Persians* ascends, as we have shewn, very little higher than *Cyrus*, if we except what *Diodorus Siculus* has transcribed from *Ctesias* (A), which has been generally exploded by the critics<sup>c</sup>. With respect

<sup>c</sup> Universal History, Vol. IV. p. 141, & seq.

(A) We have so often mentioned *Ctesias* and his works in the course of this section, that there seems to be a necessity of our giving a short account of this author and his works, to render those remarks we have had occasion to make perfectly plain and clear. *Ctesias* lived thirty or forty years after *Herodotus*; he was by profession a physician, and seems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken prisoner by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whom he cured of a wound, which he received in the battle which he fought against his brother *Cyrus*. He resided sixteen or seventeen years in the *Persian* court, and, through the favour he was in there, had leave to peruse



respect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our history be unsupported by them, it is likewise uncontradicted. The first

peruse the royal chronicles and those authentic histories of which we have so often spoken. From these he compiled in XXIII books the history of the antient empires of *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Persia*; which history of his he brought into *Greece*, where it was received with the greatest applause. *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom we are as much indebted as to any antient author whatever, has transcribed into his bibliothèque the substance of *Ctesias*'s first six books, after having given us the following character of their author; "*Ctesias* the *Cnidian* was later than *Herodotus*, for he flourished at the time of *Cyrus*'s expedition against his brother *Artaxerxes*, in which being taken prisoner, he was, for his skill in physic, received into *Artaxerxes*'s favour, in whose court he lived in much honour and esteem seventeen years. During that space he digested into a regular history whatever he found worthy of notice in the *Persian* chronicles, wherein, by a fundamental law of the empire, all remarkable actions were exactly registered; and this history he brought with him into *Greece* (55)." *Diodorus* in the very place from whence we have quoted this passage, prefers *Ctesias* to *Herodotus*, as he does in most other places of his book where he cites either of them. *Xenophon*, speaking of the death of the younger *Cyrus*, quotes this writer with applause (56). *Plato* agrees with him as to the power of the antient *Assyrian* empire (57). *Aristotle* also commends him (58), and in a word almost all the antient authors who have written in *Greek* prefer him to *Herodotus*. The very learned patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Photius*, has preserved in his bibliothèque an abridgment of this author's *Persian* history, before which he premises, that this writer differed not a little from *Herodotus*, and even from *Xenophon*, who was universally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the east, and particularly on those of *Persia*, than any of the *Greeks*; but so it is, that *Xenophon*, as well as *Ctesias*, has been suspected of mingling fiction with true history, because he has not represented the *Persians* as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in sensuality and sloth, according to the usual custom of his countrymen. Besides his *Persian* history, *Ctesias* wrote also an *Indian* history wherein, it is generally agreed, that there are a great many strokes of fable; this *Indian* history of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and seems to be the true source of those severe censures, which many, and especially modern authors, have passed on this famous historian. *Photius* at the end of his abstract gives us this character of the writer we are speaking of; "The style of *Ctesias*, says he, though it is extremely plain and

(55) *Biblioth. lib. ii. p. 109.*

(56) *In Exped. Cyri, p. 266.*

(57) *In leg.*

(58) *Hist. Anim. lib. viii. c. 28.*

first race of *Persian* kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not whom to fix besides, unless

“ simple, is far from being unpleasant ; he uses the *Ionic* dialect, “ not every where as *Herodotus* does, but in some words only, for “ the sake of varying his language ; what is objected to him of “ his frequently running into fabulous stories, is not without “ grounds, especially in what he has written concerning *India*. “ The delightfulness of this history arises chiefly from his disposi- “ tion of facts, which are so placed, as continually to surprise “ the reader, and keep his attention engaged ; even his most fa- “ bulous accounts being adorned with a very pleasant and easy elo- “ quence (59).” Besides these large extracts, there are various fragments of this author to be met with in the works of *Athenæus* (60), *Apollonius* (61), *Plutarch* (62), *Ælian* (63), *Stephanus Byzantius* (64), &c. It would constrain us to draw this note into too great a length, should we pretend to shew wherein this author differs from the *Greek* writers, or wherein he agrees with the oriental authors, treating of the *Persian* history ; for the satisfaction, however, of the inquisitive peruser, we shall subjoin a short account of those reigns which interfere with the foregoing sections of the *Median* and *Persian* empires.

*Cyrus* is by him said to have married *Amytis*, and to have had two sons *Cambyfes* and *Tanyoxarces* ; he allows him to have reigned thirty years, and says, that he died of a wound received in battle.

*Cambyfes*, according to him, married *Roxana*, and after a reign of eighteen years, died of a wound which he casually gave himself in the thigh.

The *Magian*, styled by the *Greek* writers *Smerdis*, is by him called *Sphendadates* ; he computes his reign to have lasted only seven months, and relates him to have been slain by seven conspirators.

*Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, reigned thirty one years, died of a sickness which lasted thirty days, and left his empire to his son *Xerxes*.

*Xerxes* had to wife *Amystris* ; his children were *Dariæus*, *Hystaspes*, *Artaxerxes*, *Achæmæides*, *Artarius*, *Amytis*, and *Rhodoguna* ; this king was slain by *Artapanus* and *Spamitres*.

*Artaxerxes*, his wife's name was *Damaspia* ; he reigned forty two years, left but one legitimate son, viz. *Xerxes*, but seventeen by concubines, of whom *Secyndianus* and *Ochus* afterwards succeeded him.

*Xerxes* the second, he held the regal dignity forty five days, and was destroyed by a conspiracy.

*Secyndianus*, after a reign of six months and twenty five days, was smothered in ashes.

(59) *Phot. Biblioth. Art.* lxxii. p. 106. (60) *Deipnosophist.* x.  
(61) *Histor. Mirab.* xx. (62) *In vita Artaxer.* (63) *De*  
*Animal. Natura, lib.* vii. c. 1. (64) *Voce Δυσβασις.*

*Ochus,*



unless we take up with the feigned catalogue of *Assyrian* monarchs contrived by *Annius of Viterbo*; and as to writers of a later date, our *Persian* history is not destitute of friends amongst them, such as are unbiassed, and against whose credit there is nothing to be said. The royal author of the history of the *Tartars*, speaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as most of the oriental writers do, from *Turk* the eldest son of *Japhet*; he proceeds thus: “*Turk* was a  
 “ man of superior genius, having been the first who invented many of the conveniencies of life; he made himself  
 “ tents, and pitched upon a fixed residence in a place called  
 “ at present *Isfackoll*, he had four sons; 1. *Taunak*; 2. *Zakale*; 3. *Benfazar*; 4. *Amlak*. At his death he appointed  
 “ his son *Taunak* for his successor, who became a very rich  
 “ and ingenious prince, author of many fine inventions. It  
 “ happened one day, that *Taunak* having gone a hunting  
 “ and killed much game, ordered a piece to be roasted;  
 “ but when he was just going to eat some of it, he by  
 “ chance let a bit drop upon the ground, and having taken  
 “ it up and put it to his mouth, he found it delicious by reason a grain of salt had stuck to it; which having given  
 “ him to understand, that this land was impregnated with  
 “ salt, he set himself to improve this discovery, and became  
 “ the first inventor of the use of salt, no one before him having known what salt was, or that it could season victuals.  
 “ Cotemporary with him reigned a prince in the country of  
 “ *Iran*, called *Cajumars* or *Keyomaras*. *Taunak* lived 240  
 “ years, and at his death left his throne to his son *Ielza*  
 “ *Chan*, who lived many years, and before his death appointed his son *Dibbakin Chan* to succeed him. *Dibbakin Chan*  
 “ lived also a long time, and disposed of the succession  
 “ before his death to his son *Kajak Chan*, who reigned a  
 “ great length of years, and had for his successor after  
 “ his death his son *Alanza Chan*. From the days of *Japhin* and his descendants to the time of *Alanza Chan*,  
 “ the true religion was preserved, and during the reign

*Ochus*, called also *Dariæus*, married *Parisatis*, he reigned thirty five years, and had the following children, viz. *Arsaces*, *Cyrus*, *Artostes*, *Oxendras*, and thirteen others; he died of a languishing disease at *Babylon*.

*Arsaces*, this is the same prince whom the *Greek* writers style *Arsaxerxes Mnemon*; he overcame his brother *Cyrus*, his wife's name was *Stateira*; and in his time *Ctesias* resided in *Persia*, and compiled his history (65).

“ of this prince his subjects lived in a profound peace, “ having great abundance of all sorts of riches <sup>d</sup>. ” From this passage it is evident, that the records of *Tartary* mention this *Keyomaras*. just where the *Persian* historians place him; and it is likewise plain that the belief of the true religion is reported by the same records to have remained untainted in these countries, which is exactly what our *Persian* writers say; the same author agrees with them in many other things, such as making *Sam* i. e. *Shem*, and his descendants the original inhabitants of *Iran* or *Persia*, and in acknowledging *Hushbangh*, the grandson of *Keyomaras* his successor: he relates likewise the wars carried on by the descendants of *Turk* against the monarchs of *Iran*, and proportions the reigns of those *Khans* to the reigns of the kings of *Persia* mentioned in the foregoing history. In Dr. *Hyde*’s learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*, there are many *Arabic* and other historians quoted in support of such passages of the antient *Persian* history, as he has occasion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all these oriental historians have delivered ought to be taken on trust; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does also those of the *Greek* writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likeliest method for attaining truth is to read and compare both <sup>e</sup>. Secondly, the whole series of antient history teaches, that in the most remote ages of the world these countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the *Persian* history and other oriental authors affirm; so that we must either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of these eastern countries being first and most fully peopled, or we must admit, that these accounts are probable, if it were in respect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain of the antient *Persians*, these poor distressed creatures who are now stiled *Persees*, as so many living witnesses of the truth of this history. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this proposition, that the religion they profess is the very same which their ancestors held in the reign of *Yezdegherd*; and if so, we must trace this religion from their accounts, those of their conquerors, and such as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the *Persees*, as well those in *India* as those which still remain in their

<sup>d</sup> P. I. ch. ii. p. 6.<sup>e</sup> HYDE, H. R. vet. P. in Præf.



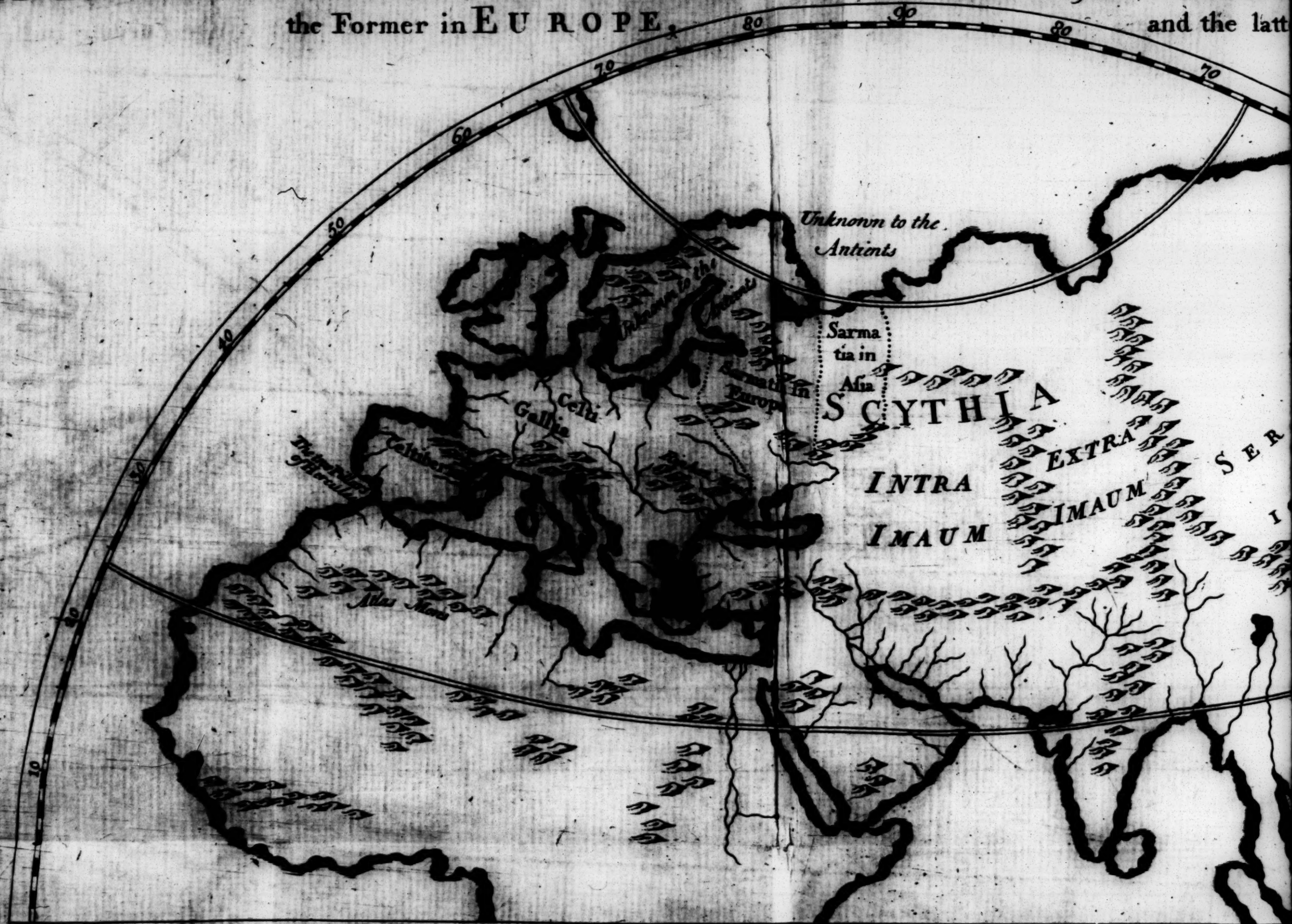
own country, affirm steadily, that it was settled by *Keyomaras*, reformed by *Zerduſht*, and so continued till the dissolution of the empire of the native *Persians*. The modern *Persians*, and the *Arabic* historians, acknowledge these facts to be so; they are likewise admitted by such of the oriental christian writers as have come to our knowledge: we may therefore conclude, that there is not so much in this third objection as at first sight there may seem; but that, considering the nature of the thing, this history has as strong evidence in its favour as any other history of equal antiquity, excepting that of the *Hebrews*; a proposition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto prosecuted with no small pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of some deviations in this section from our ordinary method, and of frequent recapitulations of facts, which have drawn this section to an extraordinary length; but at the same time we hope it will be observed, that this is a subject that hath hitherto been untouched, a scene of confusion, wherefrom little was expected; if therefore it has cost an unusual trouble to give it some form, it ought to be excused, since transactions of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing *Chaos*, wherein there was first *motion* and then *light*. The first is here, the latter may come in time; hitherto oriental histories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchimy, been despised as trifles by some, and esteemed as treasures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our business to bring them here, to place them in the view of our *English* reader in the best method we could; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

C H A P.



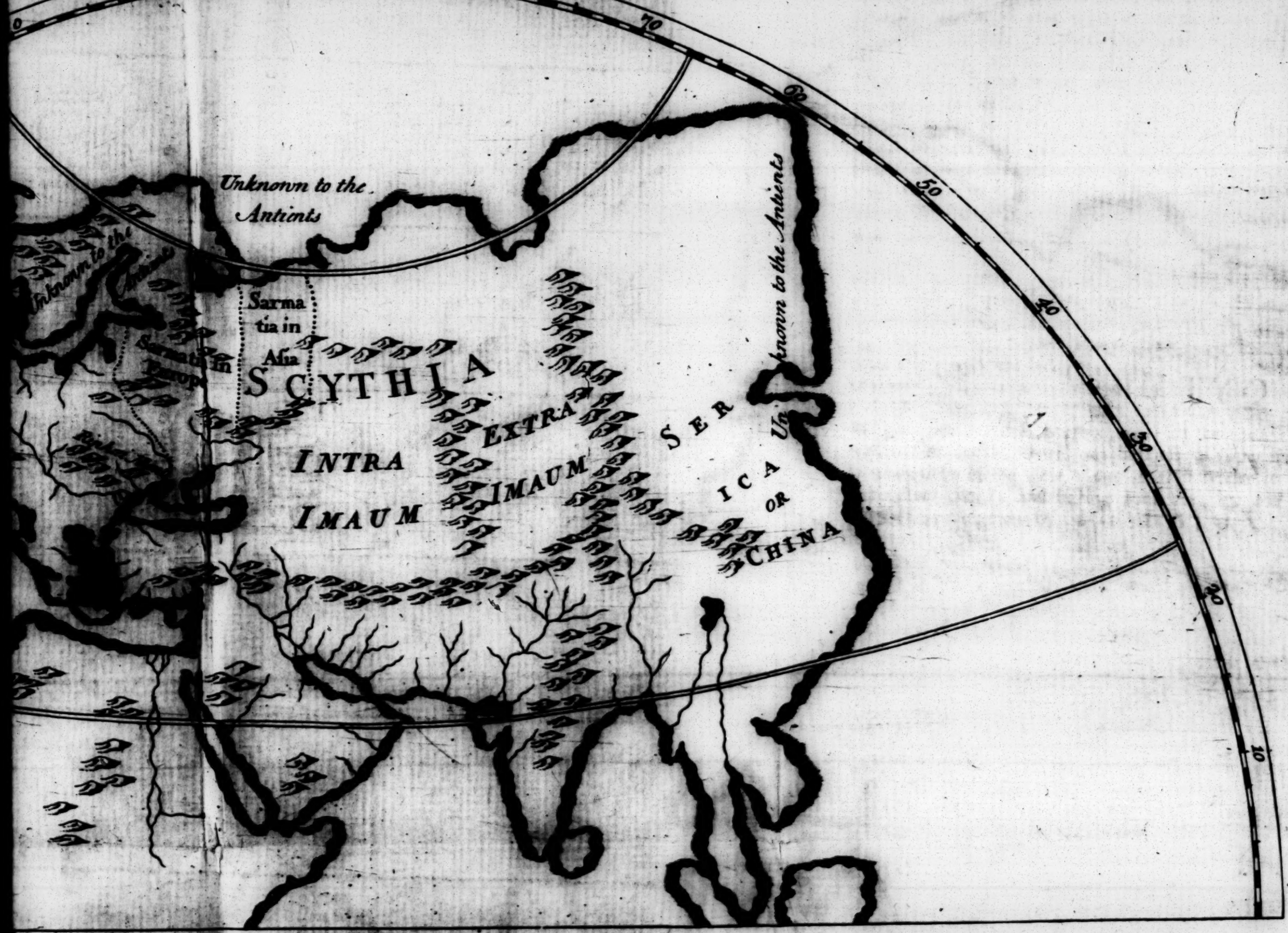


A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the CELTES, OR GOMEI  
the Former in EUROPE, and the latter

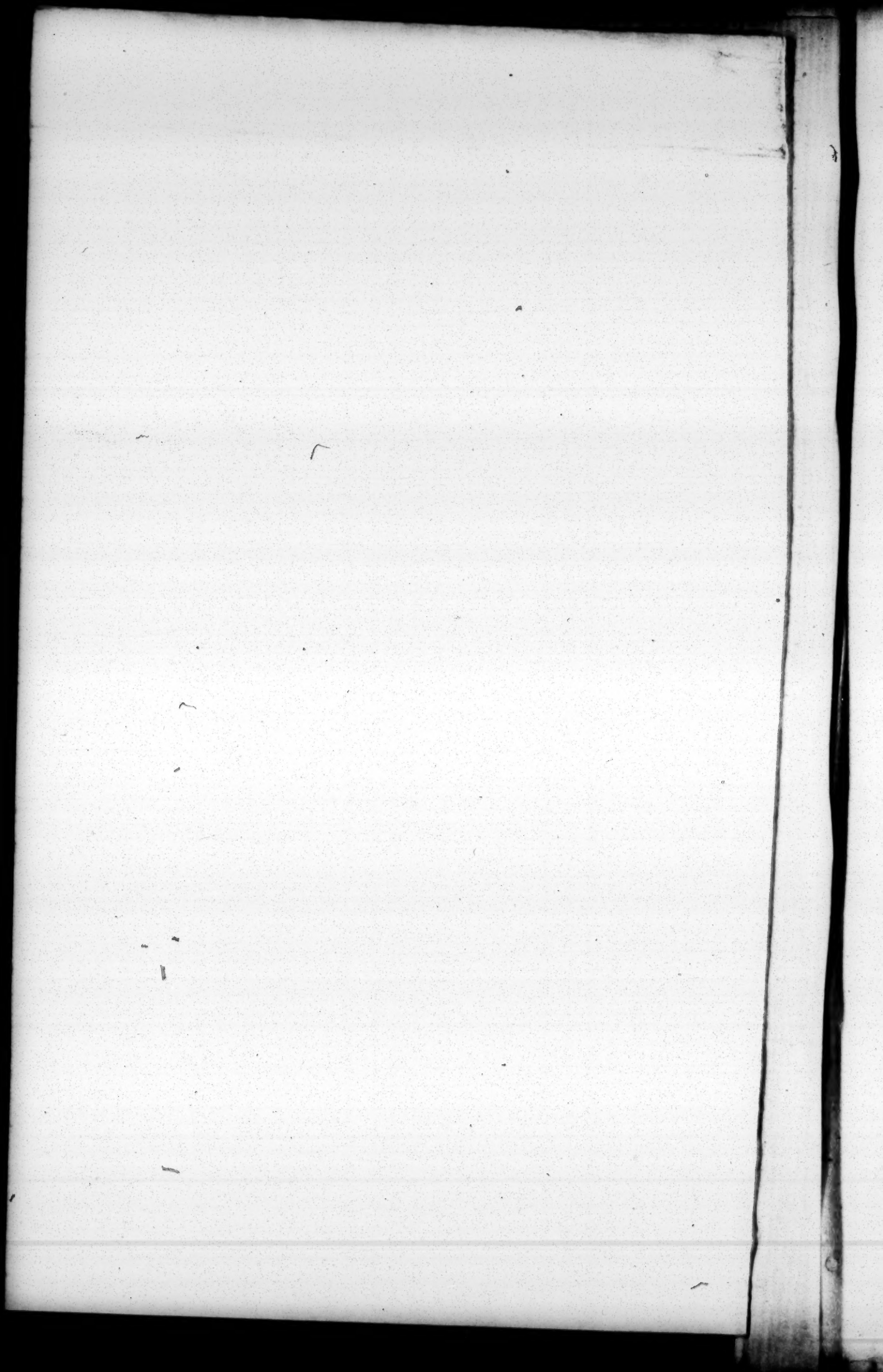




SETTLEMENTS of the CELTES, OR GOMERIAN S, and SCYTHIAN S;  
PE. and the latter in ASIA.







## C H A P. XII.

*The History of the Scythians and Gomerians, their Migrations into Europe, under the several names inserted in the margin\*.*

## S E C T. I.

*An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians and Gomerians, considered as two distinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their History.*

**T**HESE two nations are so blended in antient history, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by antient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from Gomer †, the eldest son of Japhet. This last we have also proved to have been the eldest son of Noah \*, and to have received this peculiar blessing from his father, that God would enlarge his borders ‡, upon which account Moses observes immediately after, that the *isles of the Gentiles*, by which is understood Europe, was divided by, or among, his posterity †. This perhaps is what induced Berosus and those who have followed him, to make such desperate haste to settle Gomer's children

\* viz. the former of Scythians, Celto-Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, &c. the latter of Gomerians, Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, and Celtiberians. Celtes and Scythians descended from Japhet.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 368, & seq. \* Ibid, p. 258.  
‡ Genes. ix. 27. † Ibid, x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 258.



in *Italy*, *Asturia*, *Biscay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no less sanguine, have ventured to bring *Gomer* into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Asbkenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden* or *Denmark* <sup>c</sup>. These precipitate migrations stand sufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility <sup>d</sup> (A), were there nothing else to disprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that those patriarchs never came out of *Asia*. On the contrary, we find their descendants making a considerable figure in that cradle of the world, and settling themselves as near as they conveniently could to one another, till scantiness of room, want of pasturage, accidental discords, or some other reasons, obliged them to branch out farther on all sides towards *Europe* and northern *Asia*, whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Ham* enlarged their territories in their several allotments, in the southern parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, as we have already seen in their several histories.

To make the same appear the more clearly with respect to the sons of *Gomer*, let us now take a short retrospect of their first settlements in *Asia*, their migrations thence into *Europe*, their successive stations before they came into those parts in which they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which some of them returned again into *Asia* in process of time, where they gave names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have caused such a confusion in antient historians, for want of rightly distinguishing between those two distant migrations. This circumstance makes it very necessary to examine, in the first place, whether the *Scythians* and the *Gomerians*, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations. Without such

<sup>c</sup> PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. <sup>d</sup> Vid. int. al. RAWL. hist. p. i. c. 8. sect. 3. BOCHART Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. PEZRON. ubi sup.

(A) Nothing indeed were more absurd, than to suppose, that they separated themselves from the rest before the general dispersion at *Babel*; and if immediately after, how little time soever be allowed for the building of that stupendous fabric, the remainder will be vastly too short for a migration of near 3000 miles, through woods, forests, and deserts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for so far Sir *Walter Rawleigh* has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It were still more monstrous to suppose, that they could come into *Europe* by sea, with such a numerous retinue, so long before any thing of navigation, even by coasting, was known.

a previous inquiry, we shall find their names, countries, and exploits so confused, that it would be next to impossible to settle their geography, or understand their history, with any satisfactory clearness.

WE have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point \*, which seems chiefly to be owing to these two causes. 1. That none of the sacred historians mention these two nations by any other name, than that of their progenitor †; and 2. That prophane authors have been so confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits, in several parts of *Asia* as well as *Europe*, and particularly by the affinity of those names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not easy to know whether they spoke of the same nation under different names, or of two distinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have most egregiously confounded them, by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to discover when they speak of the *Scythians*, and when of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. At least it is evident, that *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Justin* ‡, to name no more, have called the *Scythians*, who remigrated into *Asia* by some names, and attributed some actions and places to them, which, upon closer examination, are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. An accurate antient geographer tells us §, that the old *Greek* historians gave the name of *Scythians* and *Celto-Scythians* to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain, that a considerable part of them were properly *Celtes* or *Gomerians* ¶. And in the same book he adds, that those people who inhabited beyond the *Caspian* sea, which should be the *Scythians*, were by the same *Greek* historians called some *Sacks*, and others *Massagetes*, though the former of these names, at least, belonged only to the *Celtes*, as we shall shew in its proper place.

FOR these reasons, many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of

\* Vol. I. p. 368, 370.    † Vid. int. al. *EZEK.* xxxviii, 2, 3, 6.    ‡ See *PTOLEM.* Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11, & 13. *HERODOT.* lib. i & 4. *JUSTIN.* lib. i. c. 8. & seq.    § *STRAB.* Geogr. lib. ii.    ¶ Vid. *GENEVR.* 1949. *LEWIS's* Introduct. in hist. Britan. cap. iii. *PEZRON.* ubi sup. *JVN.* in *Genes.* x. 2.



names and characters, under which they are distinguished in history. Notwithstanding which, and the silence of the sacred books, *Josephus's* authority has been more universally received both by antient fathers and modern authors; who affirms, the *Celtes* and *Gauls* to be descended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Magog* his next brother<sup>1</sup>; and we think very justly too. As to the first, there is not the least reason to doubt of it; for, besides the testimony of the *Jewish* historian, we have this undoubted proof, that, notwithstanding all the various denominations which they have undergone, and which seem rather to have been given to them by other nations than assumed by themselves (B); they have still preserved their original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or descendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day in all those countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preserved; which is therefore called *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, that is, *the language of Gomer*<sup>k</sup>.

To

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Vid. Hieron. Theodoret. & al. in Genes. x. 2. Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 38. Rawl. ubi sup. p. i. c. 8. sect. iv. Jun. Le Clerc. Patric. in Genes. x. 2. Pezron. ubi supra, c. iv. & al. mult. <sup>k</sup> Pezron. Lewis. & al. ubi supra.

(B) By these names we mean, not only those which were a palpable corruption of their original one, such as *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, *Cammerians*, and the like; but those of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, *Galatians*, *Titans*, *Sacks*, and perhaps also those of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celtiberians*, and some others; all which, if we may guess at them by their etymons, seem to have been given to them, some out of compliment and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt and in revenge for their incursions, plunders and conquests. Thus the word *Celtæ* in *Greek* κέλται or κέλται, signifying horsemen in *Homer* and *Pindar*, might be given them on account of their great expertness in horsemanship (1).

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of *Gaul*, from the *Celtic*, in which both signify a warlike man. *Bochart* conjectures, that they were called *Gauls* and *Galatians* from the redness of their hair (3).

That of *Titans* may either allude to it, as it was a name of the sun, whose etymon can no where be so appositely found as in the *Celtic*, in which *Ti* or *Ty*, signifies a *House*, and *Tan*, or *Tzen*, *Fire*, and both together, *The House of fire*. Some, how-

(1) Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Caesar. lib. i. c. 1. Not. 3.

(2) Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap. 3, (3) Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 6.

To all this we may add the concurrent testimony of *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, or rather *Charax*, *Mela*, and others, who mention them under the names of *Comarians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and such like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of *Gomerians*<sup>1</sup>. We have likewise the authority of some antient fathers, who agree, that *Gomer* was the father and founder of the *Gomerians*, called afterwards *Celtes*, *Galatians*, and *Gauls*<sup>m</sup>. And if all this be not enough to prove the *Celtes* to be derived from *Gomer* we shall add another pregnant argument out of *Cluverius*, who proves, that the antient *Celtic* nation, which, according to him, included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic* and other northern isles, did all speak the same language<sup>n</sup>, which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg*, or the language of *Gomer*, which had been universally preserved among all his descendants, as we shall shew more fully when we come to speak of their language and history. To all these we shall add at the bottom some au-

<sup>1</sup> PTOLEM. lib. vi. c. 11—13. MEL. ubi supra. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 16. DION. Per. v. 700. <sup>m</sup> HIERON. tradit. hebr. in Genes. EUSTAT. Com. in Examer. — ISIDOR. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. ZONAR. BED. & al. <sup>n</sup> Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6. & seq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & seq.

ever, fetch it from the *Celtic Tit*, which in that as well as in the *Hebrew* signifies dust or dirt; so that *TITANES* shall signify the same as *terrigenæ*, or children of the earth or dirt. This last etymon, if admitted, may be supposed to have been given them in scorn, and to imply the baseness of their origin, as that of *Sacks*, which signifies *thieves* and *plunderers*, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of *Celtiberians*, or inhabitants of *Celtiberia*, or *Spain*, might be designed to distinguish those *Celtes* on that, from those on this, side of the *Pyrenees*, as we shall have further occasion to shew in another note. For thus we find *Gallia* or *Gaul* divided into *Cis* and *Trans-alpina*, and the word *Iberia* seems derived from the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic Iber*, which signifies *over* (4); and thus *Spain*, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, because authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them square with their own hypotheses, because they were ignorant of the *Celtic*, from which it is most natural to derive them, as shall be further proved in due time.

(4) *Vid. Cluver. lib. ii. c. 3.*



thentic monuments, which the warlike descendants of *Gomer* and his brethren have left in their various settlements, which still more corroborate what we have said concerning their origin, migrations, and settlements (C).

WERE we as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, with respect to these two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain head, and to dispel that obscurity which we find in antient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the *Gomerians*. However, we are not without some additional proofs to the testimony of *Josephus*, who affirms them to be descended from *Magog* above mentioned, and for which he has been followed by many of the fathers and by a greater number of moderns\*. For first, we find some antient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers *Meshech* and *Tubal*, in the neighbourhood of his brother *Gomer*, in the regions of lesser *Asia*, where they planted themselves after the dispersion (D). Secondly, As they spread themselves to-

\* HIERON. AUGUST. EUSTAT. THEODOR. BED. JOSEPH. BEN-GOR. Judæi fer. omn. JUN. BOCHART. RAWLEIGH. MUNST. HEYLIN. PATRIC. & al. innum.

(C) Thus the *Gomerians* left their name to the *Albanian* mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleasant plains of *Phrygia*; and to a city of this province, which in *Pliny's* time was still called *Cymmeris*. *Askenaz* *Gomer's* son gave his to the *Sinus Ascanius*, to a lake and river of the same name, and in the lesser *Phrygia* to a city and province, and to the *Insula Ascania*.

From *Riphat*, another of his sons, we have the *Riphean* nation and country, since called *Paphlagonia*, and from *Togarmab*, his youngest son, whom the *Greek* version calls *Θοργάρμα* and *Τοργάρμα*, the *Trogmans* or *Trocmans* of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*; all these the reader may further see in the learned *Bochart* (5).

In like manner *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*, whose bands are joined together by the prophet (6), have left their names to several countries bordering upon those of *Gomer*; as *Magog* to the *Gogarens*, *Meshech*, or, as he is called by the antients, *Mosoch*, to the mountains *Moschici* between *Colchis* and *Armenia*; and mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*; as the reader may see it further proved in *Bochart* above quoted.

(D) Of this kind are the provinces of *Mongog* or *Mongug*, *Con-gigo*, *Gigwivi*, and some others; and the cities of *Gyngui*, *Angui*, *Gorgangoi* and *Goigui* in *Tartary* †.

(5) *Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. Rawleigh, Heylin, Penzon. & al. Vid. & sup. Vol. I. p. 368, 369.* (6) *Ezek. xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 1.*  
† *Vide Bochart. ubi supra & al. sup. citat.*

wards *Europe*, and *Gomer's* descendants turned towards the north-west, so those of *Magog* may be reasonably supposed to have spread themselves towards the north-east into both *Scythias*, where we find some plain footsteps of their progenitor, besides the name of *Mogli*, which was that of the antient *Moscovites* and *Tartarians* (E);—and seems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, the sons of *Magog*. To these we may add, Thirdly, that there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody, and dreadful character, which the scriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythian*; upon all these accounts therefore we hope, we may venture with *Josephus* to derive them from that patriarch.

(E) Accordingly, we do scarcely find any part of *Europe* in which some of these are not mentioned by antient geographers and historians (7), under the names of *Gomerians*, *Cymbrians*, *Celtes*, *Celtiberians*, *Celto-Scythians*, and such like, as we shall more fully see in the sequel.

As for *Iberia* or *Spain*, *Josephus* doth indeed affirm, that it was first peopled by the *Thobalines*, or sons of *Tubal* or *Thobal*, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth son of *Japhet* (9). On the other hand, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* thinks it more probable, that it was first inhabited by the *Africans*, who did from thence conceive such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (10). But we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to the concurrent testimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add, that the surname of *Celto*, given to that province, and that of *Celtiberians* or *Celto-iberians* to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the *Celtes* were the first peoplers of it, especially if we consider, that the name of *Iberia* signifies in the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*, *over*, or *on the other side*, as we hinted in a former note. So that the *Celtiberians* might mean only the *Celtes* on the other side the *Pyreneans*, to distinguish them from those on this side (11).

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of *Spain* might invite the *Celtes* thither from the more northern climates of *Europe*, than that the *Africans* could come thither so early by sea; unless we can swallow that ridiculous *Spanish* tradition, which makes *Tubal* to have crossed over thither, and to have built the town of *St. Vaal*, which is still standing at this day (12).

(7) Vid *Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. & alib. Mela lib. i. c. 2. iii. c. 2. Cæs. Comm. c. i. Plin. lib. vi. c. 16. Strab. D. Sicul. & al.* (8.) *Ant. lib. i. c. 7.* (9) *Genes. x. 2.* (10) *Hist. chap. viii. sect. 3. & seq.* (11) See before p. 230. note B. (12) *Hist. of the world, ubi sup. sect. 4.*



HAVING thus far cleared the way, and disentangled, as much as possible, the intricacy of antient authors concerning these two nations, we shall now proceed to add something of their different migrations from *Asia* into *Europe*, which will still give a further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember, that we formerly settled *Gomer*, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of *Phrygia*<sup>p</sup>: *Askenaz* his eldest son, or, according to the *Armenians*, *Togarmah* his youngest, or, it may be, both of them, in *Armenia*; and *Riphat* the second son in *Cappadocia*; or, in some province in the neighbourhood of *Phrygia*<sup>q</sup>. For the condition the young world was then in would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds<sup>r</sup>; even when they began to spread themselves farther and wider into *Europe*, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were, by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the *Gomerians*, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and so quite up to *Spain*, whilst the *Scythians*, or descendants of *Magog*, moved to the right eastward, towards *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, as far as the borders of *Cathai*, if not beyond.

THUS was all *Europe*, and the far greater part of *Asia*, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, that is from the utmost parts of *Spain* to *Scythia Europæa* eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of *China*, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 10th degree west to the 80th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the arctic circle.

UPON the whole then, it appears that the first rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as descended from the elder brother, though the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the universal vote of prophane authors, who were unac-

<sup>p</sup> See Vol. I. p. 368.  
CHART. ubi supra l. iii. c. 8.  
sect. vi.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. & Bo-  
<sup>r</sup> See RAWL. hist. ubi sup,

quainted, that their progenitor was *Gomer's* younger brother. *Scytharum gens antiquissima* was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are so by this time, we shall restore it to its right owners the *Celtes*, who claim it on account not only of their eldership, but much more on that of their superior merit; as will appear more fully from the history of both.

## S E C T. II.

*The History of the CELTES, under the names of GOMERIANS, CYMMERIANS, CYMBRIANS, CELTES, GAULS, GALATIANS, TITANS, SACKS. &c.*

WE have already spoken of the migrations of these sons of *Gomer*, from *Asia* into *Europe*, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the last section; wherein we observed their regular progress from *Phrygia* their first settlement, through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Italy*, till they had spread themselves to the utmost borders of *Spain*. In this large *European* tract it was, that, having fixed their boundaries between the *Scythians* and themselves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the name of *Gallia* and *Galatia*, whilst themselves did retain their own antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians*. As for those of *Cymmerians*, and *Cymbrians*, &c. which seems only a corruption of that, it is observable, that it was given to none of the *Celtes*, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of *Europe*, above the *Euxine* sea and the north of the *Danube*, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of *Germany* now known by the name of *Holstein* was called *Cymbria Chersonesus*. The names of *Titans*, and *Sacks* were given only to those of lesser *Asia*, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of *Europe* by those of *Celtes* and *Gauls* (A).  
The

*The Various names of the Celtes.*

(A) *Cæsar*, in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of *Celtes* to themselves, whilst the *Romans* did give them that of *Galli* or *Gauls* (1), not knowing in all likelihood, that they both signified the same thing in the old *Celtic*, namely *warri-*

(1) *lib. 1.*



The name of *Galatians*, Γαλάται, was given them also by the *Greeks*, but it is plain, it meant the same with the *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them descended from the same father, namely *Gomer*. It was not, however, in this tract of ground that they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already signalised their names in several parts of both the higher and lower *Asia*, where, it is likely, they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of *Gomerians* and *Gomerites*, as well as those of *Sacks* and *Titans*, in those parts, among antient geographers; which names were afterwards changed to that of *Celtes*, after their spreading themselves into *Europe*, as will more fully appear by the sequel. But those early exploits are so intricate, and built so much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too strenuously upon them. At the most, it is plain, that these *Asiatic* conquests did not remain long enough in their possession to deserve a place in this geography of their country. Those exploits will be best resumed in the history of those nations with whom they had to do. Whilst we confine their territories at present within those limits of *Europe*, in which we can speak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

Their Territories.

IT

<sup>a</sup> See PEZRON Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2. <sup>b</sup> Comp. JOSEPH. Ant. JUD. l. i. c. 7. EUSTAT. Comm. in ExamerHIERON. tradit. hæbr. in Geni. ix. ISIDOR. Origin. l. ix. c. 2. & PEZRON. ub. sup. <sup>c</sup> Vid. PTOLOM. STRAB. MELA. & al.

ors (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give some other sense of these two names, as they are fetched from other languages; and indeed there is nothing more easy than to find in all languages such likeness of sounds as *Gauls* and *Galli*, *Celtes* and κέλται though of such different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At least those are the most likely to be the truest, which are derived from the language itself unto whom the name belongs; excepting, however, such of them as, we observed there, were given in contempt and by way of reproach, as that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*. But here it is certain, that the *Celtes* made too great a figure in the world, long before *Cæsar's* time, to have been called *Galli* in derision.

(B) We must not, however, omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the *Jews* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies against them from the north quarters (3), he seems to intimate, that

(2) Vid. Pezron, Ch. ii. (3) Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

there

IT is not easy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the *Celtes* from the *European Scythians*, for the reasons given in the last section. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At present we shall only observe, that the former extended from the *Danube*, their supposed boundary, to the farthest part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reaching at least twenty three degrees from east to west, that is from that famous river to cape *Fenestre*. It was bound-  
 ed on the south by the *Mediterranean* sea, and west and north-  
 west by the western and northern ocean. How far it extend-  
 ed full north, whether to the *Hyperborean* or frozen sea, or  
 only to the *Baltic*, we presume not to say. The last, how-  
 ever, seems most probable, for reasons we shall give in the  
 history of *Scythia*. For it is probable, they did not advance  
 towards *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the other more northern re-  
 gions, till they found themselves too streightened in the more  
 pleasant climates of the south; which did not happen in all  
 likelihood till many centuries after their migration into *Eu-  
 rope*. However, it is certain, that in the time of *Julius Cæ-  
 sar*, not only they but also the northern islands of *Britain*,  
*Ireland*, and even *Iceland*, were inhabited, and made part of  
 the *Celtic Gallia*. As for the southern islands on the *Medi-  
 terranean*, such as *Sicily*, *Corfica*, *Majorca*, and others, we  
 need not doubt, but they were much sooner peopled than  
 those on the northern ocean.

Geogra-  
phy.

So considerable was the *Celtic* nation, even in *Augustus*  
*Cæsar*'s time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur

there were still some of the descendants of that patriarch settled in  
 some of the northern parts of higher *Asia* even in his time, and  
 that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is,  
 till some years after the *Babylonish* captivity, when they made that  
 terrible irruption into *Palestine*, of which we shall speak in its pro-  
 per place.

Accordingly we find *Ptolemy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Comari-  
 ans* as two distinct nations, though originally the same; the first  
 with *Chamara*, their supposed metropolis, in *Bactria* along the  
 south banks of the river *Oxus*; and the latter a little farther north  
 in the province of *Sogdiana* (4). *Mela*, though he differs somewhat  
 from *Ptolemy* in their situation, doth agree in placing them in the  
 northern provinces of *Asia* (5), where we may have occasion to visit  
 them again in the sequel of this history, as well as the *Sacks* ano-  
 ther branch of the *Celtes*, whom *Strabo*, (6) places a little farther  
 westward in *Cappadocia* along the south coast of the *Euxine* sea.

(4) *Ptol. lib. vi. c. 11. § 13.*  
*Lib. xi.*

(5) *Lib. i. c. 2.*

(6)



and shrunk into much narrower limits, that it contained no less than sixty great people, distinguished by the names of cities or districts according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* says 64<sup>d</sup>, but this is nothing to *Josephus*, who reckoned the number of these nations about 315<sup>e</sup>, or to *Appian*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greatest part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they must have made before that time, may be guessed by that notable expedition they made into *Italy*, in the time of *Tarquin* the elder, that is almost 600 years before Christ, when *Bellovesus*, having penetrated through the *Alps*, with a numerous army, did in a short time invade a great part of *Italy*, called from them *Gallia Cisalpina*<sup>f</sup>. For this and their succeeding exploits against that province, and their conquest of its metropolis, we may justly look upon it as part of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* territories, tho' we should grant it to have been originally peopled by some other nation than the descendants of *Gomer*. But this doth not seem to us to be the real case, for though we have already sufficiently discountenanced the fable of *Berosus*, who brings *Gomer* into *Italy* so soon after the flood; yet it is much more likely, that his descendants were the first that peopled it with the rest of *Europe*, it being impossible so fine a country should escape them in their progressive migration, than to suppose, that either *Kittim* the son of *Javan* or his descendants were got thither before them. To make this still more probable, we must remind our readers of two things, namely, that the *Umbrians* were by many antient authors esteemed the most antient people in *Italy*<sup>\*</sup>. And *Pliny* in the place last quoted tells us, that when the *Hetrurians* entered that country, and made war against the *Umbrians* they destroyed 300 of their cities; which proves, that they must have been there a considerable time. Our next observation is, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by other antient historians to have been the descendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes*†. And if it be so, it will be more reasonable to believe, that these *Gauls* or *Umbrians* had already passed the *Alps* and settled themselves in *Italy*, long before *Saturn's* time, since we find that he made no scruple to go and take refuge amongst them, and was courteously received by them, than to imagine, that the country was inhabited by the sons of *Javan*,

<sup>d</sup> ANNAL. l. 3. <sup>e</sup> Bell. Jud. l. 2 c. 16. <sup>f</sup> Vid. REYNES. 2p. RAWLEY hist. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2. <sup>\*</sup> FLORUS lib. i. c. 17. PLIN. l. iii. c. 14. DIONYS. HALIC. l. i. c. 8. com. SERV. in Virgil. † SOLIN. ex BOCHO. ISIDOR. & al. ap. PEZRON. c. 10.

or, as others pretend, that the *Arcadians*, their supposed descendants, could come thither so early by sea; they who are only famous for their pastoral life, and consequently so unacquainted with navigation (C). If ever therefore either of these did possess themselves of *Italy*, as some have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and some intricate testimonies from antient authors, it is more reasonable to suppose it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greatest part of the *Celtes* out of it over the *Alps*; and this may be the reason of their making so many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

*Plutarch*, indeed speaking of the *Gallic* or *Celtic* nation, tells us, that some of them passing over the *Riphean* mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern sea, the extreme or the northern part of *Europe*, whilst others remained in the south parts, between the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps*<sup>e</sup>. Where he adds, that having tasted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, they marched over the *Alps*, under the conduct of a malecontent, named *Arron*, and conquered those territories which had been till then held by the *Tuscans*. But the name of *Celtiberia*, by which *Spain* was antiently known, and that of the *Celtic* promontory, now *Cape Fenestre* or *Finister*, the utmost verge of *Spain* westward on the one hand, and of *Gallia Togata* or *Cisalpine* on the other, including near one third part of *Italy*<sup>h</sup> westward, shews nothing less than their having confined them-

<sup>e</sup> In vit. Camill.    <sup>h</sup> Vid. PTOLEM. ubi. sup. MELA. lib. iii. 1, 2, CLUVER. & al.

(C) We need not observe further to our readers, how fond the *Arcadians* were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations and how much they valued themselves for their assumed name of *Aborigines* every where. Whether the *Celtes* did take that of *Tytans* or *Tutans*, one signification of which is almost of the same import with that of *Aborigines* or *Terrigenæ*, out of the same ostentation, we would not venture to affirm after *Pezron*, seeing it is capable of another signification, as we shewed in a former note. We may say in general, that the etymons of the various names of *Italy* are manifestly forced; as *Latium* from *lateo*, to be hid, because *Saturn* sheltered himself there, and *Italy* from the Greek *Æolia* or the *Arcadian Elatus* (7). Upon the whole then, those who will not allow it to have been peopled at first by the *Umbrians* above mentioned, and these to have been a colony of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, must be contented to remain in the dark about it.

(7) *Reynecc. ub. sup. Camden. Heylin. & al.*

selves



selves within the limits of those two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely, that our author either knew nothing of these *Celtic* names, or if he did, that he thought the *Celtes* had been only the invaders of those two provinces, rather than the first inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have shewn by this time to be at least the more probable of the two.

UPON the whole then, the antient territories of the *Celtes* extended themselves east and west; from the head spring of *Ister* or *Danube*, which divided them from the *European Sarmatia* (E), quite cross *Europe* unto *Cape Finister* and the streights of *Hercules* now *Gibraltar*, and contained the following provinces, namely *Iberia*, now *Spain* and *Portugal*; *Gallia*<sup>1</sup> or *Celto-galatia*, now *France*, with the *Low-countries*; *Germany* as far as the *Danube* eastward, and *Denmark* northward; *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, since *Swisserland*, *Savoy*, and *Lombardy*, and the *Gallia Cisalpina* or *Togata*, containing that part of *Italy*, now *Piedmont*, the dutchies of *Milan*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, &c. and the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, besides the southern and northern islands of *Europe*, which we have lately had occasion to mention.

THESE extensive territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before *Julius Cæsar*'s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the *Alps* and *Pyrenean* mountains from east to west; by the *Mediterranean* on the south; and by the *Rhine* and *British* ocean on the north and north-east. In *Cæsar*'s time we find it still lessened by all that tract which lies between *Geneva* and the *Alps*, which had been

<sup>1</sup> Vid. POLYB. lib. iii.

(D) We could further confirm this by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in *Spain* and *Italy*, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which, being plainly of *Celtic* origin, do shew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we shall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(E) *Herodotus* says much the same thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the *Ister* hath its spring in the land of the *Celtes*, and traversing the *European* regions enters obliquely into the borders of *Scythia*.

(8) *De his vid. Wott. Archæol. Lluid. lexic. Cambrobr. Hick. lexic. Bretrav. de or. rig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. septent. Lewis's hist. Mag. Brit. Pexron. ubi sup. & al. mult.* (9) *Comm. lib. ii. c. 4. & seq.*

sometime

sometime before added to the *Roman* empire, over and above the *Gallia Cisalpina* lately mentioned, which they had invaded in *Tarquinius Priscus's* time, and advanced almost as far as the middle of *Italy*. This *Gallia*, thus curtailed, was called *Comata*. *Cæsar* divided it into three nations, namely, *Belgæ*, *Aquitans*, and *Celtes* or *Gauls* <sup>k</sup> (F). But by this time a great part of the *Celtic* territories had been dismembered from it; as *Spain*, which had passed from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*; the *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was become a province of the *Roman* empire <sup>l</sup>, and included all the southern provinces of *Gallia* along the *Mediterranean* from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*: this last contained at least *Gascony*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphine*. Nevertheless, these three divisions were far from being all that the *Celtes* had left in *Europe*, though *Cæsar* had made the most of them in his account of that war (G). O-  
ther

<sup>k</sup> Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 1.<sup>l</sup> Bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 20.

(F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the custom of the *Romans*. Thus we find also the *Gallia Citerior* called *Togata* from the long robes, and the *Uterior* or *Transalpine Brachata* from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(G) By which distinction it is plain, that he speaks only of the *Gallia* which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* nation, which still spread themselves vastly farther, at least towards the north; and therefore, when he comes to explain himself, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of those three nations, it appears, that he goes no farther than his own conquests (10): so that it should seem as if he had affected to compliment himself with the subduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the *Celtes*, so famous both in *Europe* and in *Asia*, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the same ostentation, that he ranks, for instance, 15 people under the name of *Belgæ*; namely the *Bellovaci*, or those who belonged to the city or district of *Beauvais*; the *Suessones* those of *Soissons*; *Nervii* now *Cambraisians*; *Atrebates* or *Artois*; *Ambiani* or *Amiens*; *Morini* whose capital was *Terouana*; *Menapii*, or the *Gantines*, *Antverpians*, and *Brabantines*; *Caletes* or those of the district of *Caulx*; *Velocasses*, now *Vexinois*; *Vicromandui*, or *Verepandois*, now *St. Quintin*; *Aduatici*, now not known, and variously guessed at; the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cæresi*, and *Pæmani*, concerning which we are also much in the dark. Now it is

(10) Vid. Godvin. annot. in Cæs. Comm. ibid.



ther divisions of *Gallia*, which were made by *Augustus* and other *Roman* emperors (H), after the conquest of it, will be best seen in the *Roman* history.

## SEAS

plain, that all this pompous list did take up little more than the north part of *France* and the *Netherlands*.

The same may be said of another third, viz. *Aquitain*, among which he reckons twelve distinct people, making up in all the *Gallia Armorica*, so named from the Celtic word *Armor*, which signifies those countries which are upon the sea coast; this province was afterwards called by the *Romans Aquitain* from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at most the western provinces of *France* from the river *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, to the *Pyrenees*, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the *Celtæ*, to whom *Cæsar* tells us the *Romans* gave the name of *Gauls*, their country extended only north and south from the *Ligeris* or *Loire* to the *Sequana* or *Seine*\*, and east and west at most from *Burgundy* to *Low Britanny*, including the *Gallia Lugdunensis*, part of which last was already under the *Romans*. But how short did all these three come of the Celtic territories, when some authors tell us, that they extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* quite to the *Scythians* (13)? When another tells us, that all the inhabitants on each side of the *Rhine* were still called *Celtes* (14)? so that all that were on the other side of that river were out of the boundaries of the *Gallia Belgica*, and much more so out of those of the other three. Whether or no this *Gallia Celtica* was so called, and its inhabitants *Celtes*, in *Cæsar*'s time, by way of excellence above the rest, as the province of *Holland* is commonly taken for all the seven, and whether or no the other *Celtes* were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain, that the three *Gallic* provinces which he subdued, one of which only he distinguishes by the Celtic name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(H) This may perhaps be thought a proper place to have spoken of the isles of *Great Britain*, both as they were first inhabited, and are still in some parts, by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*; which last name as well as the antient language of that nation, is still preserved amongst them, especially in the north part of *Wales*. But as they make so great a figure in antient history, from their being first planted by some colonies of that nation, their history will be better referred to another book, wherein we shall resume that of the western and northern empires according to our first plan of this work.

(11) *Vid. Plin. l. iv. c. 17.* (12) *Comment. lib. i. c. 1. & a-lib.* \* See page 245 in the note. (13) *Diodor. l. v. c. 9. Plutarch. in vit. Camil. vid. & Mel. Cluver. & al.* (14) *Dio. Cass. l. xxxix.*

However,

SEAS of note were the *Mediterranean*, the western, *British*, and northern ocean, and the *Baltic*. Their principal lake in these territories is that of *Geneva*, which is upwards of twenty miles

However, it will not be amiss to hint something here concerning the name of *Britain*, which has been confounded by *Camden* and others with that of *Gomro*, as if they had both belonged to the same people; for it is certain, that the former is only to be found among the *Britains* in *France*, who call themselves *Brithained*, and are as great strangers to the name *Gomro*, as the *Gomros* or *Welsh* are to that of *Brithained* or *Briton*. It seems therefore, that those antiquaries have too lightly rejected the story of *Brutus* coming into *England* and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conquest that part was afterwards called *Britannia* or *Britain*, which *Camden* and his followers will have to be derived from *Brith painted* and *Tain* region; because the *Britains* painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the *Romans* *Picti* or *Painted*.

It does not appear at all probable, that if the *Britains*, who went out of *England* into *France*, had been the same with the *Gomros*, or ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other descendants of *Gomer* did so pride themselves, for the nick-name of *Brithained* or *Painted*; much less that they should have quite obliterated the former, which was still so carefully preserved by their neighbours. But if the *Trojans* were themselves a colony of the *Gomerians* or *Welsh*, as a modern author seems to have nearly proved (15); and these after the destruction of their city, came under *Brutus*, or *Trotus*, as he is called by *Vitus*, and by others *Brito*, and from him they were called *Britains*, and invaded a considerable part of this island; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the *Gomeraes* or *Welsh*, and the *Brithained* or *British*, which last is objected by the antiquaries against the probability of the first.

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but also more reasonable to suppose with *Sir John Price* (16), that these isles were at first peopled by the antient and warlike *Gomerians*, than by the conquered and fugitive *Trojans*; for who can think, that they should have been so long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the dispersion? for so long at least it was before the latter can be supposed to have come from *Troy* hither, by which time the others had spread themselves all over *Europe*. And is it not also more probable, that these gave it the antient name of *Albion*, which in their language signifies *white*, from the whiteness in which the *Cliffs* of *Dover* appeared clad from the other side of the water, than that it received it from *Albion*, the brother of *Borgion*, the son of *Neptune*?

(15) *Lewis Introd. in hist. Britan. c. iv. & lib. ii. c. 14.* (16) *Deffen's hist. Brit.*



miles in length and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableness enriches both the city of that name and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of *Serviere* in high *Dauphine*, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the *Alps*, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much smaller at eight or nine miles distance, and is calculated to stand near half a mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or sending out more water than a very inconsiderable stream, scarce sufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, otherwise called *Apennine*, which are of very great length, and of such prodigious height, that they are always covered with snow of incredible hardness. The latter were supposed by *Livy* and others to have been called *Apennine* from *Hannibal Pennius*, but much more probably from the old Celtic word *Penn*, a head, by reason of the exceeding height and whiteness of them. So that *Apennine* may be only a contraction of *A Pen Ghwin*, white heads, as the word *Alps* may be derived from the Celtic *Alp* or *Alb*, white.

THE chief rivers are the *Ister*, which runs into *Scythia*, and empties itself into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Rhine*

We may add, that *Berosus* and those who have followed his steps (17) have given us a list of 20 kings of the *Celtes* who reigned in *Gaul*, and the greater part of them also over the *Gomeros* on this side of the water, before *Brutus*. The reader will see by the following list of their names how several cantons of *Gaul* might probably receive theirs from them, as *Longobards* from *Bardus* and *Longus*, their fifth and sixth monarchs. *Gallia Narbonensis* from *Narbo*; *Lugdunensis* from *Lugdus*; the *Belgic* from *Belgius*; the *Allobroges* from *Allobrox*, &c. they run as follows: 1. *Samotbes*, by others called *Dis* & *Discelta*. 2. *Magus* 3. *Sarron*. 4. *Druis*. 5. *Bardus*. 6. *Longus*. 7. *Lucus*. 8. *Celtes*. 9. *Galates*. 10. *Narbon*. 11. *Lugdus*. 12. *Belgius*. 13. *Jafius*. 14. *Allobrox*. 15. *OEgyptus*. 16. *Paris*. 17. *Olbius*. 18. *Galates II*. 19. *Namnes*. 20. *Franicus*.

It is true, this list seems rather to be that of the princes of several cantons of the *Celtes*, than a regular succession of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one sole monarch. Nevertheless as they reigned either in *Gaul* or *Britain*, long before this *Brutus* (suppose him to have come from *Troy*, as will be further seen when we come to that part of our history) the most that can be said of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the *Gomeros*, its original inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire farther westward, where they have continued ever since.

(17) *Vid. Vitus Bafinst. bist. Brit. lib. i. not. 25. & auct. ab eo citat.*

which

which springs from the mountains of *Switzerland*, and runs through *Germany* and *Holland* into the *British* sea. The *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Garonne*, of which we have lately had occasion to speak, as they divided the *Gallia Celtica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitania* from each other \*. The *Durius* now *Duero*, which descends from the mountains of *Sierra* in *Asturia* into the *Atlantic* ocean at *Oporto*. The *Tagus* or *Tajo*, which crosses great part of *Spain* and *Portugal* and falls into the same ocean below *Olyfipon* or *Lisbon*. The *Anas* now *Guadiana*; the *Bætis* or *Tartessus* now *Guadalquivir*; these two empty themselves in the gulph of *Cadis*. The *Iber* now *Ebro*, which descends from the same mountains of *Sierra* with the *Durius*, but taking a contrary course from it, runs eastward into the *Mediterranean* and empties itself into the gulph of *Valencia*. The *Rhodanus* or *Rhofne*, which hath its spring from the mountains of *Switzerland* but descends a contrary way, and crossing the lake of *Geneva*, runs through the south part of *France* and empties itself into the *Mediterranean* about *Marseilles*; the *Padus* or *Po*, and *Adefis* now *Adige*, which descend, the former from *Piedmont* and the latter from *Switzerland*, and fall at a small distance from each other into the gulph of *Venice*. Those of *Italy* and of the *European* Islands will be seen in another chapter.

WE shall only add, that the greatest part of the names of these and of other smaller rivers are certainly of *Celtic* extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus *Garumna* from *Garw*, rough, expresses its great rapidity. *Rhodanus*, from *Rhedog*, to run swiftly, implies its swift course. *Arar* now *Saon* is so called from its slowness, its descent into the *Rhofne* being scarce perceptible. *Durius* or *Duero* from *Dcur*, water or river, whence the names of a great many cities and towns situate near the water-side ended in *Duro* and *Durum*. Thus likewise the names of countries and districts which end

<sup>m</sup> Vid. CAMDEN, Brit. LEWIS introduct. in hist. Britan. PEZRON. antiq. lib. iii. sub. voc. tan. & alib.

\* The authors, p. 242 in the note, say that *Aquitain*, according to *Cæsar*, lay between the *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, and the *Pyrenees*; and that the *Celtæ* extended only from the *Ligeris* to the *Sequanâ* or *Seine*; whereas *Cæsar* tells us, in the place quoted, that *Aquitain* was bounded on the one side by the *Garumna* or *Garonne*, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, and that the *Celtæ* were divided from *Aquitain* by the *Garumna*, and from the *Belgæ* by the *Sequana*: This it was thought proper to observe here, as it seems from what is above said, that the authors intended some other division than what they have given us, and which it is impossible to discover.



in *Tan*, or *Tain*, and in the *Latin Tania*, as *Aquitain*, *Britain*, *Lusitania*, &c. are formed from the *Celtic Tain* and *Stan*, a region<sup>m</sup>, and imply the country of waters, of the *Britons*, and *Lusians*, which last were a *Celtic* people, from whom came the *Portuguese*. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other antient names which are palpably of the same extraction, concerning which the curious may consult the authors above named.

NATURAL and artificial rarities in so spacious a field would take up too much room in this history, and are so well known to the curious, that we think, they may be safely omitted, those only excepted which have some immediate relation with some remarkable facts as shall fall in the course of this history, when we come to resume it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the *Littus Lapideum*, otherwise the *Campus Lapideus*, or *stony shore* or *field*, of above a mile in length upon the coasts of the *Gallia Narbonensis* or *Languedoc*, where *Hercules* is said to have fought the giant *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*; which place is still called by the inhabitants *Les Craux*<sup>n</sup>, from the multitude and largeness of stones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the *Celtic Craig* or *Craic*, which signifies *rocks* or *stones*<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Hist Delphinial. Lugdun. 1498.  
in hist. Brit. c. iv.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. LEWIS introd.

### S E C T. III.

*Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, and trade of the antient CELTES.*

THO' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their descent being, as we have seen, from *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet*, the eldest son of *Noah*, in which respect they outgo the *Egyptians*, *Phrygians*, and even the *Scythians*; yet it must be owned, that our knowledge of their government comes vastly short of the two first, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the slowness and length of their migrations into *Europe*, where we find them first settled into a spacious and regular polity. A late antiquary<sup>a</sup> hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the dispersion of *Babel*, *Gomer* or his immediate descendants did presently enter into *Armenia*, thence into *Phrygia* and *Capadocia*, till at length, under the conduct of *Acmon*, and af-

<sup>a</sup> PEZRON. antiq. Na. Celt. pass. & ch. 15.

terwards

terwards of his son *Uranus*, two warlike princes, they spread themselves farther, and sent their colonies from lesser *Asia* even into *Spain*. *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Mercury* or *Teutat*, were their three next successors; and it was this last, according to our author, who settled the *Gomerians* then called *Titans* in *Europe* into a regular government, and gave them laws; and there they changed their name into that of *Celtes* and *Gauls*. According to this system then this *Gomerian* polity must have begun about the time of *Terah*, *Abraham's* father, or even of *Naber*, if *Maneus* be admitted to have been, as some historians think, the father of *Acmon*; tho' *Saturn* was the first who took the title of king.

ALL this our author brings proof for from antient authors, which would carry us too far to repeat; we shall find a proper place for the history of those princes, since deified by a great part of the world; for the present we shall only observe, that nothing is more likely, than that their government was originally monarchical as well as that of other nations, since we find it in the same form even in *Cæsar's* time, when they had spread themselves all over *Europe*. Only by that time they had so far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that historian, that instead of one monarch they were divided into several petty kingdoms, and did not yield the absolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatened with invasion from a common enemy <sup>b</sup>. This is further confirmed in part by another historian <sup>c</sup>; who tells us, that the *Cimmerians* or northern *Gomerians*, being invaded by the *Scythians* their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whose disagreement about defending or abandoning their country occasioned the loss of it, as well as the lives of those who resolved upon opposing the invaders. It is indeed hard to conceive, how so warlike a nation, extended over such large tracts of ground, and in such a difference of climates, should continue long under one head, without splitting itself into several kingdoms; so that it is rather a wonder to find, that they preserved so much of their antient affinity and government in *Cæsar's* time, as to unite themselves under one head in cases of common danger. *Their government.*

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their sovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary above-mentioned, that *Mercury* did polish and give them laws; and by others <sup>d</sup>, that *Samothès*, otherwise called *Dis* and *Discelta*, a man of singu-

<sup>b</sup> Comment. l. 6. & al. HERODOT. l. iv. <sup>c</sup> PEZRON. ubi supra. <sup>d</sup> Vid. LEWIS hist. Brit. cap. 2. & auct. ab eo citat.



lar learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline, which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue, but in the *Phœnician* character; and that the *Greeks* did borrow the latter from the *Celtes* when they re-entered *Asia*. The mistake of these authors in affirming, that he wrote in *Hebrew*, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the descendants of *Heber* excepted, may be easily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the *Celtic* and it, of which we shall have further occasion to speak; and as to his using the *Phœnician* character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, since it was the most universal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the same with the *Samaritan* or antient *Hebrew*. The reader may see what has been heretofore said upon that subject †. It is added, that he was therefore called the *Saturn* of the *Celtes*, and that their learned men, such as their divines and philosophers, were called from him *Samothei*. But if ever he wrote such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footsteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However, as they very much deviated from the simplicity of their brethern the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline.

THE *Curetes*, of whom we shall speak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all causes whether criminal or civil, and their sentence was reckoned so sacred, that whoever refused to abide by it was by them excluded from assisting at their sacred rites; after which no man dared converse with him, so that this punishment was reckoned the most severe of all, even more than death itself.

Religion.

THEIR religion was very like that of the *Scythians*. They worshipped the same gods, as *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *thunder*. *Mercury*, whom some authors call *Heus* or *Hesus*, probably from the *Celtic* *Huad* which signifies *a dog*, and might be the *Anubis latrans* of the *Egyptians*. But *Mars* was held in the greatest veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we shall shew in its proper place. It will not, however, be easy to reconcile the greatest part of these *Celtic* deities with what *Pezron* says of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we shall shew in the sequel.

† See before, Vol. II. p. 320. & Vol. III. p. 405, & seq.

All that need be said at present on that head is, that the *Celtes* after having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them deify their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the *Cretans* at once worshipping of *Jupiter*, and shewing his sepulchre at the city of *Gnossus*; for which reason, whilst *Callimachus* calls them lyars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, especially the christian fathers, justly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How these gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations, will be shewn, when we come to speak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour lost to inquire what gods or religion the *Celtes* had before they deified their kings; but since that time we find them very much addicted to all kinds of superstition, divination, astrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their *Curetes*, since known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). These were,

(A) The *Curetes* were among the *Titanic Celtes* what the *Druids* were afterwards among the *Gauls*, and were had in the same reverence and esteem; insomuch, that the education of *Jupiter* was committed to them, and *Cres* one of his sons was of their society. It is not easy to trace their original; and *Strabo*, exact and learned as he was, doth not seem to be satisfied with all he has said about them (1). Their name of *Curetes* seems derived from the *Celtic* word *Curo*, to strike or beat one thing against another, whence the *Greek* *κρη* by the transposition of a letter, which signifies the same. And this seems to have been given them on account of their striking their shields with their javelins, which an antient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noise and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the *Druids*, as some pretend (3), we will not determine. If the *Druids* were exempt from that duty, they must have been different from the *Bards*, who, though in all other respects of the same order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and musical compositions. Upon this account it is, that these *Bards* are affirmed by *Cæsar* (4) to have been the inventers of music and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king *Bardus*, whom *Berosus* affirms to have reigned over the *Gauls* and *Britains*, or *Cymbri* (5), from whom they were called *Bards*.

(1) *Geogr. lib. x.*(2) *Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 1. ap. Pexron.*(3) *de Bell. Gall. vid. & Lewis hist. Brit. c. v. Pexron. c. xiii. Heylin & al.*(4) *Bell. Gall. l. vi.*(5) *Nat. hist. vid.**Camden, Lewis, Pexron.*



were, as *Cæsar* tells us <sup>e</sup>, the performers of sacrifices and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. *Learning.* They also instructed youth in all kinds of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteeming them too sacred to be committed to writing.

OTHER more common subjects, such as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and especially before a battle, all these were written in elegant verse, and recited, or rather sung, by them upon all proper occasions. *Diodorus*, speaking of the *Celtes*, tells us further, that these poets used to accompany their songs with instrumental music, such as that of organs, harps, and the like; and that they were had in such veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, when one of these poets or *Bards* appeared, both sides immediately ceased fighting, so that their fury gave way to wisdom, and *Mars* to the muses. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets as well as poets, so that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to disobey what they supposed came from their gods.

THESE prophetic philosophers kept academies, which were resorted unto by a great number, not only of their own youth but even of other countries, insomuch, that *Aristotle* says, that their philosophy passed from thence into *Greece*, and not from *Greece* thither <sup>f</sup>. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality <sup>g</sup>. But a *Roman* historian <sup>h</sup>

<sup>e</sup> De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12.    <sup>f</sup> Ap. LAERT. de vit. Philos. c. i.    <sup>g</sup> See VITUS BASINSTOC, CAMDEN, LEWIS, & al.    <sup>h</sup> SÆTON. in vit. Claudii.

The *Druids*, some think, were so called from *Berosus's* *Druids*, the 4th king of the *Celtes*, a man of uncommon learning for those days (6); but we think with *Camden*, that *Cliny's* is far more probable, who thinks, that they were so called from the *Celtic* and *Greek* word *Dros* or *Drofs*, an oak (7), which tree was held so sacred by the *Celtes* as well as *Scythians*, that they performed most of their religious rites near some large oaks, if not in oak groves, and offered no sacrifice without some leaves of that tree. As we shall shew more fully in their history.

(6) Vid. Caius ant. Cantab. Perion, Basinstok. sup. ex Beros. & Cæsar. Com.

(7) Vid. Caf. ubi

makes no scruple to call their religion an impious one, and as such to have been forbidden by *Augustus* and abolished by *Claudius*. *Cruel Cust-*  
*Lucan* is no less severe against them; and this might indeed be *oms.*  
 partly attributed to the hatred which the *Romans* bore to them; yet it must be owned, that they had some barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than those of any other animals <sup>1</sup>. And *Diodorus* tells us of another inhuman custom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a scymitar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

BUT though they resembled the *Scythians* in some of their barbarous customs and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their pastoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the *Romans* with following the oldest law in the world, which ever leaves to the stronger what the weaker cannot defend <sup>2</sup>. And indeed so greedy were they of conquest and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with such strength and fury, that nothing could withstand them. And so sudden and violent were their onsets, that, like fire and storm, they drove all before them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people <sup>1</sup>. As for the prisoners they took in war, they sold them to their great men, who made slaves of them, and appointed the most fightly of them for their retinue. Instead of the skins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more savage *Scythians*, these chose to adorn themselves with their spoil. They wore gold rings, and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dress, as we have had occasion to hint a little higher.

WE have also observed, that they were expert horsemen, *Warlike*  
 so that, considering their martial genius and discipline, their *discipline.*  
 cavalry seldom failed of doing execution. They were no less famed for their armed chariots and their dexterity in managing them. In other respects we do not find, that they had any thing but what was common to almost all other nations, and so shall not dwell longer upon them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and scymitars, daggers, and bayonets; they had likewise shields and head-

<sup>1</sup> MELA. lib. iii. c. 2. <sup>2</sup> Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Camil. <sup>1</sup> Id. in vit. Mar. Vid. & STRAB. TACIT. DIO. HERODIAN, MELA, & al.



pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the same manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby spurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the business of their poets to record the actions of those that signalized themselves in songs and stories, which were afterwards sung at their games and other solemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had such an effect upon them, that they chose to die with their weapons in their hand, rather than to be made prisoners. It was also their custom before a battle to observe the moon, and, if possible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not so much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a superstitious belief, that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the *Lacedæmonians*. They used also, like other nations, to consult their priests or augurs upon all emergencies, but especially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, these priests used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, till the onset was begun; but if their augury proved otherwise, they gave such heed to it, that nothing but absolute necessity could prevail on them to fight. Their martial laws used likewise to be written in verse, and set to some warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon proper occasions, so that their very youth were versed in them, and knew the theory of military discipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They seem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inspire them with a desire of conquest and glory, and cherish the warlike temper for which they have been so famed in history. How much their valour was dreaded, both by the *Romans* and other *European* nations, will be seen in another chapter, and we shall shew in the sequel of this, that they signalized themselves no less in *Asia*, both before and since their migration into *Europe*.

*Language.* THEIR language, which we have already had occasion to speak of, was the old *Celtic* or *Gomèrian*, preserved still by the *Welsh*. This has been so fully proved by numberless antiquarians, that we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to them, without entering into so spacious and intricate a field<sup>m</sup>. Those who are acquainted with it must

<sup>m</sup> De his vid. CAMD. Brit. JOACH. PERION. orig. ling. Celt. BRIERW. inquir. in orig. ling. LLUYD. DAVIES & ROBERT Gram. WOOTON, HICK. lexic. LEWIS & PEZRON. ubi sup. & al. mult. readily

readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this *Gomroeg*; and that, though it must be supposed to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German* in process of time, yet it retains still so much of the admirable simplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and construction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the same tongue, from which the other languages above named, and even the *Arabic*, seem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would

(B) With respect to the *Hebrew*, we refer our readers to what has been said of it in the history of the *Jews*\*, and it would be endless to enumerate in how many instances the *Gomroeg*, now the *Welsh*, doth imitate it. We shall, however, give our reader some few instances of it by way of specimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The *Gomroeg* is so near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary (8), who was master of both, has given the learned world a specimen of a considerable number of phrases out of the *Old Testament*, which are so alike in both, that they seem to have been originally the same, and their difference to be only owing to distance of time and place, and other such like causes, by which a language is naturally altered. 2. It distinguishes the cases like the *Hebrew*, not by different terminations as the *Greek* and *Latin*, but by preposite articles. 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the preposition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to, giving it sometimes a harder, sometimes a softer sound, more for the sake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aspirations and gutturals, which are more or less dense like those of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, as *Car*, he loves; *Cari*, thou lovest; *Cara*, I love; *Carwn*, we love; *Caruch*, ye love; *Carant*, they love.

With respect to its genius, it is strong, masculine, very poetical, and figurative, and though, perhaps more through corruption than primitive orthography, it seems harsh in the pronunciation by reason of its vast number of consonants, yet when put into verse, and spoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the *Hebrew*, very soft, melodious, and musical.

(C) This is indeed, what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed also by historical facts (9). But we dare not be so sanguine as he in so delicate a point, lest we should be thought to write rather the panegyric than the history of that antient nation and tongue.

\* See before Vol. III. p. 401. & seq. (8) Ch. Edward's specimen printed An. 1675. Vid. & Lloyd Gram. & al. (9) Pexron Ant. ling. Celt. p. 3.

Here,



would be, that the *Gomerians* should be the only people that have preserved their own in such purity, whilst the *Jews*, and all other nations, have suffered theirs to be corrupted and blended with those of their neighbours, and especially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the former's having still preserved themselves from foreign conquests and bondage, choosing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries stronger by nature and less tempting to a conqueror, than to submit to their yoke? And as this at once inspired them with an over-weening value of themselves and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preserving them from suffering their original tongue to be corrupted by those of their neighbours?

Poetry.

IT were labour lost to endeavour to find out what their antient poetry was, in which their *Curtes* and *Druids* recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reason for mentioning it here is to observe, that as these poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the *Hebrew* and other eastern ones, with bold allegories and figures, as we observed in the last note, this might probably enough administer matter sufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been since stuffed, as we shall have further occasion to shew when we come to speak upon that head. As to their music, of which we have already hinted something under a former head, they are supposed to have brought it from *Crete*, where, having found an iron mine on mount *Ida*, they began to forge themselves tools, then arms, and shields, and armour; hence sprang not only the trades of smiths and armourers, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the sound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, espe-

Here, however, the reader may find the most rational account for that surprising affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *Higb-Dutch*, and some other *European* and *Asiatic* languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourse to antient history; in which it seems at least highly probable, that all these were tribes or colonies of the *Gomerians*, and used the same language, till in process of time, being parted from their brethren and intermixed with *Scythians* and other nations, it split itself into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without losing the greatest part of their primitive words, which are still the same in them; as may be seen by the vocabulary at the end of our author's work, and by the history itself.

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cially when the *Curetes* were nursing up young *Jupiter*, of which we have spoken already<sup>a</sup>. How far they improved these, and what other arts they cultivated, must be only guessed at from their manner of life; for since their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and household furniture, we may reasonably suppose, all those arts and manufactures that tended to it to have been likewise encouraged amongst them. To these we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their slaves and inferior sort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find that they used any in their food. Pulse of all sorts was their common diet, especially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, which we take to be the same with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *millet*, and is a very nourishing grain. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; and as to flesh, they eat very sparingly of it, if we except that of swine, called in the *Celtic* *Souckh*, whence perhaps the *Greek* *Συα* or *Σιζα*, and the word *Sick*, used by the country people in several parts of *Europe* to call their hogs.

CONCERNING their antient traffick we have not much to say; only when *Mercury* the son of *Jupiter* had obtained the empire of the west, that is of *Europe*, as we shall see in its proper place, he is said to have polished them very much, both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worshipped as the patron and protector, and had every where statues reared to his honour, as *Cæsar* himself assures us†. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, and barbarous people, like the *Scythians* their younger brethren, he so polished them by degrees, as to vie in most respects with all other nations in learning and politeness, as will further appear by what we have to say of that deity under the next section. Traffick.

<sup>a</sup> See *NEWTON's Chronol.* p. 14.

† *Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.*

(D) Hence the name of *Mercury* seems to have been given him from the *Celtic* *Merc*, *merchandise*, and *Ur*, *a man*; as if he had been called by way of excellence, *the man, master, or founder of merchandising*. That of *Teutat*, which he is supposed to have taken at his going or returning from *Egypt*, seems likewise to be of *Celtic* extraction, *Teut Tat*, signifying *the father of the people*, such as he was upon this and many other accounts.



## S E C T. IV.

*The chronology and history of the GOMERIANS  
or CELTES.*

**I**T must be owned, that all that has been said concerning the time of their migration from *Asia*, as well as of their most famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture, not to say fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to settle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about these, as we are about the *Scythians*, nothing being more confused than the history of those two nations. Sir *Isaac Newton* <sup>a</sup> thinks, that these two nations had already spread themselves over lesser *Asia* and *Europe*, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is, about the latter end of the *Israelitish* judges. But before that time they had signalized themselves in *Asia*, under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a succession of kings. The first of which was, according to the author whom we choose to follow, contemporary with, if not before, *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, that is about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of this history. The person we mean is the learned *Pezron* <sup>b</sup>, who has taken greater pains, and made more considerable discoveries, concerning the *Celtic* nation, than any historian we know of. It were indeed to be wished, he had built less upon conjectures; and yet we hope our readers will find, that they are not without some solid testimonies from antiquity, and that his history of the *Celtes* carries a greater share of probability, than any that has been attempted concerning this antient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conquests, and settlements. We shall upon the close of this history make some kind of apology for preferring his notion, that *Uranus*, for instance, and *Saturn*, as well as their predecessors and successors, were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Asia*, about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, to that of bishop *Cumberland*, who supposes his *Sanchoniatha's Chronus*, or *Saturn*, to have been *Ham* the son of *Noah*, and so on; because it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his system carries from antient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable history at least of those heroes, and of the *Celtic* and

<sup>a</sup> Chronol. p. 10.<sup>b</sup> Ant. Nat. Celt. ch. viii. & seq.

*Titanic* nations, divested as much as possible from the fable, and that there is at least more reason to believe, that there really were such men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

BUT in order to open a way to their history, it will be necessary to mention what is previous to it, with respect to the migrations and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the several parts of *Asia*, before their spreading into *Europe*. For though they are mentioned by antient geographers and historians under other names, such as *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain, they were really the same people and the descendants of *Gomer*, and that the names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilst they not only preserved still that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors, who mention them under their other names (A).

THUS

(A) This really holds true with respect to all except the name of *Titans*, with this difference, however, that they sometimes confounded them with the *Scythians*, as has been observed more than once; which was doubtless owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and such like, as well as to their regular progress and spreading to the right and left of north *Asia* and *Europe*; so that there is no other way to distinguish them but by those countries through which each of them took its way towards *Europe*. Accordingly we find *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others speaking of them in those respective provinces of *Asia* under the name of *Sacks*, *Celtes*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Curetes*, *Comarians*, *Ghomarians*, and *Cymbrians*. Thus *Ptolemy* tells us, that the *Saccæ*, who lived near the river *Jaxartes*, were of the *Curetes* and *Comarians* (1). *Pliny* likewise seems to mean the same thing, when, speaking of them, he says (2), beyond are the *Scythians*, whom the *Persians* did in general call *Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, *a proxima gente*, &c. which nation could be no other than the *Celtic*, because as *Ptolemy* observes elsewhere, the *Ghomarians* in *Bactriana*, who were a more civilized sort than the *Scythians*, had a capital city called by their name *Ghomar* (3), whereas the *Scythians* were known to live in the open fields at large, as we shall shew in the sequel.

Thus then it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Gomerians*, though they used in the main the other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we observed in the first section had been done by *Herodotus* in his account of the

(1) *Lib. vi. c. 13.* (2) *Nat. hist. l. vi. c. 17.* (3) *Ubi sup. l. xi.*



THUS then from *Phrygia*, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of *Comarians*, fixed along the river *Jaxartes*, beyond the *Caspian* sea, quite up to the province of *Bactria*<sup>c</sup>; these *Ptolemy* expressly calls *Sacks*,

<sup>c</sup> MELA. lib. I. c. 2.

*Scythians*. But as to the name of *Titans*, as it was both less known to the antients, and consequently with less probability applicable to the *Celtic* nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it; but which we own is not altogether so clear as could be wished.

He first supposes, that the *Gomerians*, or, as they had been since opprobriously called, *Sacks* or *Robbers*, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of *Titans*, which, as we have shewn, is of *Celtic* extraction, upon their removing farther into upper *Phrygia*. Here it seems they built a city which they called *Acmona*, from *Acmon* the son of *Maneus* the founder of it (4). *Acmon* being by the *Greeks* reckoned the father of *Uranus*, who is therefore called *Acmonides*; our author supposes him to be the same with *Sancho-niatho's* *Eliun*, or *most high*, because this first is there affirmed to be the father of *Uranus*; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other *Celtic* princes.

These conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that passage in *Judith*, where the *Titans* are mentioned as synonymous with the *Giants* (5); and from another in *Isaiah* (6), which the septuagint renders *Τίγαντες ὅι ἀπάρτες τῆς γῆς* the *Giants who subdued the earth*, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the *Titans* or *Celtes*; but the misfortune is, that the *Hebrew* doth by no means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of the *Celtes* over all other nations; so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that as the fable of the *Titans* seems to have been founded upon some antient facts, and that these since deified heroes being said to have signalized themselves for their wonderful exploits, in those very regions of which the *Gomerians* had made themselves masters under the name of *Sacks*, since absorbed into that of *Titans*, it is much more probable, that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the *Celtic*; especially considering, that the greatest part of their names and surnames, which were still retained by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are plainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we shall see when we come to their history. To this may be added the tradition of the *Cretans* concerning the *Titans* and *Curetes* being contemporary in that island, the sepulchre of *Rhea*, *Saturn's* sister and wife, being shewn there, and their boasting, that several of the gods were born there, all which have been preserved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (7).

(4) *Vid. Steph. de urbib. sub. voc. Acmon. Ptolem. Geogr. lib. v. c. 2. & Numism. Puper. ap. Pexron. c. 8.* (5) *Cb. xvi. 7.*  
(6) *Isai. xiv. 9.* (7) *Lib. v.*

*Cemerians*, and *Curetes*<sup>d</sup>; his words are, the *Sacca*, which inhabited along the *Faxartes*, were the *Cemarians* and *Curetes*. And as we find the *Sacca* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallogræcia*, and all those provinces which lie along the *Euxine* sea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of *Asia*, till their course was stopt, (not by the *Bactrians*, who seem rather to have been of *Celtic* extraction, and are accordingly called *Chomarians* by *Ptolemy* †, who makes *Chomar* to have been their metropolis) but, by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the *Chemarians* reached that of *Bactria*, and had by that time spread themselves much farther northwards from *Armenia*, either for want of room or through discord. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the *Margiana*, and entered into the country of the *Median Arii*, where having fixed themselves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by, the rest, they were called in scorn *Parthians*, which signifies in the *Celtic*, *parted*, or *divided from*. This is affirmed by *Justin*<sup>e</sup>, only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient *Greek* writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us †, called all the nations towards the north of *Asia*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*. This origin of the *Parthians* is likewise confirmed by several other authors<sup>g</sup>, though it doth not appear to us, that the *Persians* were descended from them †.

THAT the *Sacca* possessed themselves of at least the best part of *Armenia*, is expressly affirmed by *Strabo*<sup>h</sup>, who adds, that they called that country by their name *Saccacena* (B). It likewise appears from the same author, that they passed over

<sup>d</sup> Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13.    † Id. ibid lib. ii.    <sup>e</sup> lib xli. c. 1.  
<sup>f</sup> Geogr. l. xi.    <sup>g</sup> Vid. ARRIAN. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. STEPH. BYZ. in voc. Parthy. JORNAND. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud PEZRON. c. iv.    † Vid. sup. Vol. IV. p. 407. & 471.  
<sup>h</sup> lib. xi.

(B) Or rather perhaps *Saccastena*, as we find it more properly spelt by another author (8); from the *Celtic Stan*, which signifies *region*, and is still preserved by the *Persian*, as *Indostan*, *Chusistan*, &c. which perhaps the *Celts* softened afterwards into *Tan*, as in *Aquitain*, the country of water, *Britan*, the country of the *Brits* (9).

(8) *Isidor. seu Charax. Parthen. Statbm. ap. Pezron. c. 5.* (9)  
*Id. ibid.*



the mountains, bordering upon *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*, that part especially which is upon the coasts of the *Euxine* sea<sup>i</sup>. This expedition seems to have been made under the conduct of *Acmon*<sup>k</sup>, the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Doeas*, where they gave their name; the former to the capital city called *Acmonia*, in which we are also told was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the spacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiscyra* along the river *Thermodon* (C). From the *Euxine* sea their progress towards the *Palus Mæotis* is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the *Cymbrian* and *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, from which they needed but to cross the *Tanais* to enter into their *European* territories.

WE must now leave those colonies extending themselves towards *Europe*, and return into *Phrygia*, whither *Acmon* is supposed either to have returned from *Cappadocia*<sup>l</sup>, or, which is more likely, where he continued after his ancestors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called *Acmona*, and said by the same authors to have been founded by him; likewise another grove dedicated to him, and some spacious plains called *Doeantes* from his brother *Doeas*<sup>m</sup> (D). From which one may reasonably

<sup>i</sup> STRAB. ubi supra.    <sup>k</sup> APOLLON. Argonaut. lib. ii. STEPH. BYZANT. sub voce Acmon.    <sup>l</sup> PEZRON. ch. viii.    <sup>m</sup> BYZANT. ubi supra.

(C) That these two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the testimony of the authors above quoted, but adds, that *Themiscyra* means no more than *the city of Themis*. *Kir* in the *Hebrew* and *Ker* in the *Celtic* signifying *a city*. As for *Themis*, whom the *Greeks* made goddess of justice, he supposes her to have been the grand-daughter of *Acmon*, and a famous magician or prophetess; and that *Doeas* *Acmon's* brother was of the same profession; his name in the *Celtic* signifying *a diviner*, from *Ddoe*, or *Duae*, *God*.

(D) If any such monuments were really in two different provinces of *Asia*; the one in *Phrygia*, as the authors above quoted expressly affirm, and the others in some other parts, for they do not name *Cappadocia*, it will only follow, that both had been under *Acmon's* government, and there will be no necessity to send him into the one to bring him back into the other, since his colonies could easily achieve the conquest of the latter, and leave those monuments in honour of their prince.

(10) *Ibid.*    † Vol. V. p. 243. Not. (B).

sonably infer, that he both reigned, and was afterwards worshipped here likewise ; and consequently, that it were absurd to suppose him a fabulous person, any more than his descendants *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and the rest of the *Titan* princes. And as for the *Celtes* being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very antient author<sup>n</sup>, who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet says, that the κίλητοι were ἐψίγονοι Τιτάνες, the descendants or late posterity of the *Titans*. If it be objected, that the *Druids* in *Cæsar's* time did boast themselves to be descended from *Dis* or *Pluto* °, it will appear, that he also was a *Titan* prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is *Europe*, to his share, whilst *Jupiter* kept the eastern part to himself ; so that both *Cæsar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point, *Pluto* being the great grandson of *Acmon*, the first prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race.

THIS prince was the son of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Maneus*, his namē *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ack-man*, seems to imply as much. He is supposed by our author to have lived in the days of *Terah* the father of *Abraham*. So that, including *Maneus* in the list, we have a succession of six *Titan* princes, whose government, according to him, lasted about three hundred years<sup>p</sup>. And are as follows,

*Man* or *Maneus*  
*Acmon*  
*Uranus*

*Saturn*  
*Jupiter*  
*Theutat*

<sup>n</sup> CALLIMACH. hymn. in Delum. vers. 170. & seq. • Vid. *Cæs. Comment. lib. vi.* <sup>p</sup> PEZRON. c. 15.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of *Sacks* is from that time wholly absorbed into that of *Titans* ; from which he concludes, that that warlike prince, at his return into *Phrygia*, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of *Titans*, which either signifies sons of the sun, or of the earth, as we shewed elsewhere † ; whilst that of *Sacks* stuck only to those who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of *Asia*. It is not easy to say, when or why they assumed the name of *Titans* ; but if we suppose with our author that word to signify sons of the earth, which answers to that of *Aborigines*, it will be more reasonable to suppose, that they began to aim at it much earlier in *Phrygia*, because it was the original settlement of their progenitors *Gomer* and his descendants, whilst those colonies, who were forced to leave that province and to go and settle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, must be contented to quit it for that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*, which the losers gave to them.

† See before p. 230, in the note.



WE have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give some light to it out of some antient writers; we shall give what he has there said in his own words.

I HAVE taken no small pains to find out what antient authors have said on this head. I find that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Isaac* had attained the one half of his age, or some years after *Abraham's* death, and this is what may be made out from antient historians, such as *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thalylus*, and some others, who all agreed, that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus* the first king of *Assyria*; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the *Sibyls*, which expressly say, that *Saturn* with his brother *Titan* and *Japhet* began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were those whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in virtue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of *Abraham*. *Saturn* must therefore begin his reign many years before *Abraham* had been in the land of *Canaan*. Nay, his father *Uranus* must already have been very potent, both in *Asia* and also in *Europe*, in the time of *Terah Abraham's* father. All this seems plain to me upon examining those monuments of antiquity which are still extant. But the chronicle of *Eusebius*, which has been regulated from antient histories, and especially those which related to the island of *Crete*, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about those times, *Cres*, one of the *Curetes* who took care of *Jupiter's* education, reigned in *Crete*, and that the island received its name from him. *Eusebius* by the words *κατὰ τὰς χρόνους*, about these times, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of *Abraham's* life. Now *Jupiter*, according to his calculation, must have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah's* life. But I have many reasons to believe, that *Eusebius* was mistaken in making him of such old standing, and that this *Titan* prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, that is the 98th year of *Isaac's* life, and that he could not precede *Moses* above 300 years.

THUS far *Pezron*; according to whose account it might be easy to conjecture the times when *Jupiter's* predecessors reigned, by tracing so many generations back; especially because we have the length of *Jupiter's* life recorded, as we shall see in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which  
if

if it come short of the number of his contemporary *Isaac*, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him.

WE have nothing recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that *Maneus* he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* <sup>9</sup>.

CONCERNING *Acmon*, if he be the same with the *Eliun* *Acmon* of *Sanchoniatho*, as this author makes him the father of *Uranus*, who was therefore called *Acmonides*, or *the son of Acmon*, we have nothing particular; except that he had a son named *Epigeus Autochthon*, called afterwards *Ouranus*; and that being killed by a wild beast, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worshipped by his descendants <sup>r</sup> (E).

*Uranus*, according to the same antient author, succeeded *Uranus*.

<sup>9</sup> POLYHIST. ap. BYZANT. sub voce *Acmon*. <sup>r</sup> SANCHONIATH. lib. iii.

(E) If his descendants paid him those divine honours presently after his death, we have here, as *Pezron* observes, one of the antientest heathen deities in all antiquity. But we see no reason for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; those groves which were consecrated to him in *Phrygia* might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to those of the *Scythian* kings, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, whilst the idolatrous worship of them was not introduced till many ages after.

These *Titans* of *Sanchoniatho*, whom the *Greeks* called ἀλῆται or wanderers, such as the *Gomerians* really were, are also supposed to have been of gigantic stature, like those we have mentioned in the history of *Canaan*; the fable indeed reckons them as such. The apocryphal book of *Judith* (11) mentions the *Titans* and giants as synonymous, as we hinted before; and the septuagint have translated the words *the valley of Rephaim*, or giants, *the valley of Titans* (12). The *Greeks*, which called them Τίτας and Τίταρες, seem to have borrowed that word from the *Celtic Gugg*, which signifies proud, fierce, arrogant, such as we may reasonably suppose their monstrous stature might incline them to be, and such as we find those to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ. And as the *Titans*, kings and priests as well as people, were extremely given to superstition, divination, magic, and all such like vile practices, an antient father had reason to upbraid the heathen with placing giants, tyrants, and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

† See before, Vol. II. p. 257. N. (E) & Vol. iv. p. 187 N. (W) & alib. (11) Chap. xvi. 7. (12) 2 Sam. v. 18. (13) Euseb. pr. evang. l. ii. c. 5.



his father, and married his own sister, *Γῆ Γε*, or *the earth* (F), by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom, called *Itus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, also succeeded him. *Sancho-niatho* observes, that he had two other names, and that that of *Ouranus* was not given him till afterwards; but tho' he knew not the reason of it, yet if we attend to the *Celtic* etymology, *Ur* or *Our*, a *Man*, and *en*, *heaven*, it will appear highly probable, that he was called *Our-en*, a *man of heaven*, from his being very much addicted to the study of astronomy and astrology. From this the *Greeks* might easily also call him *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from him. We pass by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the *Greeks* and other writers, and shall only add, that his new conquests in *Asia* and *Europe* seem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic, to his policy than to his skill in astrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but, after having enlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious son and successor *Saturn*, who, having intercepted him, put him into close confinement, where he either died with grief, or was dispatched by the order of that unnatural son.

**Saturn.**

*Saturn*, surnamed afterwards *Chronus* or *Cronus*, is said by *Sancho-niatho* to have been the eldest son of *Uranus* <sup>t</sup>, whilst other authors affirm him to have been the youngest of all <sup>t</sup>; and that his eldest brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while contest the crown with him, till he was at length over-powered and forced to yield to him. *Saturn* is supposed to have been the first, who took upon him the regal dignity; for we are told <sup>u</sup>, that all his predecessors, down to *Uranus*, had contented themselves with the title of princes; and an antient father tells us <sup>w</sup>, upon the authority of *Pherecides*, that he was the first that wore the diadem, whence he is supposed to have been surnamed *Cronus*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *crowned* (G). He likewise tells us in another place, that he

<sup>t</sup> Ubi supra      <sup>t</sup> HESIOD. in Theog. APOLLON. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. PEZR. c. x.      <sup>u</sup> Vid. ENN. ap. LACTANT. lib. i. c. 13.   
 <sup>w</sup> TERTUL. de Coron. c. 17.

(F) It is observable, that the *Greeks* who have translated this name have also retained the antient one of *Titea*, which is derived from the *Celtic* *Tit*, which signifies the same thing. We shall find many more such *Greek* names in the sequel, which are palpably of *Celtic* extraction.

(G) That of *Saturn*, which some have absurdly derived from the  
Hebrew

he much delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a short coat ; of the Galatic dye, from which perhaps came also the royal purple, so much worn by kings and persons of the highest rank (H).

*Saturn*, though he was no less politic and crafty than prone to ambition, could not so well conceal his treasonable designs, but that *Uranus* had some suspicion of them, and to be beforehand with him dispatched his daughter *Rhea* to make away with him by some private means \*. But *Saturn*, who perhaps was apprised of it by his mother *Titea*, whose jealousy had so far transported her (I) as to encourage him, if not to inspire him with the first design of his unnatural rebellion, soon found a way not only to divert her from her enterprize, but to bring her over to his side. This caused an open rupture, in which *Saturn*, after a contest of several years proving the stronger of the two, imprisoned his father, as we have seen above, and made himself absolute ; after which it is supposed, that, not being contented with the title of prince, he assumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had enlarged his dominions, not only in *Asia* but in *Europe* as far as *Spain*, and gained also some provinces in *Africa*, a less title than this could not well suit his ambitious mind.

\* HESIOD. ubi supra.

Hebrew סתר *Satar*, to hide, because he went and concealed himself in *Italy* from his son *Jupiter*, is more naturally deduced from the *Phrygian* *Satorn*, or rather *Sadorn*, which signifies, strong and potent ; for so he really was, till weakened by his son's unnatural rebellion, as the history will shew immediately. *Sanchoniatho* gives him also the name of *Il* or *Ilos*, which may be properly enough derived from the Hebrew word אל *El*, which signifies strong and mighty, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) *Saturn* being supposed to have dwelt in *Phrygia*, part of which was afterwards called *Galatia* ; *Pezron* observes, that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the Greek κόκκος, and Latin *Coccus*, may naturally be derived from the Celtic *Coch*, which signifies red (14).

(I) This jealousy and resentment, *Sanchoniatho* tells us, was occasioned not only by the number of other wives which *Uranus* took, but because though she had left him upon that account, yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what most of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to destroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her son's rebellion (15).

(14) Chap. 10. & lexic. Cel. Latin. sub voc. *Coccus*. (15) Id. *ibid*.



HE had two notable counsellors besides his mother, the one from his youth, named *Hermes Trismegistus*, a great philosopher and consummate politician; some add that he was also a great conjurer<sup>y</sup>; the other was his sister *Rhea*, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). These three did so far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and especially with his other brothers, what with their address and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, so that it is no wonder, if his dominions and conquests did so vastly exceed those of his predecessors, and himself proved so successful both at home and abroad. But his happiness was soured many different ways: he was extremely mistrustful of his children; he had himself dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, lest his crime should be punished in the same kind. This made him sacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as some think, or, as others believe, to the ghost of his father. He was extremely given to superstition and divinations; and it is not improbable, that his diviners might increase his suspicions, by foretelling, that he would be in danger of being dethroned by some of them, as he really was by *Jupiter*. He had still another private enemy to ward against, namely his brother *Titan*, who, though forced to yield to him, at least in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was so intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of surprising him and his wife *Rhea*, whom he immediately conveyed into some province of *Asia*, and kept them in close confinement, till his son *Jupiter* came with a confide-

<sup>y</sup> SANCHONIAT. ubi supra.

(K) This custom of marrying sisters had nothing extraordinary in those days; we have seen in a former volume, that it was common to the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, and many other great and polite nations. The name of *Rhea* is likewise of *Celtic* extraction, and signifies a lady as *Rhey* signifies a lord (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called *Japhet* or *Japhet*, a name preserved only among the descendants of his son *Gomer*. *Sanchoniatho* likewise names *Atlas*, but he is more likely to have been his nephew and the son of *Japhet*. It is very probable, that *Saturn*, in recompence of their friendship to him, gave that part of his conquests in *Mauritania* to *Atlas*, and that the famous mountains of *Africa* received their name from him (17).

(16) *Pezron*. ubi supra.

(17) *Id. ibid.*

nable

rable army of *Cretans*, and restored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

WHAT we have observed concerning *Saturn's* jealous temper and cruelty to his children, must in all probability have been the cause, why his wife *Rhea* took such pains to preserve her youngest son *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and sending him to be privately educated in another (N).

This

(M) This remarkable transaction has been preserved to us by an antient father (18) upon the authority of *Ennius*, or rather of *Eve-merus*, whose translator he was; and as he produced it to prove against the heathen, that the gods they worshipped had been mere men, he introduces it with this singular preface: *Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis continentur, ne poetarum ineptias in accusandis religionibus sequi aut probare videamur.* It should seem by these words, that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentic testimonies of historians, and knew full well how to distinguish the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add, that many other fathers and apologists have appealed to the like historical facts concerning *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do, if they had not been acknowledged as such by those against whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of *Jupiter's* birth. The *Cretans* did pretend, that he was born in that island on mount *Ida*, and *Callimachus* (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there also, because such a god as he could not die, yet, absurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount *Lycaeus* in *Arcadia*. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymnist adds, that the place was since held so sacred that no woman dared to approach it. It was also called by way of excellence *the sacred top*, and the *Puerperium*, or *place of Rhea's lying-in*. As for the *Cretans*, they might be easily led into the belief of his being born among them, because he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmost privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed, that his education was committed to the care of the *Curetes*, and these being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder, that they procured him so powerful an army to go to his father's rescue. And it is not improbable, that they were the persons that inspired him with that pious design, which might probably cure the father of his unjust suspicion, and entitle the son to the succession of his kingdom.

(18) *Lactant. Instit. lib. i. c. 14.* (19) *Vid. inter al. Tertul. Apol. cap. x. & alib. pass. Athenag. Theophil. Antioch. Min. Felix, Arnob. August. Jul. Firmic. & al.*

(20) *Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.*



This action therefore of *Jupiter*, pious and generous as it was, did rather increase than dispel his jealousy. His surprize to find himself over-reached by his wife, and to see this son, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and strength sufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear, lest he should in time deprive him with the same facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, upon the authority of *Evemerus*, that he went to consult the oracle and his diviners, who bade him beware of his son *Jupiter*, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he lost no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into *Crete* with an army, for his son was again retired thither after he had achieved his deliverance; but he soon found, that the *Cretans* were all in his son's interest, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of *Greece* since called *Peloponnesus*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel design against him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*. *Janus* was then king of the *Aborigines*, who, we observed before, may either have been of *Celtic* extraction, or upon some other account friends to the *Titans* (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception,

The story of *Saturn's* cruelty, in sacrificing so many of his children to his jealousy, may also have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring them, as *Jupiter's* depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occasion to their accusing him of castrating him.

(O) We have already taken notice, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by ancient historians both to have been the oldest people in *Italy*, and to have been the descendants of the *Celtes* †; and it is hardly to be supposed, that *Saturn* would have trusted himself, in his desperate circumstances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether these were the same with the *Aborigines*, or another colony incorporated with them in process of time, we will not decide. The reception, which he met with from *Janus*, scarce leaves room to doubt of their being allied, either by blood or by some other tie.

Some critics have found fault with *Julius Firmicus* for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the *Spartans* in *Italy*. *Pezron* has taken some pains to prove that they were really in *Italy* before that time and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the *Sabines* were descended from them, and they from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. But if this should not seem altogether so plain, as it is impossible to grope

See before p. 229, note (C)

(21) *Lib. de Error. profan. relig.*  
into

on, and, as some affirmed, admitted him into a kind of partnership with him in his kingdom <sup>2</sup>; so that the region where *Saturn* reigned, and which is adjoining to the *Tyber*, was since called *Saturnia* from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being shewed in *Sicily* <sup>2</sup> may induce one to suppose, that he went and ended his days there.

*Jupiter*, or, as he was rightly called, *Jou* (P), because *Jupiter*: he was the youngest of *Saturn*'s children, did not, however, enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his sons, having probably found means to strengthen his party whilst he was taken up against his father, raised a war against him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmost fury on both sides, both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army.

THIS war seems to be the truest original of the fabulous war of the *Giants* or *Titans* against the gods, which the poets have so interlarded with their inventions, that it is scarcely

<sup>2</sup> TERTUL. Apolog. ubi sup.  
ALEXAND. admonit. ad Gent.

<sup>2</sup> PHILOCOR. ap. CLEM.

into those dark and remote ages with any tolerable satisfaction, the words of *Firmicus*, in *Italia a Spartis absconditu*, if there has no error crept into them, may be understood proleptically. The nation that received *Saturn*, whatever they were, might in time, if not by *Jupiter* himself, be drove out of *Italy*, and go and settle in *Sparta*, or upon some other account be thenceforth called *Spartans*. At least the author above named has made it very probable, that they originally came from *Italy*; though it doth not appear, that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into *Jovis*, &c. shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as *Cicero* doth upon the authority of *Verro*, from *Juvans Pater*, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the Celtic *Jou*, or, as we pronounce it, *Joo*, which signifies *young*, is in all respects so much nearer to it; and *Jupiter* seems plainly to be the same with *Jou pater*, which last was added to his former name of *Jou*, when he came to be worshiped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find, that the antient *Latins* did not write his name *Jupiter*, but *Jaopiter*, *Joupiter*, and *Japiter*. But the Celtic has still preserved his antient name of *Jou*, and call *Thursday*, or the *Dies Jovis* of the *Romans*, *Diz jou*, and *Di jou*, the day of *Jove* (22). We shall have occasion by-and-by to speak of some of his other names.

(22) Vid. *Pezron. ch. xii.*

possible



possible to discover it through them (Q). This final overthrow was given them near the antient city of *Tartesa* in *Spain*, a sea-port town a little to the north of *Cadis*<sup>b</sup> (R), whither it seems he went in person with a great fleet and a puissant army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

<sup>b</sup> TERTUL. Apologia SCHOLIAST. in *Iliad*. viii. ad vers. 479. ap. Pezron. c. 11.

(Q) We have deferred till now to observe how much this system of history, for we dare not venture to give it a stronger name, doth clash with that of our learned *Cumberland*, who, as we have fully shewn in the beginning of this history\*, makes his *Sanchoia-tho's* *Uranus* to have been *Noah*, *Cronus* *Ham*, *Mixor*, *Mixraim*, *Zadic* *Melchizedek*, and so on; that our readers might see which of the two carries the greatest probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both supported by some collateral kind of proofs, and upon a supposition, that this fragment we have left is the relic of a fuller history, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We shall not repeat what we have said elsewhere on this last head †, much less do we design to draw a parallel between these two systems and their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may say without partiality concerning that of our *Celtic* antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as christians. But the latter, especially the apologists, seem plainly enough to have been generally of the same mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned against their stupid worshippers.

How far all this is further corroborated by numberless *Celtic* etymons, the greatest part of which are both easy and natural and confirmed by historical facts, must be submitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been said concerning the names of *Uranus* and *Titea*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, and *Rhea*. *Jou* or *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, and others, besides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be seen in our author, and some few which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel; all which put together will, if not convince him, yet, at least, justify our giving it a place in this history, as we have that of our learned bishop in the first volume.

(R) This seems also confirmed by what *Justin* (23) adds, that the *Curetes* lived formerly in the forests about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed after *Vossius*, that it ought

\* *Vid sup* Vol. I. p. 295. N. (C)  
 & *alib.* (23) *lib.* xlv. c. 4.

† *Ibid.* p. 309. *not.* B.

*Jupiter*, after the example of his predecessors, married his own sister *Juno* (S). But as he was seldom without some amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous issue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand, he did not follow his pleasures so close, but he allowed himself proper seasons for the administration of justice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers and *Banditti* who sheltered themselves in the forests of *Thessaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Illyria*, where they committed the vilest outrages. But as he had made *Mount Olympus*,<sup>c</sup> (T) one of the most delightful parts of *Thessaly*, his chief residence, he was under a kind of necessity to rid those

<sup>c</sup> EVEMER. ap. LACTANT. institut. lib. i. c. 10.

to be read *Cinetes*, because the *Curetes* were a people of *Crete*. We have already shewn, that the latter were the priests or soothsayers of the *Titans* and *Celtes*, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then, that some of them who had followed *Jupiter* in this expedition, and delighted otherwise in a kind of ascetic life, should be induced to make those forests their abode? But we shall have occasion by-and-by to say something further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profession in those parts of *Spain*.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of *Celtic* extraction, and to be derived from *Ghuin*, which signifies *fair*, *white*, and by way of excellence, beautiful; such as *Juno* is said to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient *Glossaries* call her also *Jolinta*, a jolly or fine woman.

Thus *Jupiter* had some other names among the *Greeks* which seem to flow from the same fountain, as *Zeus*, from which they irregularly made their *Δις Διός Δία, &c.* in the oblique cases. Now the *Zeus*, from which the *Latins* made *Deus*, seems more plainly derived from the *Celtic* *Dberw*, *God*, and the *Dis* and *Dia* from *Di*, *bright*. He was likewise surnamed *Πεικος* and *Picus*, from the bird of that name, which *Pliny* tells us was then much used in auguries (24), which bird seems to be so called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of *Woodpecker*. *Pliny* indeed pretends, that he was called *Picus* from a king of *Latium* of that name; but it seems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like *Jupiter*, so surnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the *Celtic* word *peck* or *beak*, signifies a *bird's bill*; and hence it is likely our verb to *peck* is derived.

(T) Hence the last quoted father observes, that after his apotheosis the place of his residence came to be called by his superstitious worshippers *heaven*, or to be synonymous to it (25).

(24) *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. c. 18.*

(25) *Pexron. c. xii.*  
countries



countries of such vermin, that his subjects might have the freer access to his court.

BEFORE his death he is affirmed by the last quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the western, or *European*, part of it to his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*, surnamed also *Agefilaus* (U), whilst himself kept the *Asiatic*, or eastern, part of it<sup>d</sup>. We observed also before, that he gave some part of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*, but having afterwards either conceived jealousy of him, or detected him in some criminal design against him, he is reported to have caused him to be put to death.

THIS *Atlas* (W) had a daughter named *Maia*, or *Flowry*, whose beauty *Jupiter* was not proof against, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. From her he had a son named *Theutat*, since *Mercury*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage *Juno*, who was ever plotting something against him. We cannot guess whether *Atlas* had been unfortunately

<sup>d</sup> Id. Ibid.

(U) This last name which signifies a leader of the people, or *Agelander*, as it is found in other writers (26), and signifies a leader of men, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into *Europe*, and perhaps as far as *Spain*, where we observed a little above, there had been both *Titans* and *Curetes* in the neighbourhood of the antient city of *Tartesa*. Here likewise he is supposed to have found out some rich mines of gold and silver (27), by which he grew so rich, that he got the name of *Pluto*, in Greek Πλούτος, which signifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches upon his being deified; and this probably induced *Strabo* to believe, that the *Tartara* of the *Greeks* and *Latins* came from the above-named *Tartesa*, a country situate in the utmost parts of *Spain* westward (28).

Hence likewise, *Jupiter* having the dominion of the east or sun-rising, and *Pluto* of the west or sun-setting, came also probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewise, might the mythologists of those fables think it very reasonable to assign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the same deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(W) He was also called by the *Greeks* *Talamon*, from the *Celtic* *Tell-mon* or *man*, on account of his high stature, and as he was also a great astronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have since made of him.

(26) *Æschyl. Callimach. Athen. Hesych. ap. Pexron. ibid.* (27) *Vid. Strab. Geograph. l. v.* (28) *Ibid.*

drawn into some rebellion by the jealous queen, but *Jupiter* is by some accused to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant through the continual seditions which she raised against him, which yet he did find means to discover in good time<sup>e</sup>.

ON the other hand, the *Cretan* historians extolled his virtues up to the skies. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Ennius*, upon their authority, bestow the greatest encomiums on him for his strength, valour, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and punishing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholesome laws and regulations for the public good<sup>f</sup>. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62<sup>g</sup>, this great, and since deified, hero, resigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the *Curetes* in the isle of *Crete*, and in the city of *Gnoffus*, where his sons erected a stately monument, which was shewed many ages after by the inhabitants<sup>h</sup>. The same authors add, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His son *Cres* or *Cret* (from whom that island of *Crete* is supposed to have had its name, *Cret* in *Celtic* signifying *bold* and *daring*), was then at the head of the *Curetes*, and performed the last devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that island<sup>i</sup> (X). How the rest of his kingdom was divided among the rest of his successors is not to be guessed at, only we find, that his son *Theutat* or *Mercury*, of whom we are going to speak, had the western part assigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*<sup>k</sup>.

*Mercury* is allowed by all antiquity to have been the son *Mercury*. of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, as we have seen above. We have given

<sup>e</sup> PEZRON. & auct. ab eo citat. <sup>f</sup> DIOD. SICUL. lib. v. ENN. ubi supra. CALLIM. Hymn. in Jov. <sup>g</sup> SUID. sub voce Πάρος. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. cap. xii. <sup>h</sup> CICER. EVEMER. ap. LACTANT. lib. i. c. ii. <sup>i</sup> Vid. PEZRON. ibid. <sup>k</sup> SUID. sub voce Πάρος. Chronic. Alexand. ubi sup.

(X) This is at least intimated by *Lactantius's* words out of *Ennius*, *Curetes filii sui (Jovis) eum curaverunt*, for *Cres* was then a *Curete*, and probably the head or principal of that society. *Eusebius* seems also to confirm his having succeeded his father in the government of that isle, when he makes him the first king of *Crete* (29); that is, as we understand him after *Pezron*, he was the first who reigned in that only island, whereas his father's kingdom is said to have reached from *Euphrates* to *Spain*, besides some parts of *Afric*, which he had given to *Atlas*, as we have seen elsewhere.

(29) *Euseb. ap. Pezron. cap. xii.*



already in a former note the etymon of those two names †. The *Greeks* did likewise call him Ἑρμῆς, *Hermes*, (Y), and the *Latins* *Faunus* (Z). He was famed for his learning and wisdom, and especially for his skill in auguries, magic, and philosophy. He was active, courageous, and eloquent; and so prudent, that he always kept close to his father's interest. For all these good qualities he became his chief favourite and counsellor, and was also by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us, that he went down into *Egypt* to penetrate farther into their mysterious arts and sciences, and that at his return he assumed the name of *Theutat*<sup>1</sup> (A). It was probably from the *Egyptians* that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he

† See before p. 255, in the note. <sup>1</sup> CYRIL. ALEXAND. lib. cont. Julian.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the *Celtic Armes*, which signifies *divination*. For *Mercury* seems to have out done all his ancestors in the knowledge and constant practice of that art, as we shall see by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the *Celtic*; nor can we guess upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of *Faunus* and *Mercury*; so that this *Faunus* must not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in *Italy*, especially with *Faunus* the father of *Latinus*, in whose time *Aeneas* came into that kingdom. Whereas our *Mercury*, according to this chronology of *Titanic* princes, must have lived at farthest about the time of *Joseph's* being in *Egypt* (30).

(A) That father adds, that he took up that name in imitation of the antient *Egyptian Mercury* or *Thoyth*, who, as we have seen in the first volume\*, was worshipped by the *Egyptians* for his great learning, wisdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himself a more honourable one in the *Celtic Theu-tat*, as we observed before, signifying *the father of his people*, such as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how these Gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious subject doth well deserve to be treated of in a treatise by itself, and we hope, if we have not quite cleared that point thro' the former parts of this history, we have at least furnished the world with some considerable materials towards such an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from such a design as this.

(30) *Idem*, cap. xiv.

\* Vol. I. p. 516.

is said to have first brought into *Europe*, whence it again emanated itself into *Asia*, as was shewn under another head.

HE not only taught them the metallic trades, but how to make an advantageous traffic of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of *Merk-ur* or *Mercury*. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in *Cæsar's* time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village \*.

SOME attribute the invention of the olympic games to him, others to *Hercules*, but, if *Pausanias* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us, that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them<sup>m</sup>. They may, however, be supposed to have made some considerable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. *Suidas* <sup>n</sup> and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure and retiring into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand, *Livy* acquaints us<sup>o</sup>, that there was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Theutat*; and this would incline one to believe, that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the *Romans*, except that the unweildiness of so vast an empire did probably cause it to split itself into many petty kingdoms under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the *Roman* conqueror found them, when he invaded the *Celtic* territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of

\* De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16.

<sup>m</sup> Lib. viii. qui est Arcad.

<sup>n</sup> Sub voce Εγενης.

<sup>o</sup> Hist. lib. xxii. c. 44.



the *Roman* empire, this is not a proper place to speak of them; they will be the subject of other volumes, in which the history of the *European* kingdoms will be resumed.

THESE intestine divisions having once weakened the strength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did easily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewise. Among the first *Iberia* or *Spain* was dismembered from it by the *Carthaginians*, from whom it passed to the *Romans* together with the southern provinces, since called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the provinces on the other side of the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did also inroach upon them on the north side, and very probably seized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*, and drove them quite to the hither side of the *Danube*. For it seems most natural, that in their first migrations the same boundaries, which parted *Europe* from *Asia*, did also part the *Celtic* and *Scythian* dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering sword of their neighbours \*, or through their intestine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occasion it, sure it is, that several powerful colonies of these *Celtes* or *Gauls* returned into lesser *Asia*, where, finding almost every where some antient monuments of their progenitors, they settled themselves in several parts of it by main force, and gave some of their new-gotten names to them; such as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, and some others, without which it would be impossible to distinguish these latter excursions and exploits from those by which they had signalized themselves before their migrations into *Europe*. The first of those, as far as it can be disentangled from the latter, will be best seen in some of the following histories, either of those nations whom they there conquered, or of those by whom they were driven out of their conquests.

As for those whom we have seen in *Europe*, we hope our readers are satisfied by this time, that if we have chose to follow a new guide through those dark and remote ages, he has at least conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed; and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to such a vast number of *Celtic* etymologies, do at least carry a much greater degree of probability than we could meet with any where else; and we may add, than we ourselves could ever have at-

\* See before, Vol. IV. p. 385.

tained, by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the *Celtic* language. These etymologies, which seem to strike a light to every passage quoted from antient authors, and which we can assure our readers we did not take upon trust, will, we hope, sufficiently justify likewise our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of *Sanchoniatho*, which is at best but a confused medley of some dark and imperfect hints stolen out of the writings of *Moses*, and jumbled with the history and fables of other nations in honour of his own (B).

WE submit, however, to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the testimony of antient authors, than that which our learned bishop *Cumberland* has endeavoured to give us out of his *Phœnician* historian. As for ourselves,

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have supposed his history to have been a forgery writ on purpose to invalidate the authority of *Moses*, as if he had stolen his account of the creation out of the *Phœnician* records\*; yet we cannot but think it manifest, that he had copied that sacred historian, and that very bunglingly too, besides blending and adjusting his cosmogony and theology with the history and fables of his time.

What else can we think of his dark and universal *Chaos*? His vehement wind engendering *Môt* or *motion*, (for that is the *Hebrew* meaning of the word), which produced the seeds of all things animate and inanimate? The sun, moon, stars, and *Zophasemin* or *speculators of the heavens*? What means his *Colpias*, but the Almighty Word, which spoke all things into being; his *Bau* or *Baut*, but the *Tobu* and *Bobu* of *Moses*?

Whoever compares also the history he gives us of the second and third line with what we read in *Genesis*, and with what has been quoted in the last section out of antient authors, concerning *Eliun*, *Chronus*, &c. will easily see, that it is a mere confused mixture of sacred and prophane history, interlarded with fable, and that if *Jerombaâl*, priest of *Jabvob*, from whom *Porphyrus* pretends he received his information, be the *Gideon* of the *Jews*, who was surnamed *Jerubbaal* (31), and might have been mistaken for a priest of *Jabvob*, because he is recorded to have set up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other use of those *Jewish* memoirs than to put them in a phantastical *Phœnician* dress, such as best suited the theology of the heathen world, and was most likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the *Phœnician* records beyond all others, even beyond those of the sacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

\* *Vid. int. al. Dodwell's dissertat. de Sanchoniath.* (31) *Judg.* vi. 32. (32) *Ibid.* vi. 24. & viii. 27.



we wish we could meet with such another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate, history, that of the *Scythians*. But hence we must be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the best of those few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

## S E C T. V.

### *The Geography of Scythia.*

**H**OW this prodigious tract of land came at first by the name of *Scythia*, is not easy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, besides that monstrous one which *Herodotus* gives us from the fabulous *Greeks*, and which we shall for that reason throw into the margin (A). The first is that which derives that name from the Greek *σχυθαι*, which expresses the fierceness of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the *Teutonic Scheten* or *Schuten*, to shoot, at which art this nation is affirmed by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others<sup>a</sup>, to have been so singularly expert, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account; so that, according to this supposition the word *Scy-*

<sup>a</sup> Vid. GOROP. BECAN. HEYLIN. PEZRON.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the *pontic Greeks*, that *Hercules* being got into *Scythia* then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot having straggled out of the way whilst he refreshed himself with sleep, as he was in search of them he met with a monster, half woman and half serpent, who promised to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and staid with her till she was tired, she asked him at parting how he would have her dispose of the three sons she had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the lowest seam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her that could draw his bow, and send the other two away. She followed his orders, and *Scythia*, who was the youngest and proved the strongest of the three, became the first monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of *Scythia* bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(1) *Herodot. lib. iii.*

*thian*

*thian* did properly signify a great *Shooter* or *Archer*. We have, however, observed heretofore, that the *Tartars* and *Muscovites* called themselves *Mogli*, which we suppose only an abbreviation of *Magogly*, the sons of *Magog*. That of *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whose language, as was before observed, did not originally differ much either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*.

THIS vast territory, which extended itself from the *Ister* or *Danube* the boundary of the *Celtes*, that is from about the 25th to almost the 110th degree of east longitude, was therefore divided into *Scythia* in *Europe*, and *Scythia* in *Asia*, including, however, the two *Sarmatias*, or, as they are called by the *Greeks*, *Sauromatias*, now the *Circassian Tartary*, which did lie between and sever the two *Scythias* from each other. *Sauromatia* was also distinguished into *European* and *Asiatic*, and was divided from the *European Scythia* by the river *Don* or *Tanais*, which falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and from the *Asiatic* by the *Rha*, now *Volga*, which empties itself into the *Caspian sea* <sup>b</sup>. But the *Sarmatians* differed so little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion, and customs, if we may believe *Herodotus* <sup>c</sup>, that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very descendants by the *Amazons*, with whom that author tells us they having intermarried, begot this *Sarmatian* offspring. But the former seems to us the most probable, when we consider how easy, short, and regular their migration into that country was from the place of their first setting out, and that we find in the very centre between *Armenia* and *Sarmatia* a large province called *Iberia*, which is much more likely to be that which *Josephus* tells us was peopled by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*, than the *Celtiberia* of *Spain*. We shall not repeat here what we have so lately urged against this last opinion <sup>†</sup>.

Upon the whole then, we may safely venture to say, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the boundaries of *Europe* and *Asia*, that is by the river *Tanais*, descending, as is supposed, from the *Riphean mountains* (B) into the *Palus Mæotis*.

<sup>b</sup> PTOLEM. MEL. STRAB. CLUVER. & al.

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT.

l. iv.   † See before, p. 233, in the note.

(B) Some modern geographers (2), who prove plainly enough that these could not be those of *Siberia*, which are at the distance

(2) *Well's Geogr. c. ii. note (R)*, & *Bochart. ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 10.*



*Mæotis*. For beyond these mountains northward we find not that the *Scythians* advanced into any of those remote regions, so that these were the proper confines of the *Asiatic Scythia* on the west. The northern ones reached to the *Hyperborean* or *Frozen Sea*, called also by the antients, the *Scythian Sea*, the *Cronian*, *Amalchian*, or *Almachian*, the *Dead Sea*, and by some other names which expressed its extreme coldness and frozenness. On the east they are supposed to have extended to the promontory of *Tabis*, and to have been bounded by the *Cassian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Cattai* or northern *China*; and on the south by the *Eoum* or *Indian Sea*, and by mount *Caucasus*, and the *Caspian Sea* <sup>d</sup>.

As to the northern parts of *Scythia*, their extreme coldness made them uninhabitable by any but wolves, bears, and other such-like northern wild beasts; and this is probably the reason why they seem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than these was called *terra incognita*, and their notion of its being surrounded by the *Hyperborean* or *Northern Ocean*, they seem rather to have had from conjecture than from experience. But the southern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely *Scythia*, within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond, *Imaus* and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former and the *European Scythia*, which as we observed before, was either a branch of the *Scythian* nation, or had been by some means so blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name.

<sup>d</sup>PTOLEM. ubi supr. MELA, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. CELLAR. CLUVER. WELLS, & al.

of near ten degrees from the *Tanais*, are therefore of opinion, that they were imaginary, and supplied by the fertile fancy of the antients to furnish a head to that river. The case is hardly worth disputing; and yet since we find that *Ripbath* was *Gomer's* second son (3), whose migration may have been probably through this region and along this river; it seems more reasonable to think, he might leave his name to those mountains S. E. of *Moscow*, from which the *Don* takes its source, as most other geographers have supposed he did, than to believe that those antients, who could know nothing either of *Ripbath* or his migrations, should yet so luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(3) *Gen. x. 3.*

THE

THE *Asiatic Scythia* did therefore comprehend in general great *Tartary* and *Russia* in *Asia*, and in particular the *Scythia* beyond, or without, *Imaus*, contained the regions of *Bogdoi*, or *Ostiacoi*, and *Tanguti*. That within, or on this side *Imaus* had *Turkestan* and *Mongal*, the *Usbek*, or *Zagatai*, *Kalmuc* and *Nogaian Tartars*, besides *Siberia*, the land of the *Samoiedes*, and the *Nova Zembla*. These three last being then uninhabited, as we suppose, were wholly unknown to the antients, and the former were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandari*, *Sacks*, and *Massagetes*. As for *Sarmatia*, it contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which make now the *Circassian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*.

OTHER seas, besides the *Frozen* and *Indian Ocean*, were the *Caspian* (C), and the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Mæotis*. Mountains of note were *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*; the first beginning in the province of *Asia Minor* called *Pamphylia*, runs eastward through *Asia*, and divides it into two parts, the northern and southern. The second lies in *Scythia* or the greater *Tartary*: and the third is between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine Sea*<sup>e</sup>. Its rivers, besides those we have occasionally mentioned, namely the *Rha* or *Volga*, and *Tanais* or *Don*, are the *Oby*, *Lena*, *Amur*, and *Helum*; the latter of which is supposed to be the *Quentung* or *Shengal*; all these are in *Great Tartary*. To these we may add the *Jaxartes*, now *Jacick*, and the *Oxus*; these empty themselves into the *Caspian Sea*: in this sea there were likewise some islands not distinguished by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the *Scythian Islands*.

NATURAL rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what *Herodotus* tells us, that those northern regions are altogether invisible and impassable by reason of the vast quantity of feathers which fill the air and cover the ground, as he was informed by those who inhabited the more southern parts of it †, who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtless mistake the large flakes of snow, which fall in abundance in those cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were still more absurd to seek for artificial rarities here, among a

<sup>e</sup> Vid. *ibid.* vid. & WELLS, ubi supra, c. xii.      † lib. iv.

(C) Mistaken by some antients for a gulph; but, as it has no visible communication with the ocean, it may be rather called a great lake, if sea be thought too big a name for it \*.

\* See Vol. IV. p. 361, & seq.



people who were strangers to every thing but the art of war and of feeding their cattle, as we shall shew in its proper place.

2. *Scythia* in *Europe*, whose confines we have already fixed eastward from the *Tanais*, reached towards the south-west to the *Po* and the *Alps*, by which it was divided from the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Gallia*, and by the *Rhine* northward. It was bounded on the south by the *Ister*, or *Danube*, and the *Euxine* sea. As to its northern limits, though it is not easy to guess at them, they have been supposed to stretch to the spring heads of the *Borysthenes* or *Nieper*, and the *Rha* or *Volga*, and so to that of the *Tanais* (D) <sup>g</sup>.

THE antients divided this country into *Scythia Arimaspea*, which lay eastward, joining to *Scythia* in *Asia*, and *Sarmatia Europeana* on the west; these two were contiguous to each other, and stretched some length from north to south, but what divided them asunder is not easy to find out. In *Scythia*, properly so called, were the *Arimaspæi* on the north, the *Getae* or *Dacians* along the *Danube* on the south, and the *Neuri* between those two. So that it contained the *European Russia* or *Muscovy*, and the lesser *Crim Tartary* eastward, and on the west *Lithuania*, *Poland*, part of *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*. *Sarmatia* is supposed to have reached northward to that part of *Swedland* called *Feningia*, now *Finland*, in which they placed the *Oænes*, *Panoti*, and *Hippopodes* (E), this part they divided from northern

<sup>g</sup> Vid. MEL. lib. ii. c. i. CLUVER. CELLAR. & al.

(D) This is upon the supposition, hinted before, that the first planters of the world did spread themselves along the rivers for the sake of pasturage and correspondence; but it is plain, all these northern parts were so unknown to the antients, that all we can say concerning these boundaries is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of *Herodotus*, that they could not be inhabited very far north, since they were so afraid of, and so little acquainted with, snow.

*Mela* adds, that about the *Ripbean* mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north latitude, the snows fell in such abundance, that those parts were uninhabited and unpassable by any but wild beasts (4).

(E) These *Oænians*, were so called for living mostly upon the eggs of their sea fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes. The *Hippopodes* were supposed to be so called from their having feet like

(4) Lib. ii. c. i.

horses.

thern *Germany*, now the west part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they supposed ran up into the northern ocean, and dividing *Lapland* into two parts, made the western part of *Sweden* with *Norway* into an island, and *Finland* into another; supposing this also to be cut off from the continent by the gulph of that name.

THIS *Scythia* had no other sea than the *Sarmatian* mentioned before, now called the *Baltic*, with the gulphs of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, and the *White* sea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the *Euxine* and *Palus Mæotis*, which bounded it on the south. Lakes of any consideration we find not, except those of *Ladoga* and *Onega* in *Finland*, which were therefore unknown to the antient *Sarmatians*. Their chief rivers were on the south, the *Donetz* or little *Tanais*, *Borysthenes* or *Nieper*, *Bog*, *Tyras* or *Niefter*, and the *Ister* or *Danube*, all which emptied themselves into the *Euxine*, and on the north-east the great and little *Dwina* which empty themselves, the first into the *White* sea, and the other into the gulph of *Finland*, and therefore not known to the antients; and the *Vistula* on the west, which runs into the *Scythian* sea, and divided *Sarmatia* from *Germany* (F).

## THE

horses, or from their going barefoot and hardening their feet like horses hoofs. The *Panoti* were so called from the largeness of their ears, which was such that they could cover their whole body with them instead of other raiment (5). Some other monstrous people and creatures are also mentioned by *Herodotus*: Of the first sort are the *Arimaspæans*, so called from the *Scythian* *Arima*, *one*, and *Spon*, *eye*; not because they had but one eye, as was absurdly believed by some of the antients, but rather, as *Bochart* justly conjectures, because they were such excellent archers, at which exercise it is necessary to shut one eye, that the nick-name of *one-eyed* was given them upon that account. To these we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another sort who had goats-feet, not unlike the fabulous satyrs, besides some monstrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up and guarded the golden oar or dust (6), all which shews how little was known of these regions at that time.

(F) The same author (7) mentions several other rivers of which he gives a curious description, as well as of those southern ones which we have mentioned above; but we shall refer the reader to our author for those particulars, as well as for the rivers we have omitted, because they are either not taken notice of by our modern

(5) *Vid. Mel. lib. iii. c. 8.* (6) *Herodot. lib. iv.* (7) *Idem, ibid.*



THE whole extent therefore of both *Scythias*, including the two *Sarmatias*, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree or even beyond, and from the *Alps* to the promontory of *Tabis* and streights of *Anian*, and in latitude from *Caucasus* to the arctic circle above 28 degrees. *Herodotus* indeed tells us, that the *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were *Androphagi*, or *Men-eaters*, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the *Argippeans* or *Baldheads*, a wise and peaceable people, esteemed sacred by all their neighbours<sup>h</sup>; but he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such diffidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

CITIES we find none in either *Scythia*, no not even a metropolis, though *Herodotus* mentions a branch of *Scythians*, called royal *Scythians*, whom he places along the banks of *Tanais*, which river divides them, he says, from the *Asiatic Sarmatians*<sup>i</sup>. These, as should seem from the sequel of that author, were the only ones who had real kings among them, as we shall see in the next section, but such was their way of living, that they never chose to dwell in cities or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or safety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curiosities. Two things, however, are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large stone lying by the river *Tyres*, in which was to be seen the print of *Hercules's* foot, said to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being six inches thick, and containing full six hundred am-

<sup>h</sup> Lib. iv. p. 356. & seq. LITTLEBUR. Edit. 2. vid. & MEL. lib. iii. c. 9. <sup>i</sup> HEROD. ubi supra, p. 372. <sup>k</sup> Id. ibid. p. 384.

geographers, or at least are not reckoned of such great note and usefulness.

We shall, however, take notice of what he says of the *Borysthenes*, which he compares to the *Nile* in *Egypt*, and the next in greatness to the *Danube*. This noble river, says he, besides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fish and pleasant water, and doth breed a sort of whale without spinous bones, which the *Scythians* used to salt for food. They called it *Antachæus*; he adds, that towards the mouth of it that river yields abundance of salt, which is incessantly made by the hand of nature.

phoraa

phoras or fifty hogsheds. The occasion of casting this monstrous vessel, we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place.

## S E C T. VI.

*The antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, arts, and trade of the antient Scythians.*

**A**LL that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origin of this nation, hath been already mentioned in the first section of this chapter. How soon they began to settle themselves into a regular government, is as impossible to guess as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from what we have already hinted out of *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at least, that is *the royal and free Scythians*, were under a monarchical one, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest. But whether the former was the eldest branch, whether it governed immediately over all the rest, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vast country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the *Philistines*, whether their succession was hereditary or elective, whether despotic or subject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What seems most probable to us from the little remains we have left of their history is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might still have a kind of authority over some of the rest, whilst those who were more remote from the centre had lords, laws, and customs of their own, especially those who inhabited the farther parts of it eastward and northward; and this may be the reason of that variety of names and characters, which we find in those few antient writings we have left concerning them. Thus *Herodotus* tells us, that in process of time, when the *Scythians* were like to be invaded by *Darius*, the king, finding himself unable to make head against the invader, invited all the *Scythian* princes, namely those of the *Taurians*, *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melan-chlæni*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*, to come to his assistance; all these seem to have been different branches of the same stock, and only degenerated from the royal one by distance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and customs, as the same author there tells us†. The result of this summons was, that the three last named nations

*Government.*

† Lib. iv.

joined



joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refused to assist him; under pretence that he was the first aggressor. Hence we conclude, that they had shaken off the yoke of the *royal Scythians* some considerable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We shall speak more particularly of these eight tribes or nations in another place; at present we confine ourselves to the two most considerable, the *royal* and *free Scythians*, as being the most considerable and the best known of all the rest.

*Laws.*

WHAT their laws were, we can only guess from the excellent character that is given to that nation by ancient historians. Such indeed seems to have been their justice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and so simple and primitive their way of living, that they could not stand in need of a great number of them. *Justin*<sup>a</sup> sums up their character in words to this effect: The *Scythians* were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well master their affections, that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame. Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of losing them. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of houses, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding and for the kitchen. Gold and silver were as much despised by them as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use to them. Did the same moderation and disinterestedness reign among other nations, it would soon put an end to our destructive wars. What is still more wonderful, these virtues, which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A).

A nation

<sup>a</sup> Lib. ii. c. 2.

(A) This excellent character of the *Scythians*, how exaggerated soever it may seem in their praise, is nevertheless confirmed by several ancient historians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the testimonies which the learned *Bochart* has brought to con-

(1) *Annotat. in Justin. Delphin. l. ii. c. 2. Note 8.*

firm,

A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property, some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of assisting at their royal feast, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the course of this history ; upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history.

It ought not to be objected here, that some of the *Scythian* tribes bear a quite different character, some of them being of such a fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Those, as was hinted before, were, if under the same government, at such great distance from the centre of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in those remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty ; so the distance and barren-

firm it (2), he would not have so lightly accused *Justin* of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With respect to the former, *Herodotus* tells us (3), that *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian* of no small consideration, having in his travels assisted at a festival, which the *Circicians* celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got safe back to *Scythia* he would introduce the same worship there. Accordingly after his return he retired privately into some woody part of that country, where he performed his vow ; but he could not do it so secretly, but a *Scythian*, who saw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. And even one of their kings lost his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce some of the *Grecian* rites and dress, as we shall see in its proper place.

With respect to the second particular, the same author tells us, that it often happened, that some women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a shameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feast to all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the skulls of the slain, and in proportion to the number of them ; whilst those, who had not as yet signalized themselves like them, were forced to stand at a distance, beholding the feast and excluded from tasting of it.

(2) *Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 9.* (3) *Lib. iv.* (4) *Id. ibid. vid. & Mela lib. iii. c. 9. D. Sicul. Strab. & al.*



ness of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common laws. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true *Scythians*, that it was not without a great mixture of cruelty, if the *Greek* historians have not wilfully misrepresented them, as we shall see by-and-by.

If we may guess by some few successions we find mentioned in history, it seems, their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not so despotic as not to be deposed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the instance we hinted at in the last note, where *Seyles* having been found celebrating the *Bacchanalia* of the *Greeks*, his subjects revolted from him, and elected his brother *Oëtomafades*, who soon after took off his head. In all other cases their kings seem to have been in high esteem with the people, as we may guess from the following circumstance out of *Herodotus*.

WHEN any of their monarchs fell sick, they sent immediately for three of their most famous prophets (C), who commonly told him, that some *Scythian* whom they named had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this distemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and

(C) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined, or made a shew of divining, by willow sticks gathered up into bundles, which they loosened and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while some conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden causes and to pry into futurity. The *Scythians* seem to have been very much addicted to this kind of superstition, by the great number of these sham diviners which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration; and their oracles which were consulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible answers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the same readiness †.

† *Vid. Keysser. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. V.*

if the majority of them did absolve him, then the first accusers were tied hands and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots and drawn by oxen. And after they had stopt the false prophets mouths, as they then called them, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and men, and seldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male children of those whom the king condemned to death seldom escaped the same fate.

ANOTHER instance of their great respect for their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows : the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleansed the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypress, incense, parsley and anise-seeds, they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate *the royal Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of their ear, shaving their heads, wounding themselves in their forehead, nose, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow ; and in this guise they accompanied the hearse to the next province, till it came at length to that of the *Gerrians*, which was the remotest in the kingdom, and was situate along that part of the *Borysthenes* where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited into a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed incompassed round with spears, which they covered with timber ; and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necessary utensils, and among others some golden cups. This being done they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raise the mound as high as they could. As soon as the year was expired, they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be *Scythians*, those monarchs having the power of choosing whom they pleased to their service, and never being attended by slaves. These young men, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies stuffed with straw. The bodies of the young men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron stake. The horses thus mounted were set upon semicircular boards supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses



having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose b.

Religion.

THE Scythians worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Vesta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Papeus*, and *Apia*, or *the earth*, which they esteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it seems, they challenged as their progenitor, and *Vesta* for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to *Darius*, when he came to subdue them to his empire \* ; besides these they worshipped *Apollo*, the celestial *Venus*, and *Neptune*, under the names *Uetosyrus*, *Artimpasa*, and *Thamimasades*. But their favorite god seems to have been that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* speaks of, he doth not tell us : neither is it easy for us to guess. It doth not even appear from any other antient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly so called. Groves indeed, and very sumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In these they affected to have one or more oaks of a monstrous size, which were accounted so sacred, that it was sacrilege, and was punished with the severest death, to lop so much as a branch or sprig, or even to wound the bark. These they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, insomuch, that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered, or even incrustate, with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned these things by word of mouth, and had never seen them himself, might, for want of a good interpreter, mistake them for temples, and suppose them to be built like those of other nations.

Deities.

Mars.

Altars.

How spacious these groves must have been, may be seen in the last quoted antiquarian, or be guessed at by the vast extent of the altars, which, *Herodotus* tells us, they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of small wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three stades of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three sides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity to

b HERODOT. l. iv.

note (L).  
alib. pass.

\* Idem ibid. See Vol. IV. p. 486.

† Vid. KEYSER. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. 3. &

render the top of it easy of access. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to supply those which had been putrified by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of these heaps was erected an old iron scymitar, which stood there as the image, or rather emblem, of the deity. To him, besides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they sacrificed horses, which were a martial creature; and, what was still more shocking, every hundredth man they took prisoner from their enemies. This last bloody of-*Human* fering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the cap-*sacrifices.* tive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which, ascending to the top of the altar, they went and washed the deity's sword. As to the victim, they only cut off his right arm close to the shoulder, and throwing it up into the air they left it exposed in the place where it fell, and the rest of the body in that where it was killed.

As to their other victims, which they sacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they observed the same rites every where without variation; they brought the beast and tied its four feet together with a slip-knot, and he who officiated as priest came behind, and at once loosed the cord and knocked the victim down. Whilst it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then strangled it with a cord which he twisted with a stick; and as soon as it was dead he set about flaying and dressing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The flesh was put into pots, and whenever these were not ready at hand, into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones instead of it. When the flesh was sufficiently boiled, the priest made an offering of part of the meat and intestines to the deity by throwing it before its altar, and the rest was, we may suppose, bestowed to feast the priest and votaries. Thus in cases of necessity, as when they went out to war and the like, they made the victim furnish them with all things necessary for the sacrifice. Of all beasts the horse was esteemed the noblest, and consequently the most acceptable victim. As for swine, they detested it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be suffered to live among them. They took care also to offer to their gods the first fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the spoil they took in war. Some considerable part of the latter they were wont to send to the *Delphic Apollo*: it was usually conveyed thither by a number of their most honourable vir-



gins, and under a sufficient escort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obstacles of the journey, our author tells us †, obliged them to discontinue it. This is all that we can find remarkable concerning their religion.

BUT before we come to speak of their manners, customs, and such other particulars, it will be necessary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from *Herodotus*, *Homer*, and other *Greek* authors, who cannot be supposed to have been well affected to the *Scythians*, by whom their country had been so often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and sometimes almost destroyed; we must not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the dishonour of that antient and warlike nation. Some of them we shall have occasion to confute in the sequel of this history, and others are of so horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, especially when we compare them with the character which *Justin* gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*, as we have lately shewn; this caution once premised, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of those authors concerning the customs of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them, without some mixture of barbarity.

*Contracts.*

THUS we are told, that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured some wine into an earthen vessel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle some of their own blood, which they drew by a slight incision made in some part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the points of some warlike weapons, such as a scymitar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered some dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they desired some of the most considerable among the by-standers to pledge them, and to be witnesses of the contract, which being usually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned so sacred, that they thought no punishment severe enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

*Valour.*

THEIR warlike temper and exploits were sufficiently known to the antients; scarce is there any nation to be met with in history so famous for conquering wherever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themselves remain-

† HERODOT. lib. iv.

ing still unconquered. Their frugal and simple manner of life may indeed be supposed to have been a great preservative against such invasions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were exposed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the case, since we find they were once invaded by the king of *Persia*, at the head of a most puissant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them : but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conquest of greater *Asia*, which could not be wrested out of their hands, but by the blackest treachery. But upon the whole, such was their strength and courage whenever they entered into an offensive or defensive war, that, as *Thucydides* himself tells us, no nation, either in *Europe* or *Asia*, could equal them either for strength, valour, or conduct ; nor indeed any thing resist their power, provided they were but unanimous among themselves †.

SUCH care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, inso-much, that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at least one enemy with their own hands <sup>c</sup>, as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without some considerable encouragements to inspire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, if *Herodotus* doth not bely them : for he tells us, that they were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch ; these were either returned or registered, and intitled the person to several privileges, such as being present at some public feasts, sharing the spoil of their enemies, and such like ; to which no man was to pretend till he had killed at least one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did rise in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they used to take the skins of the slain, to stretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them at their horses bridles, where they served both for trophies and napkins to the owner ; he being always most esteemed who wore the greatest number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went so far with some of them, that they took off and dressed the whole skins of the slain, and covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies with them \*.

† Lib. ii. sect. 97.    <sup>c</sup> Vid. HERODOT. ubi supra.    PLAT. de leg. lib. vii.    Hypocrat. N. Damascen. Justin. & al.    \* HERO-  
DOT. ubi supra.



HAD they only exercised this kind of savage pride against those who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of some mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country, and in determent to all invaders of it, but as they might naturally enough think such men deserved no better fate, who attempted the conquest of a country, which had nothing to tempt or satisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (D). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to those whose territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce some such trophies of their martial prowess, if they were not to be gained in any but a defensive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to suppose to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of *Thucydides*, that, as they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, instead of going out of their vast territories, they made mutual incursions one tribe against another, which they again retaliated upon the first opportunity, without forgetting, however, their affinity so far, as not to join their forces against a common enemy or invader, whenever necessity required it.

How populous the *Scythians* were is not agreed. If it be allowed, that they made such frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but suppose, that it must have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we consider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, constant exercise, hardiness, and other such like advantageous circumstances, which rendered them lusty and strong, prolific, and long-lived, one can hardly conceive, they could be

(D) This was the argument which, *Justin* tells us (5), they made use of to dissuade the king of *Egypt* from attempting a war against them; for, said they to his heralds, it were madness for the opulent *Egyptians* to invade so poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds: whereas the *Scythians* would fall upon them with the utmost fierceness at the sight of so rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a message they sent afterwards to *Darius* when he had entered *Scythia*; that as they had neither cities, houses, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treasures in their country, except their families, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, for which, however, they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery, the invader ran a much greater risk than they (6).

(5) *lib. ii. c. 2.*(6) *Vid. & Herodot. l. iv.*

other than a populous nation : for we are told, that very few died of sickness, but all in general lived to a good old age ; infomuch, that, many of them being weary of the world before death took them out of it, it was usual with such to hasten their exit by throwing themselves from some eminence into the sea, or into some river<sup>d</sup>. *Herodotus*, however, who seems in doubt whether they were indeed so populous as some, or so thin as others represent them, gives us an authentic instance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows : they had it seems a custom, not uncommon to other nations \*, at their first taking the field to muster their fighting men, and to make every man cast an arrow, or, according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could easily compute not only the number of their men, but also that of their slain, or of those who either ran away, or absented themselves from the war. It was at some such muster as this that one of their kings, whom *Herodotus* names *Ariantes*<sup>e</sup>, being present, and observing these heads of arrows to amount to an immense bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and cast, or made into that large capacious vessel we have lately spoken of, and which our author tells us, was still extant in his time, and though full six inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is, about fifty hogheads, and remained still a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making an exact estimate from this story, supposing it literally true : but might not this unwieldy vessel have been at first designed only to keep the arrows which every soldier threw in, and the other part of the story have been foisted in, in process of time? However, supposing the fact as related, and that it must have been a prodigious army that could furnish metal enough for such a monstrous vessel, yet might it not therefore necessarily follow that the *Scythian* nation was more populous than its neighbours, considering the vast extent of it. But what seems to be a stronger argument for it is, the colonies which they were continually sending out, chiefly towards the southern parts of the world, of which we shall have further occasion to speak in the sequel.

As they cultivated no art or science except that of war, *Arts and* nor scarcely any trade or commerce except pasturage, the *Sciences*.

<sup>d</sup> MBLA, lib. iii. c. 5. *Herodot.* & al.  
p. 484.

<sup>e</sup> lib. 4.

\* See Vol. IV.



reader must expect us to be very barren on these two heads. *Thucydides*, in the place above quoted, seems indeed to commend their industry and sagacity in procuring all things necessary for life, in such a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of industry and manufacture : and another *Greek* author speaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the sea-coasts of the *Hellepont* \*. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that like some of his predecessors, he has mistook them for the *Celtes*, who, as we have observed in a former section, were become great merchants both by sea and land under their king *Mercury*. For, as for the *Scythians*, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by-and-by. They do not so much as seem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from *Asia*, after their twenty eight years invasion of it : neither do we find any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians as were the *Curetes* among the *Celtes*, or the *Bards* and *Druids* among the *Gauls*. *Herodotus*, who has wrote so much concerning them, doth not so much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition ; and that is one reason why we omit many fabulous things he has said of them from the common report of their neighbours ; since it is hardly to be expected, they either could, or would, give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce except in a hostile way.

*Language*

THEIR language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vast extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cause it to split itself into a vast number of dialects, from which most probably have sprung the *Muscovitish*, *Slavonic*, *Polish*, *Danish*, *Swedish*, *Saxon*, and many others ; between which, one can but barely discover affinity enough to make us believe them sprung from the same mother. This we may, however, venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a visible vein of the *Celtic* still preserved, as we have seen to this day among us, and which runs through all those various languages ; that they did not antiently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Neither is it so much to be wondered at, that they should have branched out into such a vast variety, as that they should still preserve so much of their pristine affinity as we find they do. We have

\* *Dictys Cret. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8.*

in a former section endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phrases that are found not only in those northern languages, but also in the *Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Persic* which shew them to have been so many dialects of the old *Celtic*; if those few relicks of the *Scythian*, which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and districts, do not so plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extraction, we must remember, they have pass through so many different hands, and have so often changed their dress, especially among the *Greeks*, that they may be easily supposed to have quite lost their antient form. We may add, that some of them are perfectly *Greek* or translated from the *Scythian* into that language (E).

THEIR chief manufactures seem to have consisted mostly *Manufactures.* in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the skins of beasts, they must have had some notion of tanning them, as well as those with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewise reasonably suppose, that they fabricated their own weapons, which were scymitars, javelins, axes, but especially bows and arrows, at which they are said to have been so expert, that their very children were trained to shoot at a mark even as they rode on horseback; insomuch, that it became a common proverb, *That the Scythians were as dexterous at their bow, as the Greeks were at their lyre.* Hence *Cyaxares*, king of *Media*, is reported to have sent his son to be brought up under them to learn the use of the bow. They were no less expert horsemen † (F), insomuch, that we find them called ἵπποτοξόται by *Herodotus*

† HERODOT. lib. i.

(E) Of this kind is the name of the *Oænes*, a *Scythian* tribe, so called in *Herodotus* from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the *Greek* ὠν. The *Nomades* were so called from νομή pasture. Of the same extraction, were the *Hyppopodes*, *Androphagi*, and several others, which we need not point out to the reader.

(F) This the learned *Bochart* observes the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where speaking of the army of *Magn* or *Scythia*, he calls their horse סוסים ופרשים לבושי מכלול. *Sussim uparashim lebusi Miklol*, horses and horsemen, cloathed with perfection, or compleatly disciplined and armed, or, as *Kimchi* renders it, expert in all kind of weapons, and our *English* version cloathed with all kind of Armour; for such it appears the *Scythian* horse were.

(7) Ezek. xxxviii. 3.



and *Lucian*. And their very women are affirmed to have been so well inured to riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men <sup>g</sup>. The antients observe, that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is, that the country was too cold for those creatures. Experience has since shewn the contrary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be, that their horses, which they bred in great quantities, could answer all the purposes of the other two, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious than they whenever occasion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. *Herodotus* indeed tells us of one province of them, whose inhabitants called themselves *Olbiopolitans*, and the *Greeks* *Borysthenians*, as they lived on the north side of that river; and these he likewise called husbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale <sup>h</sup>. But the rest of the *Scythians* wholly neglected it, choosing rather to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many deserts, vast forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of antient historians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their cloathing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts <sup>i</sup>, as we are told they did, one may conclude, they did not manufacture it. And as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other necessary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and such like weapons, if their heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were, if the story we have related above of the large copper vessel that was made of them be literally true, there was still less art required in making them, since they might easily cast them in a mould. Their bows might also be made of the same metal like those of other antient nations, though it is not improbable, they might also have some smiths to forge iron and steel weapons, besides those they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be supposed, they could make their waggons without the help of such artists, though upon the whole it doth

<sup>g</sup> Id. lib. iv. *LUCIAN*. in *Toxar.* & *Hermot.* *MELA*, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. *BOCHART*. ubi supra, & al. <sup>h</sup> *HERODOT.* ubi supra. *JUSTIN.* lib. ii. c. 2. *MELA*, & al. <sup>i</sup> Id. *ibid.*

appear, that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and used none they could possibly do without.

THEIR chief riches and food consisting in their numerous herds, they entrusted the care of them to *Shepherds*, who *Shepherds* were a lower rank of *Scythians* below the martial men, and *and martial men* had slaves and captives under them. They used to move from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. These did chiefly live upon honey and milk, especially that of their mares, from which creature, if *Herodotus* was rightly informed, they had a strange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities. What provisions the warlike sort made, when they were absent from their flocks, we cannot guess, and it is likely when they came into an enemies country, they took care to seize upon all the cattle they could meet with.

FROM an instance or two we read of their kings, it seems *Polygamy.* as if they allowed of polygamy, and were not over strict in their marriages. Some we find took wives from other nations, and one of them we read of, who married his own father's widow, but whether the same liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reason the *Scythians* gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feasts of the *Greeks*, namely, that it was unreasonable to suppose that a god should drive men into all the violent transports of madness, seems to shew that drunkenness was not common among them. And indeed we do not find, that they were much given to feasting. One *Feasting.* wine feast they had, however, once a year in every district, for those who, as we hinted before, had signalized themselves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was used at funerals, and with which we shall close this article, since we have no more to say concerning their other customs.

WE have already spoken of the funeral obsequies which *Funeral obsequies.* they paid to their monarchs. When any other person died, his nearest relations caused his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from house to house among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feasted them in their turn, setting part of the same things before the deceased, which they did to their guests. This was continued forty days, after which the person was buried, and his attendants went and purified themselves, not by any ablution, but by the smoke of some hemp seed peculiar to the country, which, being thrown upon some burning stones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincense used in *Greece*, and so transported the company as to set them a howling aloud. This served instead of washing, which the *Scythians*, our author tells us, never practised. Not



How their  
women  
preserved  
their beau-  
ty.

even the women, who used, instead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paste, which they made with cypress, cedar and frankincense, ground upon a rough stone, and soaked in water; which paste, being taken off the next day, rendered their skins clean, shining, and sweet<sup>1</sup>.

THERE remains, that we should say a word or two of those other petty kingdoms of *Scythia*, and of some particularities, wherein they differed from the royal *Scythians*. For whether they were all really descended from the same stock, as we supposed it in the beginning, or whether they did spring from some other of *Magog's* brethren, yet since they inhabited so considerable a part of *Scythia*, and made such figure in the history of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit at least those of the greatest note.

Sarmati-  
ans.

THE *Sarmatians*, we have already hinted, are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been the offspring of the *Scythians* (G) and *Amazons*. These warlike women, or, as their *Scythian* name *Aior Patta* imports, *Man-slayers*, in their flight from the *Grecians* having landed near the precipices of the *Palus Mæotis* belonging to the free *Scythians*, and having been persuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of *Scythia*, where they pretended they could

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. ubi supra.

(G) Some authors, however, from a passage in *Pliny* (8), where he tells us, that *they were reported to be descended from the Medes*, and another out of *Justin*, who tells us, that the language of the *Parthians* was a mixture of *Scythic* and *Medish* (9), have supposed, that the *Sarmatians*, who most resemble the *Parthians*, were the offspring of the *Medes*; and that the name of *Sarmatian* was only a corruption of the *Chaldee* שׂאֵר מַדַּי *Sheer Madai* (10), a residue or sprout of the *Medes*. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think *Herodotus* may be more relied upon than the other two, who spoke at a much greater distance of time and place than he. However, if what they say be true, it proves what we observed before, that the descendants of *Gomer* and his brothers did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only separated by degrees from each other.

As to the *Parthians*, though their name in the *Scythic* and *Celtic* signifies *separated*, it seems probable, that they were rather *Gomerians* or *Celts* driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themselves into a country of the *Medes* were by them called *Parthians*, or *banished* (11).

(8) *lib. vi. c. 7.* (9) *lib. xli.* (10) *Vid Mela, lib. iii. c. 4*  
& *alib. Bockart. lib. iii. c. 14.* (11) *Vid. Pexron. Ant. Nat. cb. iv.*



not conveniently live with them, and to pass into the province of *Sarmatia* on the other side of the *Tanais*. Hence our author says, the *Sarmatian* women retained still the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, being more warlike than the rest of the *Scythian* females; and the language of the country became a corrupt *Scythian*, because the *Amazons* never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themselves spake it. Here it chiefly was, that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had dispatched an enemy in the field <sup>k</sup>.

THE *Taurians* had this inhuman custom, that they sacrificed *Taurians* to a virgin all that were shipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coasts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the person on the head with a club, after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcase down the hill on which their temple was built, or, as others told our author, by burying the body, and reserving only the head to be stuck on a pole. These *Taurians* pretended, that the virgin *Dæmon* whom they thus worshipped was *Iphigenia Agamemnon's* daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to those that fell into their hands. The *Agathyr- Agathyr-*  
*ans* are said to have had their women in common in order to <sup>fians.</sup> link the men more strictly together, and to prevent jealousies and other ill effects of matrimony. The *Neurian* province <sup>Neurians.</sup> being infested with dangerous serpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the *Budians*. They observed the customs of *Scythia* in most particulars, only pretended to greater skill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they resumed their own shape <sup>l</sup>.

THE worst of all were the *Androphagi* or *men-eaters*, who <sup>Budians or</sup> observed neither law nor justice, and had nothing in common <sup>Andro-</sup> with the rest, but their dress and breeding of cattle. The <sup>phagi.</sup> *Melanchæni- Melanchæni-*  
*ans* were so called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the *Scythian* customs, except that they fed upon human flesh, which the *free Scythians* did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at least as common food, but only on some particular occasions, such as we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by. The *Budians* were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the rest did they build them a city, and called it *Gelonus*, whose houses and high walls were of timber, and each side of the walls was three hundred stades in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the *Grecian* gods; and here they celebra-

<sup>k</sup> Id. *ibid.* MELA, ubi supra.<sup>l</sup> Id. *ibid.*<sup>m</sup> Id. *ibid.*



Gelonians.

ted the *Bacchanalia* triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themselves to the keeping of cattle, and these to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn-fields; in a word, these *Gelonians* had so much better minds than the *Budians*, that they seemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other such animals: their skins sewed together were used for garments, and the testicles against hysteric diseases. The *Oænes*, *Panoti*, *Arimaspæi* in *Scythia Europæa* we have spoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more resemble the royal *Scythians* than any others, in most particulars, especially in their warlike genius, and simplicity of living.

Scythian Nomades.

THE last two nations or tribes of *Scythians* worth our notice were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting, as we have seen, upon the north-west of the *Caspian* sea, and the *Massagetes* on the east. As for the *Amazons*, as they are accounted somewhat fabulous, we shall speak of them in a separate note (H).

The

(H) Concerning these so famed and so much questioned female warriors, it were endless to trouble ourselves with all that has been written on either side; those seem to come nearest the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been said of them by the antients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly that of the *Sarmatians*, in whose neighbourhood lived these *Amazons* if they were not originally of the same blood, with the occasion which gave birth to this strange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their husbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers and in a strange country; if, I say, we consider all these circumstances, there will be nothing so improbable in the brave and masculine method they took to save themselves from slavery and to revenge the slaughter of their husbands. We may add, that the *Scythian* as well as *Celtic* women were antiently held in great authority and veneration, for their skill in divination above the men, insomuch, that the latter are even upbraided by antient authors (12) for suffering them to assist at and steer their councils as they pleased, and to have even presided in all courts of judicature and other assemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned decisive, because they were supposed to be divinely inspired (13). Being therefore

(12) *Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap. viii & alib Polyæn. in Strategem. l. vii. Plutarch. lib. de virt. Mulier. Cæf. Comment. l. i. c. 50. Strab. Geograph. lib. vii.* (13) *Vid. Keysser. antiq. Septentr. dissert 5.*

thus

The *Nomades* differed so little from the *royal Scythians*, except in this appellation, that we shall need say no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle; after which they removed to fresh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their shepherds till their return <sup>p</sup>. THE

<sup>p</sup> MELA, lib. iii. c. 6.

thus inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butchery of their husbands, and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery, we need not wonder, that they so soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence; and, like so many heroines, having chosen one or two of the wisest and stoutest among them to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and achievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the same allowance in both cases, than to suppose, that so many historians, who have written of either of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble *Scythian* youths, whom our author calls *Hylinos* and *Scolopitus* (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the *Scythians* into *Asia*, and in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, retired into part of *Cappadocia* with their wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of *Thermosciria*, on the river *Thermodon*, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously, murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of it, than, partly through fear of slavery and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands who had escaped the slaughter, that so, being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell

(14) *Vid. S. W. Rawl. hist. lib. iv. c. 2. sect. xv.* (15) *Justin. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4.*



Massa-  
getes.

THE *Massagetes* did likewise imitate the free *Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius ; but they

upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthrew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours sue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breasts, that they might be no obstruction to their shooting, whence they came to be called *Amazons* ; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author \*, or sent them back to their fathers, according to *Herodotus*.

These surprising exploits were achieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, *Lampeto* or *Lampeto*, and *Marpesia* or *Marpesia*, who boasted themselves to be the daughters of *Mars* ; and having carried their conquests into *Asia* and built some cities there, this last, who had been left there with an army to secure their conquest, whilst the former returned home laden with spoils, was afterwards surprised, and cut off with the rest of her female warriors by some bands of barbarians.

She was succeeded by her daughter *Ortara* or *Ortbya*, whose valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raise the glory of the *Amazonian* name. To this succeeded *Antiope*, whose sisters, *Hypolite* and *Menalippe*, are reported to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by those two heroes. 4. *Penthesilea* was another famous *Amazonian* queen, who is said to have come at the head of an army of her viragoes to the assistance of *Priamus* king of *Troy*. 'Tis added, that she was the inventress of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*. Some other particulars related of these heroines smell so much of the fable, that we shall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody rencounter between *Thomyris*, another of their warlike queens, and *Cyrus* king of *Persia* has been taken notice of in another chapter † ; and the amorous one between *Alexander the Great*, and the famous queen *Thalestris* shall be spoken of in its proper place. It is under this last that the *Amazonian* race and kingdom is said to have received its final period.

We must not omit some other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of these female worthies, which happened in the reign of some of the foregoing queens ; it is not easy to guess which ; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his history of the *Scythians*.

\* *Justin ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4.*  
 ‡ *Pausan. in Attic. c. ii.*  
*Herodot. l. iv.*

(16) *Vid. Just. ubi supra*  
 † *Vid. Vol. IV. p. 530.* (17)

they used, besides bows and arrows, for which those were so famed, javelins and scymitars. Brass served them instead of steel

The *Grecians*, who had obtained a signal victory over the *Amazons*, near the river *Thermodon*, were carrying off the residue that had escaped the slaughter, in three ships, into their own country. While they were at sea, the *Amazons* conspired against them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but, being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the use of the rudder, sails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide, to the precipices of the *Palus Mæotis*, in the territories of the *free Scythians*. Here they got ashore, and marching up into the country, they seized upon the first set of horses they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The *Scythians*, unacquainted with their language, sex, and dress, could not tell what to make of these invaders, they took them at first to be youths, but after a skirmish or two, in which some of them were taken prisoners, had convinced them of the contrary, they resolved not to kill them, but to send a party of youths to watch their motions; with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they should flee from them, and as soon as they ceased their pursuit, encamp at the nearest distance they could, resolved if possible to have some children by these brave women. These observing, that the *Scythian* youths did not come with any hostile design, suffered them to continue in their neighbouring station, whilst they, having nothing but their horses and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their custom to withdraw themselves from the rest about noon, either single or by couples, to comply with the necessities of nature, which when the *Scythian* youths observed, they did so likewise; by this means one of these walking alone met with a single *Amazon*, and though they could not speak to each other, yet she found a way to let him understand, that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another *Scythian*, she would likewise bring a companion with her. The upshot was, that both the camps were presently joined into one, and every *Scythian* took to wife the *Amazon*, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no sooner got a smattering of the *Scythian* language, than they were given to understand by their new husbands, that they had their parents and possessions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a desire to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But these replied, that as they had ever been used to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horse, and all such warlike exercises, to which they supposed the *Scythian* women altogether unaccustomed, they could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained still the same conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their several portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their re-



Some barbarous customs.

steel for making their offensive weapons, and as to their defensive ones, they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles, and other furniture, were adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common: so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This custom, *Herodotus* tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the *Scythians* by the *Greeks*, whereas it was peculiar to the *Massagetes* only<sup>1</sup>. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they had; that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred from concurring symptoms, all his relations met and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as to a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate; because these last were to be buried, instead of coming to the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations and intimate friends. The sun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned the noblest and swiftest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and swiftest of all the gods. They neither sowed nor planted, but contented themselves

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. lib. i. ad finem.

turn, their wives acquainted them farther, that since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to go and fix their habitation on the other side of the *Tanais*. This was likewise agreed to, and having crossed that river, after three days march eastward of that river, and three more northward from the lake *Mæotis*, they arrived and settled in the country of *Sarmatia*, where they continued still in our author's time. Hence it is, that the *Sarmatian* women are by far the greatest warriors of all the *Scythians*; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the *Amazons* not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach, their children the true *Scythic*, the *Sarmatian* became a mixture of that and of the *Amazonic*. Thus came the fame of those female warriors to spread itself into *Europe* and *Asia*; as for those of *America*, they shall be spoken of in their proper place.

with

with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with fish, of which the *Iaxartes* did yield them a very great plenty<sup>r</sup>. In a word, the two forementioned customs excepted, they were esteemed the noblest of all the *Scythians*<sup>r</sup>, being equal to the royal tribe in valour and prowess, and exceeding them in opulence.

*Their  
worth.*

## S E C T. VII.

*The history of the SCYTHIAN kings.*

WHAT has been observed in some of the foregoing sections, concerning the barrenness of *Scythian* records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will easily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in *Herodotus*, and other more recent historians, without any order of time, or any index, whereby one may give the least guess into it, at least till their invasion of *Asia*, and engaging into wars with some of the *Asiatic* monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to *Europe*, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, such as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Israelites*, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of, their former affinity. And this seems to have been most probably their case, because they cultivated no art, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themselves about recording their acts and genealogies. The *Celts* indeed had their *Curetes*, and other *European* nations their *Bards* and *Druids*, who celebrated their exploits in verse, as we have shewn in a former section; but we do not find any footsteps of the *Scythians* having had any such persons among them; so that tradition, such as it could be got, seems to have been the only fountain from which our antient historians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confused and irregular a manner as they had received it.

THE following is a list of *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Justin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and

<sup>r</sup> MELA, CLUVER. & al. <sup>r</sup> Vid. STRAB. l. xi. pass. DIOD. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al.



*Mela*; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they succeeded one another in the order we have set them down, or even whether they all reigned over the same nations, or some of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However, we shall to the list of their names subjoin such particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we shall be forced to close this history.

## Kings of Scythia.

|                                         |                        |                        |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 <i>Scythes.</i>                       | 9 <i>Targitau</i>      | 14 <i>Saulius.</i>     |
| 2 <i>Napis.</i>                         | 10 <i>Calaxais.</i>    | 15 <i>Spargapises.</i> |
| 3 <i>Phithra.</i>                       | 11 <i>Scholypethes</i> | 16 <i>Aripethes.</i>   |
| 4 <i>Sagillus</i> or <i>Protothyas.</i> | or perhaps             | 17 <i>Scyles.</i>      |
| 5 <i>Madyes.</i>                        | rather                 | 18 <i>Oëtamafades.</i> |
| 6 <i>Thomyris.</i>                      | <i>Scythopetes.</i>    | 19 <i>Ariantes.</i>    |
| 7 <i>Jancyrus.</i>                      | 12 <i>Panaxagoras</i>  | 20 <i>Atheas.</i>      |
| 8 <i>Indathyrsus.</i>                   | 13 <i>Tanais.</i>      | 21 <i>Lambinus.</i>    |

*Scythes.* *Scythes* is that fabulous son of *Hercules*, begotten on a monster of whom we have spoken in a former note, and from whom the *Scythian* nation was affirmed by the fabulous *Greeks* to have taken their name, if not to be descended <sup>a</sup>. This history seems to have been invented by the *Greeks*, for no other end than to fully the origin of the noble and warlike *Scythians*, to whom they were no doubt vastly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accomplishments, as the reader will easily see by comparing the history of these, with what we shall relate, in a subsequent chapter, of the more obscure and barbarous beginnings of the *Grecian* nation.

*Sagillus.* *Sagillus* is said to have sent his son *Panaxagoras*, who is perhaps the same with *Protothyas*, the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horse, to the assistance of *Orithya*, queen of the *Amazons*, against *Theseus* king of *Athens*. To persuade him to it, she let him know, that the *Amazons* were of *Scythian* race, that it was mere necessity that had obliged them to dispatch their surviving husbands, and to erect themselves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, she used all the arguments that could induce the *Scythian* king to her assistance; his son came accordingly with a large army of horse, but presently after his arrival, upon some disgust which that prince took at those brave heroines, he left

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. iv.

them to the mercy of their enemies, who soon after gained the victory over them <sup>b</sup>.

*Madyes*, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter \*, *Madyes*. and supposed to be the same with the *Indathyrfus* of *Strabo*, though different from that of *Herodotus*, was the son of *Protothyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was, that the *Scythians*, having drove the *Cymmerians* or northern *Celtes* out of *Europe*, and pursued them into *Asia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of upper *Asia* in subjection twenty eight years. The occasion of their quarrel with the *Cymmerians*, and of this *Asiatic* irruption, is indeed no where to be found ; but may, however, be easily guessed at. *Scythia*, we observed, was more fruitful of men than of food and sustenance ; it was hemmed on the north by intolerable frosts and snows : where should they then discharge their over-swelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the south, where the inhabitants, being probably as much accustomed to an easy and delicate life, as those were to a hardy and warlike one, were most likely to yield them if not their country, yet at least a free passage through it, and assist them with all necessaries of life, that they might be the sooner rid of them ? Hence it is, that they so swiftly passed into *Asia*, and led their victorious army even into *Egypt*. But here we are told, they were prevailed upon by king *Psammitichus*, either by presents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They made likewise some incursions into the land of the *Philistines* ; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of *Bethsheam* from the half tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, and called it by their name the city of the *Scythians*, or *Scythopolis*, as we have hinted in the history of the *Medes* †. In their return through *Syria* some of their stragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, and for their sacrilege were punished with hemorrhoides, or, as others say, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other sex ; which did also cleave to their posterity as a brand of infamy.

THEY might probably have held their dominion in *Asia* much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes* on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that history. What became of the rest that survived the slaughter we can only guess at : Many of them might submit themselves to the *Medes*, and continue there ; but a much greater number went, as is supposed, and

<sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4. \* See Vol. IV. p. 385. † Ib. p. 387.  
served



served *Nebuchadnezzar*, part of whose army is said to have consisted of all the families of the north; but the greatest part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia*<sup>c</sup>, where they met with an unexpected reception from their servants and slaves. This story is somewhat differently reported, as well as that of their *Asiatic* expedition, and the time they spent in it: *Justin*, who calls this their third expedition, says, it lasted but eight years<sup>d</sup>, during which their wives, having given them over for lost, on account of the great distance between them, had married their servants and slaves; to whom, as we have observed, their masters used upon all such excursions to commit the care of their families and cattle. As soon therefore as the *Scythians* were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upstart race of slaves sent to forbid their masters to approach nearer at their peril.

BUT *Herodotus*, who speaks of this expedition as their first into *Asia*, and affirms it to have lasted twenty eight years, adds<sup>e</sup>, that their wives, unused to be so long idle, had taken their servants and slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was sprung, which obstructed their masters return into *Scythia*, after they had suffered themselves to be driven out of their *Asiatic* conquests by the *Medes*. This last is the more probable of the two in many respects, and agrees better with those other authors, who affirm, as was observed before, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Asia* twenty eight years. However that be, this slavish offspring, having timely notice of their masters returning home, had so well fortified and intrenched themselves against them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not some of the wiser *Scythians* bethought themselves of a stratagem, which quite discomfited that rebellious rout.

THEY had already had several skirmishes with equal success on both sides, when one of the *Scythian* lords told the rest, that it was a shameful thing for them to fight with their slaves as with their equals, and that if they designed to force them into submission, they must fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and scourges, such as they were formerly wont to chastise them with. This advice was followed with surprising success, and the slavish rebels were taken with such a panic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmost precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the most cruel deaths, whilst their mistresses,

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT. lib. i.<sup>d</sup> lib. ii. c. 5.<sup>e</sup> lib. iv.

conscious

conscious of their guilt, fought to avoid their husbands resentment, by hanging, or some other speedy death (I). After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the *Scythians*, according to *Justin*, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of *Jancyrus*, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. We must, however, except the invasion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

*Thomyris*, *Tomyris*, or *Tamyris*, was that heroine whom, *Tomyris*, we are told, \* *Cyrus* the great did, or at least pretended to, court in marriage, and was sending an embassy to treat about it. But she supposing that her kingdom, rather than her

\* HERODOT. lib. i. ad fin.

(I) It is plain by these *Scythians* leaving their wives, servants, and baggage behind, that they designed to return again from *Asia*; for it is scarce probable, that their design was to conquer some spacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we observed above, that they only went to assist those new colonies, which they were obliged to discharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good settlement there, after which they designed to return to their own homes, as usual.

However that be, this adventure seems plainly to contradict a story which *Herodotus* tells of the *Scythians*, that they used to put out the eyes of their slaves: for it can hardly be supposed, that this slavish army that opposed their return, was wholly a new offspring, unless we can believe that their wives took their blind slaves into their beds almost as soon as their husbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itself between the masters and slaves, it is so far from being a fiction, or so much as doubted of in those parts, even at this day, that we are told, that the *Novogradians*, whose city stands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, did cause a coin, which they call a *Dingoe Novogradskoi*, to be stamp'd in memory of it, which had a man on horseback, shaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever since throughout all *Russia* †.

It is probable likewise, that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the *Scythian* wives, that the custom has been since established among the *Muscovite* women of presenting their future spouse, even in the time of their courtship, with a *Pudkey*, or *whip*, wrought with their own hand, in token both of a greater subjection and fidelity than their *Scythian* ancestries, or most probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

† *Vid. Fletch. Russ. Commonwealth*, c. iv. ap. *Rawl. l. ii. c. 28. sect. iv.*



person, was the object of his wishes, sent express orders to the ambassadors not to proceed farther. *Cyrus*, provoked either at her refusal, or at her suspecting his artifice, advanced with his army against the *Massagetes*, who were then under her dominion. What the issue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the story of his tragical end, and the revenge which that exasperated princess took of him, we have already seen in another chapter †, and shall not repeat it.

*Jancyrus*. *Jancyrus*, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which he sent to *Darius* king of *Persia*, when he sent to demand of him the usual presents of earth and water in token of subjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that assuming monarch's army; and as such seems to be the same with *Herodotus's* *Indathyrfus* ‡, or to have been his immediate successor. The occasion of this war with the *Persians* is variously related by *Justin* §, and the last quoted author: the former tells us, that the *Scythian* monarch had exasperated *Darius* by refusing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces some *Scythian* princes, accusing him with being the first aggressor, and having invaded the *Persian* territories, whilst *Darius* himself pretended only to revenge the ravages which the *Scythians* had committed in *Asia* 120 years before, when they held it in subjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling these accounts and the two different names of the *Scythian* monarch, but by supposing the *Jancyrus* of *Justin* to have been the father of *Indathyrfus*, and that, finding that the refusal of his daughter had provoked the *Persian* king to a war, he resolved to be before-hand with him, and to send his son *Indathyrfus* to invade his territories; and that dying soon after he intailed that war upon his son, from which he afterwards reaped so much glory. *Herodotus* might not think fit to transmit a circumstance so much to the honour of the barbarous *Scythians*, as that of the great *Darius's* seeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the same reason, that he makes the *Persian* army to have been rather harrassed and starved out of *Scythia*, than repulsed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for *Darius*, if he really received such an affront from the king of *Scythia* as the refusal of his daughter, it was too dishonourable a pretence to ground his invasion upon; and a more glorious motive must be sought out, though at so great a distance of time, to cover the true and real one.

† Vol. IV. p. 530.

‡ l. iv.

§ l. ii. c. 5.

HOWEVER that be, *Indathyrfus*, having received the proud challenge from the *Persian* king implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elsewhere shewn to signify not a supply of provisions for his army, but an acknowledgment of subjection †, sent him this haughty reply ; that as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter* and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, he would shortly send him a more suitable present, and such a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This present accordingly was dispatched to him soon after : it was a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther explication ; these arrows might perhaps allude to the number of *Scythian* tribes, which were joined with his own, of which we shall speak by-and-by. These and the living creatures *Darius* immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been sent in token of submission. But *Gobryas*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps better than his master, and compared the message and the present together, gave quite another sense to the latter ; namely, that the *Persians* must not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian* valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice. Whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the *Persian* army (K).

ACCORDINGLY, the king of *Scythia* summoned all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance, against the common enemy and invader of their country. These were the kings of the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians* ; the *Agathyrrians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlœnians*,

† See before, Vol. IV. p. 568. 5. F.

(K) We have given this story somewhat in a different order than we find it in *Herodotus*, who tells us, that these reciprocal messages were not sent till the *Scythians* had drawn the *Persian* army into the farthest parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the *Melanchlœnians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*. Had this been the case, there had been no great bravery in their sending such a haughty answer to an enemy so harrassed and entangled as *Darius* then was ; neither will those circumstances he then found himself in permit us to suppose that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the *Scythians*. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more consonant to the known customs of other kingdoms, that these messages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the *Scythian* territories.



and *Taurians*. These, being assembled in council and having debated the occasion of the war, were divided in their opinions; and the three first were the only ones who esteemed it a common cause, and resolved to join *Indathyrfus* in the defence of it. As for the other five, they sent him word, that as he had been the first and only aggressor, by invading the *Persian* territories without their participation, so they did not think themselves at all concerned in the retaliation which *Darius* was preparing against him. That they would therefore sit quiet at home, till some hostilities had convinced them, that the *Persians* designs were equally levelled at them, in which case they would soon convince them, that it was not their design to sit idle and suffer their own territories to be invaded.

*Indathyrfus* was so exasperated at this unexpected message, that he resolved, at the same time that he made the best defence he could with his *royal* and *free Scythians*, and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if possible, the enemy into their country. To this end he resolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and springs, and to destroy all the grass and provision as they went. He divided his army into two columns; the one, under the command of *Taxacis*, was to act in conjunction with the *Gelonians* and *Budians*; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himself; whilst the *Sarmatians* were ordered to advance to the territories of king *Scopasis*, that, in case the *Persians* should come by that way, they might retire by the lake *Mæotis* to the river *Tanais*; and upon their retiring harraßs them as much as they could. *Taxacis* was ordered to keep still a day's march before the *Persians*, and to tire them with frequent skirmishes, in order to draw them into the territories of some of these five nations that had refused to join with them: and if that did not succeed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their discretion should suggest to them.

THESE orders being thus fixed, they sent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could spare; after which *Indathyrfus* commanded the best of his horse to march towards the enemy, whilst the rest followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the *Persian* army advanced about three days march from the *Ister*, destroyed all the product of the ground and fled away. This caused the *Persians* to pursue after them, as fast as the others retired still farther back, till they had  
drawn

drawn them through *Sarmatia* into the territories of the *Budians*, where they burnt and laid waste all that came in their way. They continued their pursuit till they came to a great desert of about seven days march; and here *Darius* not thinking it proper to proceed farther, set himself about building some spacious cities at equal distances from each other. These, however, he left unfinished to go in pursuit of the flying *Scythians*, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the *Melanchlaenians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the *Scythians*, who failed not to lay all waste as they went through, that the *Persian* army might find nothing there to subsist on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former section\*: the result of which was, that the *Persian* monarch was forced to retire with the loss of the greatest part of his numerous army (L), glad to escape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer still this invasion would have cost the *Persians*, had the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the *Ister*, kept their promise to the *Scythians*, and left them to destroy it, may be easily guessed; but they only deceived them with a promise that they would demolish it, and made a shew as if they were going about it in good earnest, by taking off so much of it on the *Scythian* side as an arrow might reach, to prevent the *Scythians* passing and demolishing it, which, however, they soon rejoined again, when the flying *Persians* appeared; by which means *Darius* once more escaped the fury of the pursuing *Scythians*, who failed not ever after to load the *Ionians* with the worst of epithets for their treachery and co-

\* Vol. IV. p. 567. & seq.

(L) If *Herodotus's* account of this transaction may be credited, *Darius* was not so much repulsed by the arms of the *Scythians*, as affronted at an unaccountable instance of contempt which they occasionally shewed to him, just as the two armies were going to engage: He tells us, they were both drawn up in order of battle, when a hare accidentally starting in the interval between them, the *Scythians* immediately quitted their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmost confusion pursued after it. One would expect that the *Persians* would have taken the opportunity of falling upon them whilst they were in this hurly-burly; but, it seems, *Darius* judged quite otherwise of an enemy that shewed so little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; so that he thought it high time to take *Gobryas's* advice and to secure his retreat as soon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.



wardice. As soon as they found, that *Darius* was gone beyond their reach, they resolved to be revenged of him some other way, and to make themselves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. *Thrace*, so lately conquered by the *Persian* king, became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waste as far as the *Hellepont*, and repassing the *Ister* returned into *Scythia*, loaden with the immense spoils of that province.

Saulius.

*Saulius*, this was he of whom we took notice before, for killing *Anacharsis*, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into *Scythia*, which he had seen used among the *Grecians*. For though *Anacharsis* had chosen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worship in, yet he was discovered in the midst of it by a *Scythian*, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. *Saulius* hastened to the place, and found him playing on a cymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and shot him dead upon the spot. Our author gives us here the names of three of *Saulius*'s predecessors, in a lineal descent, viz. *Spargapythes*, *Cyrus*, and *Gnarus*, and of one of his successors, viz. *Indathyrfus* <sup>1</sup>.

Aripithes.

*Aripithes* had a numerous issue, but particularly one son named *Scythes*, not by a *Scythian*, but by an *Istrian* woman, who therefore brought him up in all the *Grecian* customs and learning. *Aripithes* being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrsians*, this son found means to possess himself of his father's kingdom <sup>2</sup>.

Scythes.

*Scythes*, though now king of *Scythia*, and married to one of his father's wives, who was also a *Scythian*, yet preferred the *Grecian* customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to those of his own country. To indulge himself in them, and avoid giving offence to his subjects, he bethought himself of the following stratagem; he led his *Scythians* to the metropolis of the *Borysthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Milesians*, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and, causing the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, put off his *Scythian* dress, cloathed himself after the *Grecian* manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendants. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worship, customs, and dress; after which he resumed his *Scythian* habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the same practice, he built a palace in that

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *ibid.*

city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his sumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble statues representing *Sphynxes* and griffins, was demolished by thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but whilst he was in the midst of it, a *Borysthenian* went and acquainted the *Scythians* with it in words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our *Bacchanals*, because when possessed with the god we lose, you say, the use of our reason; come now and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that god has taken possession of him. Some of the principal *Scythians* were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers performing the *Bacchanalian* rites with a numerous choir.

AT their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which did so enrage the *Scythians*, that as soon as he was got home they revolted from him, and chose his brother *Oc-* *Octamafades* in his room. *Seythes* being informed of the occasion of this revolt fled into *Thrace*, and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Ister*, where he found *Sitalces*, king of *Thrace* advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, *Octamafades* received a message from the *Thracian* king to this effect; why should we try the fortune of war, thou art my sister's son and hast my brother with thee, deliver him up to me and I will send *Seythes* to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. *Octamafades* agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to *Sitalces*, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of *Seythia* having received his brother from him, caused his head to be immediately taken off<sup>1</sup>.

*Ariantes* was that prince of whom we have lately spoken *Ariantes*. upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to *Exampæus*<sup>m</sup>.

THE last king we shall mention in this history (M), and under

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid.      <sup>m</sup> Id. ibid,

(M) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous



under whom the *Scythians* are said to have received a considerable overthrow <sup>a</sup>, was *Atheas*, or, as he is called by others,

<sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. l. ix. c. 2.

fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of *Herodotus*, not so much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of *Greek*, but *Scythian* extraction. It is as follows :

He tells us of a part of *Scythia*, whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indiscriminately call *Scythians*, who, though they owned themselves to be of much recenter date than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before *Darius's* expedition. The account they give of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by *Targitans*, the son of *Jupiter*, by a daughter of the river *Borysthenes* ; that this prince had three sons, viz. *Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, in whose reign, a plow, with a yoke, an ax, and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country ; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning-hot ; but the youngest, coming presently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their share of the kingdom to him. They add, that the *Auchatian Scythians* were descended from the eldest, the *Catiarians* from *Apoxais*, and the race of their kings, whom they called *Paralates*, from the youngest brother. All these gave themselves the general name of *Scholotes*, which, our author tells us, was also the surname of their kings, but were called *Scythians* by all the *Greeks*. The miraculous golden utensils, we are told, were preserved with utmost care, and that their kings did assist at the annual sacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

*Colaxais*, who had likewise three sons, perceiving the vast extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing, however, the biggest share to that portion into which the miraculous golden vessels were fallen. According to this tradition there must have started at least three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vast quantities of feathers or snow, with which the adjoining regions towards the north are covered, we may reasonably suppose, these three tribes to have sprung from a colony of the antient *Scythians*, and to have been forced to seek for a new habitation in those more inclement regions, especially considering, that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any others, meaning doubtless than any other *Scythians*, though older by 1000 years than the time of *Darius*. As for the pretended

thers, *Matheas* and *Machæas*. This prince, being engaged in a war with the *Istrians*, a people of *Mysia* on the south banks of the mouth of the river *Ister*, sent to *Philip* king of *Macedon* to desire his assistance, and upon his complying promised to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. But the *Istrians* having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to *Philip*, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the *Scythians* neither wanted the help of the *Macedonians*, nor their king an heir, whilst he had a son alive. *Philip*, who was then besieging *Byzantium*, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege, especially considering, that he had paid nothing either towards the subsistence of, or by way of reward to, the auxiliaries which he had sent to him.

*Atheas* had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their enrichment, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. *Philip*, vexed at heart to see himself thus baffled, resolved to retaliate trick for trick, and whilst he was raising the siege in order to enter into a war with them, he

pretended divine extraction of their founder, and the miraculous fall of the golden utensils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in those early days, than these pretences of something supernatural accompanying the foundations of most kingdoms, and the divine original of their first founders. Hence we would further observe, that it is most likely, that the kings of *Scythia*, which we have given in the above list, did not all belong to the royal *Scythians*, but that some of them reigned over other tribes or branches which time and necessity had divided for them, especially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the most pleasant parts of the country.

With respect to this pretended daughter of the *Borysthenes*, it will not be amiss here to observe once for all, that it was a common custom in those early and ignorant times for the first planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories and capital cities, but also to the most considerable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their posterity, who every where affected to boast of something miraculous in their origin, chose rather to derive it from the river itself, than from their real parent who gave name to it. We shall meet in the history of the fabulous and heroic times with instances more than enough of these sons and daughters of rivers, to justify the truth and shew the necessity of this previous observation.

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sent the *Scythians* word, that he had vowed to erect a statue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Ister*, which he desired liberty to come and set up there, as he was a known friend to the *Scythians*. *Atheas*, who smelt his design, sent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but send the statue, and he would take upon himself the care both of the erecting it, and of its remaining safe there; but that he would by no means suffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he persisted in spite of him, to come and set up such a statue, they would soon melt and cast it into arrows against him. *Philip* not minding his threatening refusal, and both monarchs being highly exasperated against each other, a bloody battle ensued, in which, our author tells us, the *Scythians*, though superior in strength and courage, were overcome by the craftiness of the *Macedonian* king; twenty thousand women and children were carried off prisoners, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty thousand of their finest mares, which they sent into *Macedonia* for breeding. As for gold and silver they found none among them, and this, our author observes, was the first proof which the *Scythians* gave of their poverty in that respect.

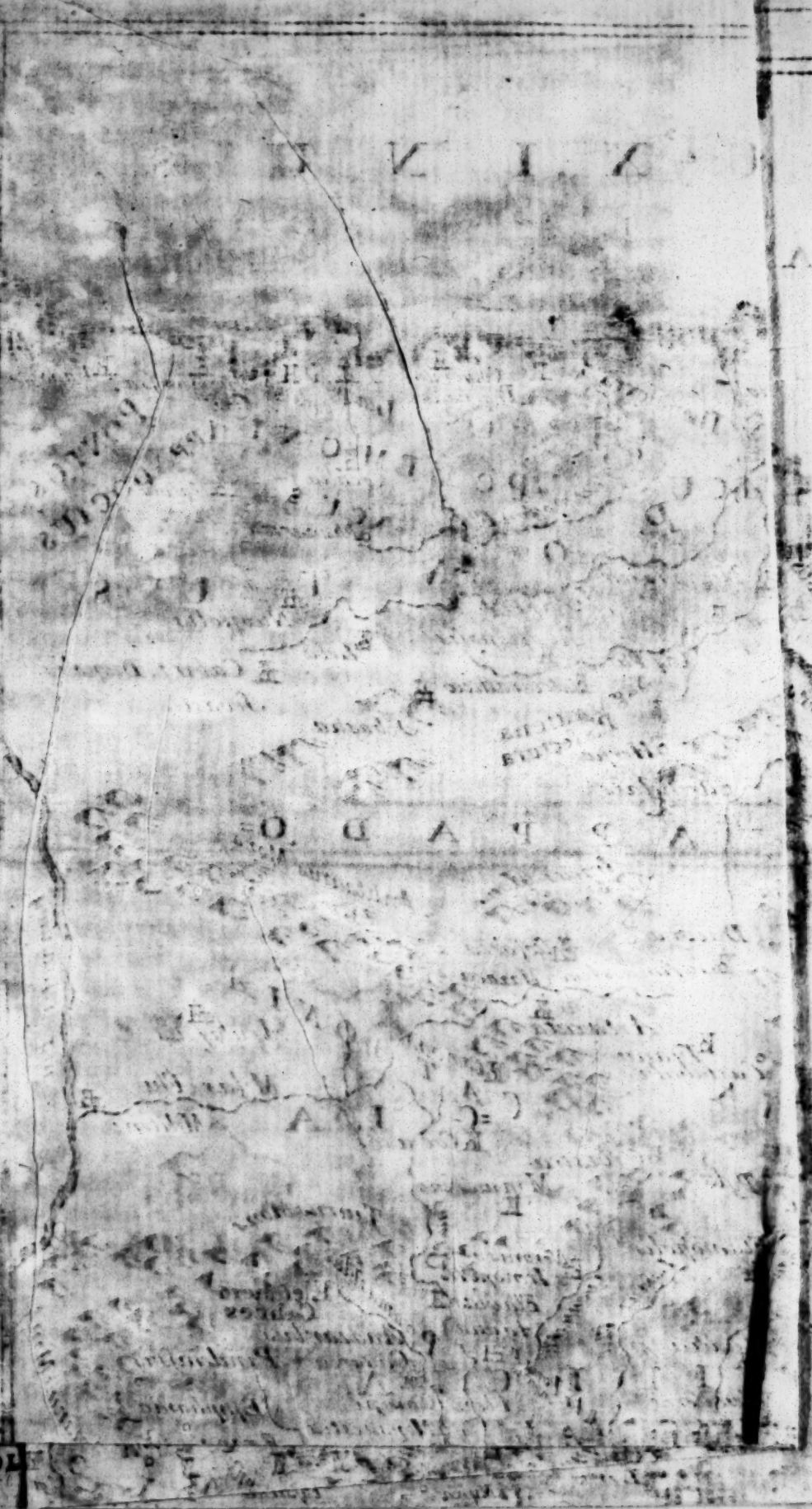
HOWEVER, this overthrow is not so universally agreed among antient authors as the war is, neither doth it consist well with what our author has in another place; where he introduces *Mitridates* haranguing his army, part of which consisted of *Scythians*, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, *Darius* and *Philip*, who, having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a shameful flight°. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signaling themselves upon many occasions, both against the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, and against several other nations; and during a considerable time, as the sequel of this work will sufficiently shew.

*Lambinus* is supposed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of *Scythia*².

° l. xxxviii. c. 7.

² Vid. HEYL. lib. iii. p. 172.

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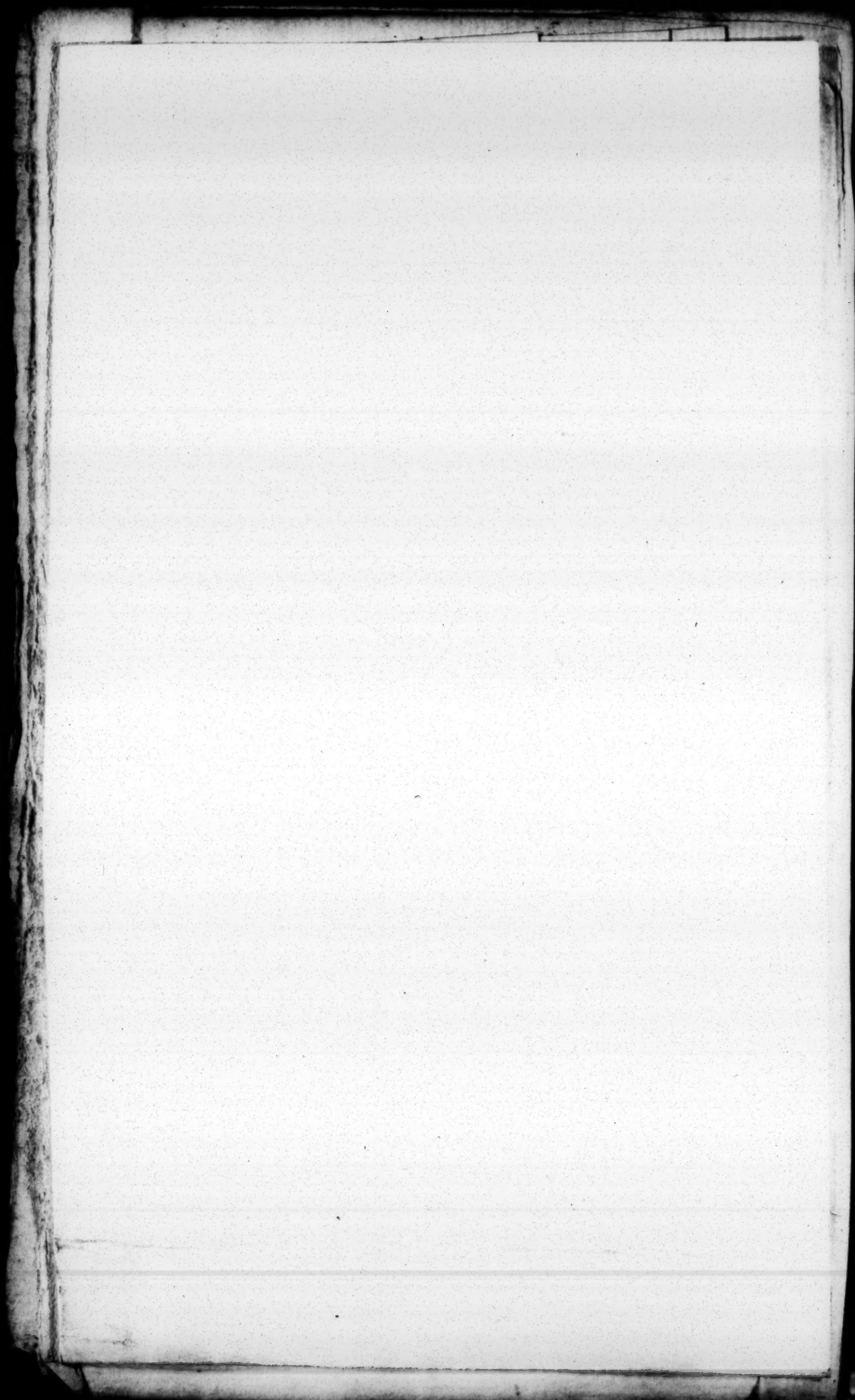












## C H A P. XIII.

*The History of the antient Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.*

## S E C T. I.

*A brief account of A S I A Proper.*

**A**S the several small kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of *Asia Minor*, we shall premise a general description of that country, for the better understanding of the particular accounts which we shall have occasion to join, as we come to treat of the several regions contained therein.

THE different and various acceptations of the word *Asia*, *Asia Proper*, even in its strictest sense, has created a great deal of confusion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into considerable mistakes. To obviate these inconveniencies, the incomparable bishop *Usher*<sup>a</sup> advises those who are to give any account of *Asia* to begin with explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impossible to understand the antient historians or geographers. He looks upon this as one of the most difficult points in history, there being a seeming contradiction between the sacred and prophane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Asia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful distinction of times and places. In reading the antient historians or geographers we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. *The Greater* and *Lesser Asia*, *Asia Proper* or *Asia properly so*

<sup>a</sup> In his geographical and historical disquisition touching *Asia properly so called*.



called, the Lydian Asia, the Proconnesus, the Asiatic Dioecesis. That vast continent, which was known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Asia, was divided by the antient geographers first into the Greater and Lesser Asia. The lesser, commonly termed Asia Minor, comprehended a great many provinces, but that which included Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia, was named Asia Proper or Asia properly so called, as is plain from Tully <sup>b</sup>. Where it is to be observed that Tully, in enumerating the regions contained in Asia Proper, makes no mention of Æolis or Ionia, though undoubtedly parts of Asia Proper, because they were comprehended partly in Lydia and partly in Mysia. Lydia, beside the inland country commonly known by that name, contained also the adjoining countries both of Ionia, lying on the sea-side between the rivers Hermus and Mæander, and of Æolis, extending from Hermus to the river Caicus according to Ptolemy <sup>c</sup>, or according to Strabo <sup>d</sup> to the promontory Lectum, the antient boundary between Troas and the sea-coast of the Greater Mysia (A). The remaining parts of Æolis and Ionia are by Pliny <sup>e</sup>, Strabo <sup>f</sup>, Hellanicus <sup>g</sup>, and Scylax <sup>h</sup>, placed in Mysia; nay Mysia itself, after the Æolians possessed themselves of it, was commonly called Æolis <sup>i</sup>, which Stephanus not being aware of makes Assos of Æolis a different city from Assos of Mysia near Antandrus. From what we have said it is plain, that Asia Proper comprehended Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Æolis, and Ionia. This tract was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by Bithynia and Pontus, extending from Galatia to Propontis, on the east by Galatia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, on the south by part of Lycia and the Rha-

<sup>b</sup> Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco. <sup>c</sup> lib. v. cap. 2. <sup>d</sup> lib. xii. <sup>e</sup> lib. v. cap. 30. <sup>f</sup> lib. xv. <sup>g</sup> Id. lib. xiii. <sup>h</sup> SCYLAX. in Periplo. <sup>i</sup> POMP. MELA, lib. i. cap. 18. PLIN. lib. v. c. 30.

(A) That Mysia reached to the mouth of the river Caicus is acknowledged, not only by Ptolemy (1), but also by Strabo (2); and yet, because it was possessed in his time by the Æolians, he tells us, that Æolis, properly so called, extended from Hermus to Lectum (3). In like manner Pliny (4) makes the promontory Lectum the boundary betwixt Æolis and Troas; though elsewhere, following other authors, he places Assos in Troas (5). But Hellanicus (6), Strabo, and Stephanus (7) make it a city of Æolis near the Hellespont.

(1) lib. v. c. 2. (2) lib. xii. (3) lib. xiii. (4) lib. v. c. 30. (5) Id lib. ii. c. 96. & l. xxxvi, c. 17. (6) Strab. l. xiii. (7) Id. l. xv.

dian

dian sea, on the west by the Hellespont, by the Ægean, Icarian, and Myrtoan seas. It lies between the thirty fifth and forty first degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty five to sixty two degrees.

As *Asia Proper* is but a part of *Asia Minor*, so the *Lydian* *Asia* is only a part of *Asia Proper* (B). *Asia* in this acceptation comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the description we have already given of it, and is that *Asia* whereof mention is made in the *Acts* and St. *John's* revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. *Paul's* journey <sup>k</sup>. *When they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia; after they were come to Mysia they assayed to go into Bithynia; but the spirit suffered them not. And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas.* Where it is to be observed, that the *Greater Phrygia* through which they passed into *Galatia*, *Mysia Olympea* bordering upon *Bithynia*, and *Hellespont* where *Troas* was situate, though provinces of *Asia* properly so called, are yet in express terms distinguished from the *Proper Asia* of the *Romans*; as is likewise *Caria*, by what we read elsewhere in the same book <sup>l</sup>. As these cities and countries did not belong to the *Lydian Asia*, so what remains of *Asia Proper*, together with the *Seven Churches*

The Lydian Asia.

<sup>k</sup> Acts xvi.

<sup>l</sup> Acts xx. 16, 17.

(B) That in antient times *Lydia* was called *Meonia* and the *Lydians* *Meonians*, is manifest from *Herodotus* (8), *Diodorus Siculus* (9), *Dionysius Afer* (10), *Strabo* (11), *Pliny* (12), *Stephanus*, and others; and that *Meonia* was called *Asia* is no less plain from *Callinus*, who flourished before *Archilochus* (13), from *Demetrius Scephius*, contemporary with *Crates* and *Aristarchus* the *Grammarians* (14), from *Euripides* (15), *Suidas* (16), the great etymologist, &c. Nay, that *Lydia* was formerly called *Asia*, is expressly affirmed by the antient scholiast of *Apollonius Rhodius* (17). From whence *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia* is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of *Lydia*, seated on mount *Imolus*, others from one *Asias* king of *Lydia*, who according to the *Lydians* communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Lydia* has a better claim to the name of *Asia*, than any other part of that continent.

(8) *Herodot.* l. vii.

(9) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. iv.

(10)

*Dionysf. in Periegesi.*

(11) *Strab.* l. xiii.

(12) *Plin.* l. v.

c. 29.

(13) *Strab.* l. xiv.

(14) *Id.* l. xii.

(15) *In*

*Bacch.*

(16) *In Asia.*

(17) *Scholiast. Apollon. Argonaut.*

l. ii.

(18) *Herod.* l. iv.



mentioned in the *Revelations*, were properly *Lydia*, or the *Lydian Asia*. In the first place *Pergamus* is placed by *Xenophon*<sup>m</sup> in *Lydia*, and also by *Aristotle*<sup>n</sup>. The same *Aristotle*<sup>o</sup> tells us, that *Smyrna* was at first possessed by the *Lydians*, and *Scylax Coryandensis* reckons it among the cities of *Lydia*, as also *Ephesus*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus*<sup>p</sup>. *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Thyatira*, are reckoned by *Ptolemy* among the cities of *Lydia*, as is *Laodicea* by *Stephanus*<sup>q</sup> (C).

The Pro-  
consular  
Asia.

THE *Proconsular Asia* (so called because it was governed by a proconsul) according to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by *Augustus*, comprehended the following countries, viz. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia*, and the proconsular *Hellepont*. And this is *Ptolemy's Asia Proper*<sup>r</sup>. By the same emperor *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were made a *Pretorian* province<sup>s</sup>, and *Asia* a consular, containing all that part of *Asia* which lay on this side of the river *Halys* and mount *Taurus*.<sup>t</sup> In the time of *Constantine the Great* the *Proconsular Asia* was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the *Proconsular Asia*, and the *Asiatic diocese*; the one being governed by the proconsul of *Asia*, and the other by the *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant* of *Asia* (D). The *Proconsular Asia*, according to the description which *Eunapius* gives us of it<sup>u</sup>, seems to have been much the same with the *Lydian Asia* abovementioned. In the reign of *Theodosius the Elder*, who succeeded *Valens*, the consular *Hellepont* was taken from the *Vicarius* of *Asia*, and

<sup>m</sup> XENOPH. de exped. Cyr. lib. 7.      <sup>n</sup> lib. de Poetica, p. 97.

<sup>o</sup> ARISTOT. lib. de Poetica apud. PLUTARCH. in lib. de vita & poesi Homer.      <sup>p</sup> HERODOT. lib. 1.      <sup>q</sup> STEPH. de urbib.

<sup>r</sup> Ptolem. l. v. c. 2.      <sup>s</sup> Strab. l. xvii.      <sup>t</sup> Eunap. in vita Maximi.

(C) *Laodicea* is placed by *Ptolemy* in *Caria*, by others in *Phrygia*, and by some in *Lydia*, the confines of those countries having been so often altered, that it was not possible, as *Strabo* witnesses (19), to ascertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is, that the same city is oftentimes placed by one of the antient geographers in *Phrygia*, by another in *Lydia*, and by a third in *Caria*.

(D) We find in the Imperial Constitutions two rescripts of the emperor *Valens*, the one dated the 27th of *January* 365, (that is, towards the latter end of the first year of his reign), and directed to *Clearchus Vicarius Asiæ*; the other dated the 6th of the *October* following, and directed to *Auxonius, Vicarius Diœceseos Asiæ* (20). This distinction was brought in by *Constantine*, and continued under the Christian emperors that succeeded him.

(19) *Strab. l. xiii.*  
*colan. infcio dom.*

(20) *Cod. Theodos. lib. v. tit. 11. Ne*

added to the *Proconsular Asia*; but under *Arcadius* the *Proconsular Asia* was abridged of all the inland part of *Lydia*. And this is the reason, why *Palladius* <sup>u</sup> makes a distinction between the bishops of *Lydia* and those of *Asia*. However, the southern part of *Lydia*, lying between the *Mæander* and *Cayster*, and the maritime provinces from *Ephesus* to *Affos* and the promontory *Leetum* were left to the *Proconsular Asia* <sup>w</sup>.

THE *Asiatic diocesis* (E) is sometimes taken in a more strict *The Asia-* sense, as distinct from the *Proconsular Asia* and the provinces *tic diocesis*. under the jurisdiction of the proconsul, and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the *Proconsular Asia*. According to this acceptation all *Asia* in the reign of *Theodosius the Younger* consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of *Asia*, viz. the *Proconsular Proper*, which he governed by himself, the consular *Hellespont*, and that of *Rhodes*, with the other islands called *Cyclades*, which were first made a province by *Vespasian*, and placed under a president <sup>x</sup>; eight were under the vicarius or lieutenant of *Asia*, viz. *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia*; these eight made up what was properly called the *Asiatic diocesis* <sup>y</sup> (F). These are the terms we most commonly meet with in reading the antient historians and geographers, for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned bishop *Usher*, who thought it well worth his while to examine

<sup>u</sup> Pallad. in vita Chrylost. <sup>w</sup> Hieroclis, notitia imp. in Append. Geograph. sacra. p. 27. Photius de ordine Metropolit. p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco Romani, p. 90. Subscript. Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. Concil. Constantinop. vi. Act. xviii. &c. <sup>x</sup> Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. <sup>y</sup> ALCIAT. Parerg. l. v. c. 13.

(E) The word *diocesis*, in the dialect of the times we are here speaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending several provinces under the jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the *Notitia Imperii*, which was compiled in the reign of *Theodosius the younger*, the *Asiatic diocesis* is said to consist of ten provinces only, the first and chief province of all, viz. *Asia* itself, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, *Isidorus Mercator* reckons twelve provinces belonging to this diocesis, and among them *Galatia*, which was without all doubt a province of the diocesis of *Pontus* (22).

(21) *Notit. utriusque Imperii. de Eccles. suburbicar. p. 347.*

(22) *Vid. Salmass. Eucharistic.*



the various acceptations of *Asia Proper* in a particular treatise<sup>a</sup>.

The name  
of Asia.

As to the common name of *Asia* there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from *Asia* the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, wife of *Iapetus*, and by him mother to *Prometheus*; others from *Asius* son of *Atys* king of *Lydia*, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent, was named *Asia*. *Bochart*<sup>a</sup> is of opinion, that it took its name from the *Phœnician* word *Asi*, signifying the middle, because *Asia Minor*, which, says he, communicated its name to *Asia the Greater*, lies, as it were, in the middle between *Europe* and *Afric*. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela*<sup>b</sup>. But as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature.

Climate  
and fertility.

THIS country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and mightily extolled by antient writers, chiefly by the *Romans* who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which respects it was preferred by *Tully*<sup>c</sup> to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby the *Latin* poets distinguish this from other regions, is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of from the immense sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely *Marc Anthony*, who as we are told by *Plutarch*<sup>d</sup>, squeezed from the inhabitants of *Asia Minor* in the space of one year the sum of 20,000 talents.

Its present  
division.

THIS country is at present divided into four parts, viz. *Natolia*, properly so called, the western part; *Carmania* the southern part; *Aladulia* the eastern, and *Amasia* the northernmost part. By the *Turks* the whole country, called by them *Nadolu*, is divided into five parts under the government of five *Beglerbegs*, who reside at *Cotyæum*, *Tocat*, *Trabexond*, *Marosch*, and *Iconium*. These are subdivided into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular

<sup>a</sup> Usher in his geographical and historical disquisition of *Asia*, properly so called, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Phaleg. l. iv c. 36.

<sup>b</sup> PLIN. in Prefat. lib. iii. & Pomp. Mela, de Asia, l. i. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Cic. pro Q. Ligario.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. in Lucull. & Antonio.

<sup>e</sup> Cic. pro Q.

histories of the various kingdoms, antiently comprehended under the common name of *Asia Minor*.

## *The HISTORY of the PHRYGIANS.*

### S E C T. II.

#### *The Description of PHRYGIA.*

**A**S we can scarce offer any thing touching *Phrygia*, but what we have either at second hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we shall not dwell long on so dark and perplexed a subject, nor pretend to supply the defect of better authorities with such precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the most ordinary usually do, vent on such occasions (G).

WHENCE the small country before us borrowed the name of *Phrygia* is not determined. Some derive it from the river *Phryx* (now *Sarabat*), which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria* and empties itself into the *Hermus*, others from *Phrygia* the daughter of *Asopus* and *Europa*. The Greek writers tell us †, that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and these from the town of *Brygium* in *Macedonia*, from whence they first passed into *Asia* and gave the name of *Phrygia* or *Brigia* to the country which they settled in; but we shall have occasion to examine this opinion hereafter. *Bochart* is of opinion ‡, that this tract was called *Phrygia* from a Greek verb, signifying *to burn* or *dry*, which according to him is a translation of its *Hebrew* name, derived from a verb of the same signification (H).

No

° PLIN. lib. v. c. 29.

† MESSAL. CORVIN. de progen. Aug.

° Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8.

(G) The names of the authors that have wrote the *Phrygian* history are *Democritus*, *Hermesianætes*, *Timolaus*, *Aretæzes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark, as to some of the most material points of that history.

(H) The Greek word *Φρυγία* seems to be derived from the verb *φρυγναι*, *to burn* or *parch*; and hence that place on mount *OEta*

(23) *Plutarch. de fluviis* & *Laert. in Democrito.*

where



Its divi-  
sions.

No less various are the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave rise to the proverb related by *Strabo* \*, viz. that the *Phrygians* and *Myfians* had distinct boundaries, but that it was scarce possible to ascertain them. The same writer adds <sup>h</sup>, that the *Trojans*, *Myfians*, and *Lydians*, are by the poets all blended under the common name of *Phrygians*, which *Claudian* <sup>i</sup> extends to the *Pisidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians*. Again, *Pliny* <sup>k</sup> places *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, which together with *Dardania* is reckoned by *Strabo* <sup>l</sup> among the provinces of *Myfia*. *Phrygia Proper*, according to *Ptolemy* whom we choose to follow, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, on the west by *Myfia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean sea*, *Lydia*, *Meonia*, and *Caria*; on the

\* STRAB. l. xii. & l. xiv.  
l. ii. in Eutrop.

<sup>h</sup> Strab. ubi supra.

<sup>i</sup> CLAUD.

<sup>k</sup> Plin. lib. v.

<sup>l</sup> Strab. ubi supra.

where *Hercules* was burnt took the name of *Φρυγία*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεί  
πέφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλῆα. Now as that part of *Phrygia* which was  
washed by the rivers *Cayster* and *Mæander* was distinguished by the  
epithet of *Καλαμικαυμένη*, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* witness (24), it is  
not improbable, but that the name of *Phrygia*, which was at first  
peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to  
the whole country. How this part came to be called *Καλαμικαυμένη*,  
*burnt*, is variously reported. *Diodorus* (25) speaks of a fiery mon-  
ster called *Ægis*, which appearing there consumed all that tract;  
but was afterwards killed by *Pallas*. Others recur to the fable of  
*Typhon* (26), who, say they, was in that place thunder-struck by  
*Jupiter*. But without having recourse to fables, it will be no hard  
matter to account for this denomination, if we but consider, that  
this part of *Phrygia* we are speaking of is described both by *Diodorus*  
and *Strabo* (27) as a dry soil, impregnated with sulphur, bitumen,  
and other combustible substances, which in all likelihood gave rise  
to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are  
speaking of is by some of the antients reckoned a province of *Myfia*,  
by others of *Mæonia*; but *Hesychius* (28), *Diodorus* (29), and most  
of the other historians and geographers place it in *Phrygia*. *Bocbart*  
is of opinion (30), that by *Gomer* in scripture is meant *Phrygia*, and  
that the Greek word *Phrygia* is a translation of the Hebrew גֹּמֶר  
*Gomer*, which he derives from the verb גָּמַר *Gamar*, importing,  
among other significations, *to burn or consume*, in which significa-  
tion he shews it to have been frequently used both by the *Chaldeans*  
and *Syrians*.

(24) Strab. l. xiii. & Diod. Sicul. l. iii.

(25) Diodor. Sicul.

l. iii p. 142.

(26) Strab. l. xiii.

(27) ubi supra.

(28)

Hesych. l. 12.

(29) Diodor. ubi supra.

(30) Phaleg. l. iii.

c. 8.

South

south by *Lycia*, on the east by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*. It lies between the 37th and 41st degree of north latitude, extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country mentioned by *Ptolemy* are the *Lycaones* and *Anthemisenii* towards *Lycia*, the *Moccadelis* or *Moceadine*, the *Cyddeses* or *Cydises* towards *Bithynia*, and between these the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacenses*, and *Hierapolitæ*. To these we may add the *Berecynes* and *Cerbesis* mentioned by *Strabo*<sup>m</sup>.

*Phrygia* is commonly divided into the *Greater*, and *Lesser Phrygia* called also *Troas*. But this division did not take place till *Troas* was subdued by the *Phrygians*; and hence it is no more considered by some *Roman* writers as a part of *Phrygia*, than *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, the *Greater Phrygia* was divided into two districts or governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, from *Pacatianus* who under *Constantine* bore the great office of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the east; the other *Phrygia Salutaris*, from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel *Michael*.

THIS country, and indeed all *Asia Minor*, as lying in the fifth and sixth northern climates, was in antient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, being for the most part a plain country, covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumen and other combustible substances. It was well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture-grounds. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. In short, whatever desirable things nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries were found in this, while well manured, as in their original seminary.

THE cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, 1. *Apamea* or *Apamia*, a famous mart and the metropolis of all *Phrygia*, till the abovementioned division of *Constantine* took place. It was seated at the confluence of the *Marsyas* and *Mæander*. *Pliny*<sup>n</sup> places it at the foot of the hill *Signia*, surrounded by the rivers *Marsyas*, *Obrima*, and *Orga*, which empty themselves into the *Mæander*; wherein he seems to confound the situa-

<sup>m</sup> STRAB. l. xii.<sup>n</sup> Plin. l. v. c. 29.



tion of the antient *Celæne* with that of the new city called *Apamea*. *Celæne* indeed stood at the foot of the hill on which the *Marsyas* has its spring; but *Antiochus Soter*, son to *Antiochus Seleucus*, who built *Apamea* of Syria, carried the inhabitants from thence to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the *Marsyas* and *Mæander* begin to flow in one channel; this city he named *Apamea* from his mother *Apame*, wife to *Seleucus Nicanor* °. As there are many other cities bearing the same name, this for distinction sake is commonly called *Apamea Cibotos*; but as to the original of this appellation there is a great discrepancy among authors (I).

*Laodicea*, now *Eskihissar*, seated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, not far from *Apamea*. It was first called *Diospolis*, afterwards *Rheas*, and at last *Diocæsarea* and *Laodicea*. We are told by *Stephanus*, that *Jupiter* appearing to *Antiochus* the son of *Stratonice* in his sleep, commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it *Diospolis* from *Jupiter*, and *Laodicea* from his wife *Laodice*. It was afterwards greatly increased by *Hiero*, by *Zeno* the *Rhetorician*, and his son *Polemon* †, who, being honoured by *Cæsar Augustus* with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaisance to that prince add his name to that of *Jupiter*, calling the city *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Jupiter* and *Cæsar*. However, the name of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* derives from the river *Lycus* ‡, prevailed.

° STRAB. l. xii. LIV. lib. xxxviii. MARCIANUS lib. vi.

† STRAB. lib. xii. § Id. ibid.

(I) As the word *Κιβώτος* signifies *Ark* or *Coffer*, some have supposed, that it was so called, because the ark rested on the hill from which the river *Marsyas* springs. But these writers confound the situation of *Celæne* with that of *Apamea*; the former, which never bore the name of *Cibotos*, was situate at the foot of the hill *Signia*, but *Apamea Cibotos* at ten miles distance. As those who traded from *Italy* and *Greece* to *Asia Minor* used to convey their wares to this city, as a place of general resort (30), *Salmasius* thinks, it was called *Cibotos* from its being, as it were, the common treasury of those countries (31). It is worth observing, that there are no fewer than seven cities bearing the same name, viz. *Apamea* of *Bithynia*, *Apamea* of *Media*, *Apamea* on the *Tigris*, *Apamea* on the *Euphrates*, one in *Persia*, one in *Syria*, and one in *Phrygia*; and all situate between two rivers, which made *Bochart* (32) conclude, that they were so called from the Hebrew verb signifying to surround, whereof the import is plainly expressed in *Jonas* (33) אִפְּפֹנִי מוֹם *aphaphuni majim*.

(30) Lb. xvii. (31) *Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitation. c. xl.*  
p. 380. (32) *Phaleg. l. ii. c. 11.* (33) c. ii. v. 6.

This

This city was famous for its wool, which was universally preferred on account of its softness, as the same author witnesses<sup>r</sup>, even to that of *Miletus* so much cried up by the antients, and besides was of a very extraordinary blackness. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all *Asia Minor*. *Ptolemy* makes *Laodicea* and *Diocæsarea* two different cities, wherein he is certainly mistaken. At *Laodicea* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the apocalypse, but at present not so much as the ruins of it are any where to be seen, that prophetic threat being fully accomplished; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot — because thou art lukewarm — I will spue thee out of my mouth*<sup>r</sup> (K).

*Hierapolis* famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo's* account<sup>r</sup>, when exposed to the air petrified in the space of a year, and yet were endued with such a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a present remedy against innumerable distempers to such as used them<sup>u</sup>. Near this city was to be seen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overspread with a thick fog, and exhaling such a pestilent steam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately stifled. *Strabo* and *Pliny*<sup>w</sup> except the *Galli* or eunuchs of *Cybele*; *Ammianus* and *Dio Nicæus* all eunuchs<sup>x</sup> (L).

*Gordium*

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Revel. c. iii. ver. 15, 16.

<sup>r</sup> lib. xiii.

<sup>u</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. VITRUVIUS, l. viii. c. 3. ULPIANUS lege prima, sect. xiii. <sup>w</sup> lib. iv. <sup>x</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. DIO. NICÆ. in vita Trajan. p. 252. ed. H. STEPH. 1592.

(K) *Terrari* in his dictionary tells us, that *Laodicea* is still called *Laudichia*, and by the *Turks* *Nove-Lefche*, that it is one of the archbishopricks of *Asia Minor*, &c. But he is either mistaken, or the town was not quite demolished in his time; at present it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beasts. Several travellers, misled by the similitude of names, have taken the village *Laotick* near *Angoura* for *Laodicea*. At *Eskibissar*, as it is now called, there are still to be seen four theatres of white marble, as intire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inscription in honour of the emperor *Titus*, which the reader will find in *Spon's* account of the *seven churches* (34).

(L) *Strabo*, an eye-witness (35) says, that in his time this *Plutonium* or opening was inclosed with balisters taking up about half an acre of ground in compass, that the pestilent steam kept within

(34) *Spon. lib. iii.*

(35) *lib. xiii.*

T t 2

that



*Gordium*, the seat of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia*, and not between the two *Phrygias*, where *Justin* places it<sup>y</sup>. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it, and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of *Augustus*, when it was again made a city and called *Juliopolis* by one *Cleo*, a famous robber native of that place (M).

*Colosse*, now *Chonos*, on the south side of the *Mæander*, to the people whereof *St. Paul* wrote that epistle which is part of our canon.

*Sipylus*, the residence of king *Tantalus*, and therefore called also *Tantalus*. Some place this city in *Mæonia*, supposing *Tantalus* to have reigned there. 'Tis observable, that four cities, viz. *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were successively built on the same spot and destroyed by earthquakes.

*Synnada*, *Synada*, or *Synnade*, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by *Constantine the Great* declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*, after his division of *Phrygia* into *Pacatiana* and *Salutaris* took place (N). Besides these and several

<sup>y</sup> Lib. xi. c. 7.

that inclosure, so that one might approach the balister without the least danger; but whoever advanced one step farther was immediately stifled. What *Strabo* affirms is vouched by *Ammianus*, *Dio Nicæus*, both eye-witnesses, *Apuleius*, and many others (36). The city of *Hierapolis* is now called *Bamboakkale*, and some footsteps of what it once was are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it stood; insomuch, that *Dr. Smith* after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This *Cleo* having with a band of robbers possessed himself of a strong hold on mount *Olympus* called *Collydium*, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of *Labiens* prefect of *Asia* from gathering the annual tributes, on which consideration he was by *Marc Anthony* rewarded with large territories. But in the *Actiac* war revolting from *Anthony* he sided with *Augustus*, who added great part of *Morena* to what *Anthony* had bestowed on him, created him priest of *Jupiter Abrettenus* worshipped by the *Mysians*, and high-priest of *Bellona* adored in *Commana* of *Pontus*, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Constantinople*, *Severus* subscribes as bishop of *Synnada*, the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*

(36) *Ubi supra* & *Apuleius de Mundo*.

(37) *Strab. lib. xii.*

(38);

several other cities of less note mentioned by the antients, there were in later times some of no small account, such as *Saqua*, the habitation of *Etrogul* father of *Ottoman* the first king of the *Turks*, *Chara-chisar*, by the *Greeks* called *Melampyr-gus*, or the *Black-tower*, *Cillexuga*, *Einégiol*, &c. taken by the said *Ottoman* from the christian princes at the first rise of the *Ottoman* empire:

THE rivers of this country which we shall take notice of, are the *Mæander*, now *Madre* and *Mindre*, a river so celebrated by the antients, for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called *Mæanders*. It rises on the hill *Celæne*, the same as *Aulocrene* mentioned by *Pliny*<sup>a</sup>, at the foot of which stood antiently a famous city of the same name. *Pliny*<sup>a</sup> and *Strabo*<sup>b</sup> derive it from a lake on the top of the said hill. It passes through *Phrygia*, divides *Caria* from *Lydia*, and after 600 windings<sup>c</sup>, by which it seems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itself into the *Archipelago* between *Priene* and *Miletus* (O).

<sup>a</sup> Lib. xxxviii.<sup>a</sup> ubi supra.<sup>b</sup> STRAB. lib. xii.<sup>c</sup> DIO. PRUSÆUS, lib. i.

(38); and yet *Socrates* in his *ecclesiastical history* (39), and *Nicephorus*, blindly following him, place this city in *Phrygia Pacatiana* (40). And here we may observe by the way, that in the fourth general council held at *Chalcedon*, *Abercius* subscribes as bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which some have looked upon as a mistake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting, that besides the more known city of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, there was another of less note in *Phrygia Salutaris*. They are both mentioned by *Pliny* (42), and the one said to be under the jurisdiction of *Laodicea*, the other under that of *Pergamus*.

(O) The *Cayster*, now *Minderscare*, bears such a resemblance to the *Mæander*, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable *Pietro della valle*, *du Loir*, and *Monconis*, have mistaken the one for the other (42). The *Turks* call the *Cayster* *Coutchouk-mindre* and *Minderscare*, that is the *little Mæander*, or the *black Mæander*; and the *Mæander* itself *Boujouc-Mindre*, the *great Mæander*. Some have observed, that it forms in its course the following *Greek* characters, ξ, ζ, ς, ω, ε, some pretend that *Dædalus* formed his labyrinth on this plan. *Seneca* (43) calls it *poetarum annuum exercitatio* & *ludus*; but *Ovid*'s description of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(38) Concil. v. Collat. viii.

(39) lib. vii. c. 3.

(40) Ni-

cephor. Callist. histor. lib. xiv. c. 11.

(41) Concil. Chalced. Act.

xvi.

(42) lib. v. c. 29, &amp; 30.

(42) Spon. Voyag. d'I-

talie, &amp;c. tom. i. p. 244.

(43) Epist. 105.

(44) Metamorph.

lib. viii.

THE



THE river *Marfyas*, so named from *Marfyas*, a celebrated musician, who, challenging *Apollo*, was by him overcome, and fled for his presumption. Most of the antients tell us, that this river hath its spring near that of the *Mæander*; but *Maximus Tyrius*<sup>d</sup>, who was upon the spot, derives them both from the same source, and so does *Strabo*<sup>e</sup>. It rushes down from a considerable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noise, on which account it was called by *Herodotus*<sup>f</sup> *Cataracta*. It has not only the same spring with the *Mæander*, but flows in the same channel through the town of *Celæne*, standing at the foot of the river on which it rises. In leaving the town the main stream divides itself into two branches, and forms these two rivers, the one the most winding river in the world, the other without so much as one turning during its whole course, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near *Apamea*, that is after a course of ten miles only, the *Marfyas* is again received within the banks of the *Mæander* which it left at *Celæne*; so that in reality these two rivers are but two branches of the same original stream. *Q. Curtius* gives us a noble description of it<sup>g</sup>, and adds, that while it flows within the walls of *Celæne* it is named *Marfyas*, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of *Lycus*; but, with this author's leave, *Marfyas* and *Lycus* are quite different rivers; the *Lycus* springs from mount *Olympus* and discharges itself into the *Mæander* not far from *Laodicea*, which was therefore called *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*; this is a quite different course from that of the *Marfyas*, which we have already described<sup>h</sup> (P).

*Sangarius,*

<sup>d</sup> Serm. xxxviii.

<sup>e</sup> lib. xii.

<sup>f</sup> lib. vii.

<sup>g</sup> lib. iii.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. SALMAS. Plinian. Exercitat. cap. xxxviii. p. 582.

(P) The poets feign, that *Marfyas* having challenged *Apollo*, who fled him for his pride and arrogance, his death was so be-moaned by the nymphs and satyrs, that from their tears sprung a river called after him *Marfyas*. This *Marfyas* is said to have been the son of *Olympus*, and one of the most ingenious men of his age. He was the inventer of the pipe called *Syrinx*, and the first that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried near the spring of the river that bears his name. *Pliny* (45) gravely writes, that in his time was still to be seen the plane-tree on which this unhappy musician ended his days. Others say, with the same appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. *Maximus Tyrius* (46) informs us, that the riv-

(45) *Lib. 1.*

(46) *Sermon. 38.*

*Sangarius*, *Sangaris*, or *Sangurus*, is numbered by *Pliny* among the rivers of note<sup>1</sup>; it springs from the hill *Dindymus*, washes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itself into the *Black-sea*. *Phryx*, which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and disembogues itself into the *Hermus*, now *Sarabat*. *Hermus*, much celebrated by the poets for its gold sands, takes its rise near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. *Mysias*, *Orgos*, *Obrima*, &c.

## S E C T. III.

*Of the antiquity, government, religion, customs, arts, learning, &c. of the antient Phrygians.*

THE *Phrygians* deemed themselves the most ancient people of the world, which opinion seems to have prevailed even among the *Egyptians*, at least in the time of *Psammitichus*, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told<sup>k</sup>, that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elsewhere<sup>l</sup>, those great boasters of antiquity acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more antient, challenging only the second rank to themselves. And hence it is, that *Apuleius*<sup>m</sup> distinguishes them with the epithet of *first-born*. *Their antiquity.*

As to their origin, some suppose them descended from *Togarmah*, one of the sons of *Gomer*; and of this opinion are *Josephus* and *St. Jerom*<sup>n</sup>, who adds, that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigraimanes*. *Herodotus*<sup>o</sup>, *Origin.*

<sup>1</sup> PLIN. l. <sup>k</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 9. <sup>l</sup> See Vol. I. p. 335; note (V). <sup>m</sup> de Afino aur. l. xi. <sup>n</sup> JOSEPH. Ant. l. i. c. 7. <sup>o</sup> HIERON. in quæst. Hebraicis. lib. vii.

ers *Meander* and *Marfyas* were both worshipped by the inhabitants of *Celæus*; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common stream, never failed being carried by the waters, at their parting, into the channel of that river for which the pious votaries had designed them. The river *Lycus*, which *Q. Curtius*, and with him *Mr. Spon*, mistakes for the *Marfyas* (47), runs a few miles under ground, but appears again before it loses itself in the *Meander*, which *Ovid* seems to have been ignorant of when he said (48),

*Sic, ubi terreno Lycus est epotus biatu,  
Existit procul hinc, alioque renascitur orbe.*

(47) *Voyage d'Italie*. &c. tom. i. lib. iii. (48) *Metamorph. lib. xv.*

*Strabo*



*Strabo*<sup>p</sup>, *Pliny*<sup>q</sup>, and *Eustathius*<sup>r</sup>, led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brigians* a people of *Macedonia*, who, passing into *Asia Minor*, were, with a small alteration, called *Phrygians*, and the country which they settled in named *Phrygia*. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the *Phrygians* and *Brigians* bore antiently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the *Brigians* passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* rather than the *Phrygians* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity, of names is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but in order to prove, that the *Phrygians* were a colony of the *Brigians*, rather than the *Brigians* a colony from *Phrygia*, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that if the *Phrygians* had been descended from the *Macedonians*, it is not likely, they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the *Egyptians*, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. *Bochart*<sup>t</sup> is of opinion, that the *Phrygians* were the offspring of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, the word *Phrygia* being, as we have observed elsewhere, the *Greek* translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the father of the *Galatians*, but he by the *Galatians* must necessarily mean the *Phrygians*, inhabiting that part of *Phrygia* which the *Galatians* had made themselves masters of; the descendants of *Gomer* being placed by *Ezekiel*<sup>u</sup> northward of *Judea* near *Togarmah*, (which *Bochart*<sup>\*</sup> takes to be *Cappadocia*) long before the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia*. Most of the modern writers will have the *Cimmerii* to be the offspring of *Gomer*, understanding their country by the country of *Gomer* mentioned in the scripture. But as the *Cimmerians* lay beyond the *Euxine* sea, at a vast distance from *Judea*, we can hardly think, that the *Jews* had any knowledge of a nation so remote from them. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts place *Gomer* in *Afric*, wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from *Ezekiel*<sup>v</sup>, that his country lay northward of *Judea*. We are therefore willing to let *Gomer* enjoy the fine country which *Bochart* is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the *Phrygians*, since we have no body else to bestow it on.

<sup>p</sup> lib. vii. x. xii.<sup>q</sup> lib. v. c. 37.<sup>r</sup> EUSTATH. in HOMER.

&amp; DIONYS.

<sup>t</sup> PHALEG. lib. iii. cap. 8.<sup>u</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 6.<sup>\*</sup> PHALEG. lib. iii.<sup>v</sup> ubi supra.

THE ancient *Phrygians* are described as a superstitious, *Their cha-* voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or *raſter.* forecast, and of ſuch a ſervile temper, that nothing but ſtripes and ill-uſage could make them comply with their duty, which gave riſe to ſeveral trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors of divination by the ſinging, flying, and feeding of birds. Their muſic, commonly called the *Phrygian mood*, is alledged by ſome as an argument of their effeminacy.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be ſaid, *Their go-* that it was monarchical, and that all *Phrygia* was, during the *vernment.* reigns of ſome kings, ſubject to one prince. *Ninnacus*, *Midas*, *Manis*, *Gordius*, and his deſcendants, were certainly lords of all *Phrygia*. But ſome time before the *Trojan* war we find this country divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the ſame time. *Apollodorus* <sup>w</sup> mentions a king of *Phrygia* contemporary with *Ilus* king of *Troy*. *Cedrenus* <sup>x</sup> and others ſpeak of one *Teuthrans* king of a ſmall country in *Phrygia*, whoſe territories were ravaged by *Ajax*, himſelf ſlain in a ſingle combat, his royal ſeat laid in aſhes, and his daughter, by name *Tecmeſſa*, carried away captive by the conqueror. *Homer* <sup>y</sup> makes mention of *Phorcys* and *Aſcanius*, both princes and leaders of the *Phrygian* auxiliaries that came to the relief of *Troy*. *Tantalus* was king of *Sipy-lus* only and its diſtrict, a prince no leſs famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetouſneſs and other deteſtable vices. Whether *Phrygia* was ever ſubdued by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we read in *Suidas* <sup>z</sup>, is much queſtioned by the learned. Moſt authors, that ſpeak of *Gordius*, tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having ſent to conſult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the intestine broils which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for anſwer, that the moſt effectual means to deliver themſelves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing

<sup>w</sup> lib. iii.    <sup>x</sup> CEDRENUS, p. 104. SOPHOCLE in Ajace. CALABER. lib. iii.    <sup>y</sup> HOMER. Iliad. B.    <sup>z</sup> SUID. vit. Ὀφφύς

(Q) *Phryges ſero ſapient, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non minus quam ſpyntbarus*, &c. which proverbs intimate their ſervile temper, and ſhew, that they were more fit to bewail miſfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper meaſures. Their muſic too was ſuited to their effeminate temper. The *Doric* mood was a kind of grave and ſolid muſic; the *Lydian* a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the *Phrygian* chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.



*Gordius* on the throne. Whence we may conclude, that, some time before his accession to the crown, an aristocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced.

Their  
trade,  
laws,  
learning.

As to their trade, all we can say is, that *Apamea* was the chief emporium of all *Asia Minor*. Thither resorted merchants and traders from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and the neighbouring islands. Besides, we know from *Syncellus*, that the *Phrygians* were for some time masters of the sea (he says 25 years); and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was stocked with many choice and useful commodities, and well able to afford considerable exports. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. But as most of the *Phrygian* records are lost, we will not dwell on conjectures so hard to be ascertained.

WE have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, since we are told that for some time they enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea, we may, at least, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy, and add to these, from what we have said above, a more than ordinary knowledge of music.

Their lan-  
guage.

SOME have been of opinion, that the *Phrygian* language bore a great resemblance to the *Greek*; but the contrary is manifest from the few *Phrygian* words which have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart*<sup>a</sup> and *Rudbeckius*<sup>b</sup>. To these we may add the authority of *Strabo*<sup>c</sup>, who, after attempting to derive the name of a *Phrygian* city from the *Greek*, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to discover any similitude between the barbarous words of the *Phrygian* language and the *Greek*. The *Phrygian* tongue after the experiment made by *Psammitichus* king of *Egypt*, as we have mentioned elsewhere<sup>d</sup>, was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as the most ancient language of the world. But other nations, namely the *Scythians*, refused to submit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, say they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *Bec*, or *Bekkos*, the first they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had suckled them, and happened to be a *Phrygian* word signifying bread (R). A late

<sup>a</sup> BOCHART. Quæst. num *Æneas* unquam fuerit in Italia. <sup>b</sup> RUD-  
BEC, in Atlant. tom. i. cap. 36. <sup>c</sup> STRAB. lib. xii. <sup>d</sup> Universal  
History, Vol. I. p. 335 (V.).

(R) *Goropius Becanus* makes use of the same argument to prove, that the *Higb-Dutch* is the original or mother-tongue of the world, because the word *Becker* in that language signifies a baker.

writer

writer\*, after observing that *Homer* in several passages distinguishes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to shew, that the poet by the language of the gods meant the *Greek*, and by that of men the *Phrygian* (S).

As to the religion of the antient *Phrygians*, we have already observed, that they were greatly addicted to superstition. *Their religion.* They had many idols, but the goddess *Cybele* seems to have been their principal deity. She was called *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*, from *Cybelus*, *Berecynthus*, *Dindymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount *Ida* in *Troas*, because on these hills she was worshipped in a particular manner (T). She was also named *Cubebe*, because her priests

\* LAKEMACHERUS obser. Philol.

(S) *Gothofradus Lakemacherus* in order to prove this chooses the two following verses (49) ;

"Αντα δ' αὖτ' Ἡφαιστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,

Ὅν Ξάνθον καλεῖσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον,

where *Homer* tells us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named *Xanthus* and by men *Scamander*. He shews, that as *Xanthos* is a *Greek* word signifying *yellow*, the above mentioned river had very probably its name from the *Greeks*, who gave the same name, as *Strabo* (50) witnesses, to another river in *Lycia* on account of its yellow sands. From hence he infers, that *Homer*, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the *Greek*. As to the word *Scamander*, he thinks, that this name was communicated to the river from one *Scamandrius* son of *Hector* and king of the *Phrygians*, whose territories were watered by this river, it being a common custom among the antients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whose countries they had their course. Now as *Scamandrius*, says he, was a *Phrygian*, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language ; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river *Scamander* is originally *Phrygian*, and that *Homer* by the language of men means the *Phrygian*. This author concludes the same of all other passages in *Homer*, where such a distinction is made ; the more, because two other words attributed by *Homer* to men, viz. *Bateia* and *Kumindis* are without doubt *Phrygian* ; the one being the name of a hill in *Phrygia*, and the other of a bird mostly frequenting mount *Ida* in *Troas*.

(T) *Philostephanus* is of opinion, that the hill *Dindymene* was so called, because it had διδυμῆς *μακρῆς* two tops ; but *Strabo* says in express terms that it has but one. *Bochart* (51) thinks, that a cymbal was in the *Phrygian* language called *Dindum*, as it is in the *Syrian Zinzum* ; and from thence he derives the name of the hill

(49) *Iliad.* 20. ver. 73. (50) *lib.* xiv p. 665). (51)  
*Bochart. de. Quæst. Utrum Aeneas fuerit unquam in Italia?*



priests, when seized with their frantic fits, used to throw themselves on their heads, that name being derived from a *Phœnician* verb of that import. *Arnobius*<sup>8</sup> gives us the following account of *Cybele* from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vast rock on the borders of *Phrygia*, called in the language of that country *Agdus*, from whence *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, by the direction of *Themis*, took the stones, which they had made use of to repair mankind after the deluge. From one of these sprung *Cybele the great mother of the gods*. The same rock conceived by *Jupiter* and brought forth *Acdestis*, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible strength, of a most cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a most outrageous enemy of the gods, who were in no small fear of him, till *Bacchus* by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him somewhat more tractable. From the blood he shed on this occasion sprung up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which *Nana* daughter to king *Sangarius* being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a most beautiful appearance, put it in her bosom. This cost her dear, for soon after proving with child, notwithstanding all her protestations of innocence, she was by her father shut up and condemned to starve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by *Cybele*, she was in due time delivered of a son, who being exposed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one *Phorbus*, and nursed with goats milk; whence he was called *Attis*, the word *Attagos* in the *Phrygian* dialect signifying a goat. As he grew up he proved a most beautiful youth, and was on that score greatly favoured both by *Cybele* and *Acdestis*; nay *Midas* king of *Phrygia*, then residing at *Pessinus*, was so taken with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name *Ia*. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, *Midas*, to prevent any disturbance that other suitors might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out *the great mother of the gods*, who, being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate

<sup>8</sup> ARNOBIUS contra Gentes, lib. viii.

*Dindymus*; the more because the invention of cymbals is generally ascribed to the *Phrygians*, and in particular to this goddess (52), whose festival was on that account solemnized on mount *Dindyme* with great noise of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other instruments.

(52) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii.*

of the royal palace, with the walls of the city and all their turrets on her head; whence she was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the same time came *Acdestis*, who, inspiring with an enthusiastic frenzy all who assisted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a scene of horror and confusion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury emasculating himself under a pine-tree, soon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herself accompanied her spouse to the shades. *Acdestis* and *Cybele* drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and cruel death of their beloved *Attis*, and *Jupiter* having, at their joint entreaties, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in *Pessinus*, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, &c. Thus far *Arnobius*.

*Eusebius*<sup>h</sup> gives us a very different account of *Cybele* and *Attis* or *Alys*, copied, as he informs us, from the antient *Phrygian* mythologists. According to these, the first king of *Phrygia*, by name *Meon*, was father to *Cybele*, who being smitten with the charms of *Attis*, proved with child by him; whereupon *Meon* caused *Attis* to be put to death, at which *Cybele* being unspeakably grieved wandered long up and down *Phrygia*, seeking in the mountains and woods some allay to her grief. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat asswaged, she admitted *Apollo* into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the *Hyperboreans*. By his order the body of *Attis* was interred, and *Cybele* after her death ranked among the gods. From these two accounts of *Cybele*, which come both from very good hands, we may conclude, that the *Phrygians* had different genealogies for, and traditions of this their chief diety (U).

THIS

<sup>h</sup> EUSEB. Præpar. Evangelic. l. ii. iv.

(U) The *Roman* writers differ widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. *Cybele* according to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of *Saturn*, and the same with *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, and the *Bona dea*. She was exposed immediately after her birth on mount *Cybelus*, nursed there first by wild beasts, and after by the wife of a shepherd who found her by chance, &c. The *Romans* having learnt from the books of the *Sybil*, that they would never be able to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy*, till the *Idean mother* was brought to *Rome*, sent thereupon ambassadors to king *Attalus*, who delivered to them a stone, which the inhabitants of *Pessinus* called the great mother of the gods.



THIS goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment seeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologists by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates, that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes; finally *Saturn*, that is Time, is feigned to be her husband, to signify, that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Eusebius* and others<sup>1</sup> are of opinion, that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this skill or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

*Cybele* had her peculiar priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the *Phrygian* language *Cubeboi*, for the reason we have alledged above. the *Greeks* and *Latins* named them *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, which is the *Greek* translation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli*, from the river *Gallus* flowing through *Pessinus*, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also stiled *Idæi Dactyli*; but it is no easy matter to account for this appellation. *Sophocles* quoted by *Strabo*<sup>k</sup> informs us, that they were called *Idæi* because they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Dactyli* from the *Greek* word *Dactylus*, signifying a finger, they being at first ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. *Strabo* indeed numbers five brothers<sup>l</sup>, viz. *Hercules*, *Pæon*, *Epimides*, *Jasias*, and

<sup>1</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. EUSEB. de Præpar. Evang. <sup>k</sup>  
STRAB. lib. x. p. 473. <sup>l</sup> ubi supra.

gods. This happened in the year of *Rome* 550 (53). 'Tis to be observed, that the *Romans* made *Cybele* to be the same with *Vesta*, but acknowledged two goddesses bearing the same appellation, which their poets frequently confound; *Cybele* was that *Vesta* they called the earth and wife to *Saturn*, she was called *Vesta* because *Stat vi terra sua*, as *Ovid* says, *vi stando Vesta vocatur*. The other was daughter to *Saturn*, and the goddess of fire, or rather fire itself, according to that verse of the same poet, *Nec tu aliud Vesiâ quam vivam intellige flammam*.

(53) Liv. Decad. iii. l. 9.

*Idas*, adding, that they had as many sisters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from those *Strabo* speaks of, viz. *Kelmis*, *Damnameneus*, and *Acmon*. *Apollonius* <sup>m</sup> acknowledges but two, *Fitia* and *Cyl-  
lenus*. Some derive the name of *Corybantes* from the word *Cherub*, signifying in the *Phœnician* language *valiant*, and add, that they were the guards of the first kings of *Phrygia* <sup>n</sup> (W).

## THE

<sup>m</sup> APOLLON. in *Argonaut.* <sup>n</sup> Fr. Not. in *Scholiast.* *Luciani*, tom. ii. *PITISCUS.* *Lexicon Antiquitat.* *NATALIS COMES.* l. ix. *Myth.* c. vii.

(W) *Diodorus* tells us (54), that *Cybele* was daughter to *Meon* king of *Phrygia*, that she married *Jafus* a *Samothracian* the brother of *Dardanus*, and had by him a son called *Corybas*; that after the death of her husband she went with *Dardanus* and *Corybas* into *Phrygia*, and introduced into that country the mysteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddess after her own name *Cybele*, and her priests *Corybantes* from her son *Corybas*. Thus *Diodorus*; but *Dionysius* (55) informs us, that *Dardanus* instituted the *Samothracian* mysteries, that his wife *Chryses* learnt them in *Arcadia*, and that *Idæus* the son of *Dardanus* instituted afterwards the mysteries of the mother of the gods in *Phrygia*. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*; and *Sir Isaac Newton* (56) thinks, that having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, some of them settled in *Phrygia* where they were called *Corybantes*, some in *Crete* where they were named *Idæi Daëtyli*, others in *Rhodes* where they were stiled *Telchines*; others in *Samothrace* where they were known under the name of *Cabiri*; some in *Eubœa* where, as they were well skilled in arts and sciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called *Chalcis*; some in *Lemnos* where they assisted *Vulcan*; some in *Imbrus*; and a very considerable number of them in *Ætolia*, which was thence called the country of the *Curetes*, till *Ætolus* the son of *Endymion*, possessing himself of it, called it *Ætolia*. These *Curetes* making themselves armour used to dance in it at the sacrifices, with great noise of pipes, and drums, and swords, which they struck upon one another's armour, keeping time and forming some kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of music in *Greece* both by *Solinus* and *Isidorus* (57). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (58) ascribes to the *Curetes* the invention of musical rhymes, and of the letters

(54) *Diodor.* p. 223. (55) *Dionys* l. i. p. 38. 42. (56)  
*The chronology of ancient kingdoms, &c.* c. ii. p. 146. (57)  
*Solin, Polyhist.* c. xi. *Isidor. orig.* l. xi. c. 6. (58) *Clem.*  
*Strom.* l. i.



THE ceremonies performed by these priests in honour of this goddess were, 1st, At stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets dancing and skipping round it, and after having with violent gesticulations worked themselves up to the height of frenzy, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing seized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith *Cybele* was transported at the death of her beloved *Attis*: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapt up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of *Attis* and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were supposed to have sprung from the blood of *Attis*, when he had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the *Phrygian* goddesses were a bull or a she-goat, whence the ceremony was called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At *Rome* a yearly sacrifice was made to her, and the ceremony performed by her priests, (those at least who were known under the name of *Galli*)

called *Ephefian*. And Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion (59), that when the *Phœnician* letters were by *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*, they were at the same time introduced into *Phrygia* and *Crete* by the *Curetes*, who called them *Ephefian* from the city of *Ephefus* where they were first taught. These *Curetes* were no less esteemed for their skill and knowledge in religious matters and mystical practices, than for their arts and sciences (60). In *Phrygia* they attended the mysteries of *Cybele*; in *Crete* and the *Terra Curetum* those of *Jupiter*, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount *Ida*, where they danced about him in their armour, with great noise to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father *Saturn* who sought his destruction. *Bochart* (61) brings them from *Palestine*, and thinks, they had the name of *Curetes* from a people among the *Philistines* called *Crethim* or *Cere-thites*. We must not forget, that *Cybele* or the *Great Mother* was sometimes represented with a key, and sometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made some think that she was the same with the *Syrian* goddess *Astarte*, whose chariot was also drawn by lions. *Lucian* tells us (62), that she was the *Cretan Rhea*, that is, according to some, *Europa* the sister of *Cadmus*; and thus the *Phœnicians* first introduced, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, among the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no instance of any such practice before the departure of *Cadmus* and *Europa* from *Sidon*.

(59) *ubi supra*.  
*I. v. c. 4.*  
*de Saltatione.*

(60) *Strab. l. x. p. 472, 473.*  
*(61) Bochart in Canaan, l. i. c. 15.*

(62) *Lucian.*  
 were

were all eunuchs; this the great goddess required of them in memory of *Attis*; the waters of the river *Gallus*, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inspire them with such a frantic enthusiasm, as to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctance. They were not allowed to drink wine, because *Attis*, overcome with that liquor, disclosed his amours with *Acdestis*, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which *Cybele* kept after the death of the same *Attis*. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*. The priests were placed after their death on a stone ten cubits high<sup>o</sup>. Though the *Romans* professed a great veneration for *Cybele*, yet we find, that they looked upon her priests as the very refuse of mankind; of which we have a significant instance in *Valerius Maximus*<sup>p</sup>, who tells us, that one *Gallus* or eunuch of *Cybele*, having by a decree of the senate<sup>q</sup> been admitted to the possession of an estate, bequeathed him, *Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus*, his time consul, being appealed to, reversed the decree of the prætor, adding thereunto, that an eunuch, as being neither a man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that nature. This judgment *Valerius Maximus* extols as a decree worthy of *Mamercus*, worthy of one that was at the head of the senate, since it put a stop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed presence, under pretence of suing for justice.

BESIDES *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, the *Phrygians* had divers other idols; namely *Bacchus* whom they stiled *Sabazios*, and his priests and temples *Saboi*, whence *Bochart* derives the Hebrew word *Sabbath*, as that of *Levite* from *Lyfus* and *Evius*<sup>r</sup>. *Apollodorus* acquaints us, that while *Bacchus* was travelling through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used (X). *Adagyus*

\* ARNOB. lib. v. HIERONY. Epist. ad Lætam. P VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 7. NATALIS COMES. l. ix. Myth. PITISCUS. Lexicon. Antiquit. &c. q Vide BOCH. ubi supra. r APOLLODOR. lib. iii.

(X) *Stephanus* (63) writes, that when *Bacchus* was born, *Jupiter* committed the care of him to one of *Cybele*'s female attendants,



*dagys*, whom *Bochart*<sup>f</sup> takes to be *Hermaphroditus*, the son of *Venus* and *Mercury*, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between *Adagys* and *Androgynus*. Some rank also the *Cabiri* or *Cabires* among the *Phrygian* deities, and add, that they were so called from *Cabirus* a hill in *Phrygia*, or, as *Stesimbrotus* terms it, in *Berecynthia*<sup>t</sup>. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, signifying *great* or *powerful*<sup>u</sup>. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manasseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto* and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the uncouth appellations of *Axioros*, *Axiokersa*, *Aziokersos*, and *Kasmilos*; to these *Dionysiodorus* adds a fifth whom he styles *Casmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he is universally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the *Cabiri*, termed *the most high*, *the most powerful*<sup>w</sup>. But these we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the *Samothracian* deities.

WE likewise read of some dances and songs used by the *Phrygians* in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and sometimes on other occasions, which they called *Lityerses*, from *Lityerses* son of *Midas* king of *Phrygia*. *Hesychius* mentions certain *Phrygian* dances called by him *Bricismata*, without doubt from the word *Briges* the antient name of the *Phrygians*<sup>x</sup>. Some speak of a dance called *Sicinnis*, invented, say they, by a *Phrygian* nymph, and used by the *Phrygians* in honour of *Sabatius*, whom they add to the number of the other *Phrygian* gods<sup>y</sup>. But it is now time to proceed to the history of the *Phrygian* kings.

<sup>f</sup> BOCH. ubi supra.    <sup>t</sup> BOCHAR. ubi supra.    <sup>u</sup> BOCHAR. ubi supra.    <sup>w</sup> BOCHAR. ubi supra.    <sup>x</sup> BOCHAR. ubi supra,    <sup>y</sup> BOCHAR. ubi supra.

by name *Ma*, who being asked by *Juno*, whose child she nursed, answered, that it was the child of *Mars*, whence *Bacchus* in the *Carian* dialect was called *Masaris* or *Masares*, that is, the *Mars* of *Ma*.

## S E C T. IV.

*The reigns of the kings of PHRYGIA.*

**T**HE successions and reigns of the kings of *Phrygia* are overcast with such an impenetrable mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and appears most worthy of credit.

THE first king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in history is *Nannacus*, *Annacus*, or *Cannacas*, for he bore all these appellations. *Suidas*<sup>a</sup> says, that he reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*, and that from thence things exceeding antient were proverbially said, *to be from the time of Nannacus*. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above three hundred years old he sent to enquire of all such oracles as were in any repute how long he should live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove there with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence *to weep like Nannacus*, became a trite expression to signify any extraordinary grief or sorrow<sup>x</sup>. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* ensued, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

*Midas* appears next, of whom all we can say is, that he resided at *Pessinus*, and designed to dispose of his daughter, by name *Ia*, in marriage to *Attis* or *Atys*, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the *Midas* who built, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us<sup>y</sup>, a magnificent temple at *Pessinus*, and appointed yearly sacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. *Hyginus* seems to make him the son of *Cybele*<sup>z</sup>.

THE next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* informs us, of such prowess and virtue, that the word *Manic*, derived from his name, became synonymous with *Great*, whence *Manic achievements*, were among the *Phrygians* the same as *great, glorious, heroic achievements*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Verbo *Ανακος*.<sup>x</sup> *SUID.* ubi supra. *ERASM.* Chiliad.<sup>y</sup> *DIODOR. SCIUL.* l.iii. c. 5.<sup>z</sup> *HYGIN.* fab. 191. & 274.<sup>a</sup> *PLUTARCH.* de *Isid.* & *Osirid.* Cent. iii. lxxvii.<sup>b</sup> *ERASM.* Adag. Chiliad. v.



Gordius.

AFTER these reigned *Gordius*, who was raised from the plough to the throne. His rise is related thus <sup>c</sup>: While he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. *Gordius*, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the soothsayers of *Telmessus*, a city in *Lydia*, about this so extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the *Telmessians*. At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the soothsayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was presaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herself ready to share with him, in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the *Phrygians*, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this the *Phrygians* having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their ambassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*, was by the gods designed for their king. The ambassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud shouts of joy proclaimed king of *Phrygia*. *Gordius*, acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, in memory of so signal a favour, consecrated in his temple the cart to *regal majesty*, which not by the *Phrygians* only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot, woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who should untie it; which *Alexander the Great* having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. We know nothing more of *Gordius*, but that he built the city of *Gordium*, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family. *Plutarch* writes <sup>d</sup>, that his son *Midas* was born of the goddess worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. xii. JUSTIN. l. xi. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. *ÆLIAN*. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. <sup>d</sup> PLUTARCH. in vita *Cæsaris*.

*Bona Dea* ; but whether she was wife to *Gordius* is much questioned by the mythologists (Y).

*Gordius* was succeeded by his son *Midas*, of whom it is recorded, that when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth ; whereupon the oracles being consulted, returned answer, that immense riches were presaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the antients as one of the richest princes that ever reigned<sup>e</sup>. *Strabo*<sup>f</sup> says, that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on mount *Bermius*. He is greatly commended by some writers for the comeliness of his person, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by *Orpheus* in the mysteries of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new deities, temples, priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices<sup>g</sup>. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother, brought the

*Midas II.*

<sup>e</sup> CIC. l. i. de Divin. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6. ÆLIAN. Vit. H. l. xii. c. 15. <sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. p. 680. <sup>g</sup> ARRIAN. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xi.

(Y) *Midas* the son of *Gordius*, according to *Ælian* and *Arrian* (64), was the first king of the *Gordian* family that reigned in *Phrygia*. They tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having inquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their intestine broils, received for answer, that a cart would bring them a king who should restore their country to its former tranquillity ; and that while they were musing on this answer, *Midas* came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But most writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the *Gordian* family with *Gordius* himself. *Justin* (65) makes *Midas* king of the *Brigians* in *Macedonia* ; and adds, that being driven from his own territories he retired into *Asia Minor*, where the *Brigians* with a small alteration were termed *Phrygians*. According to this writer then the *Phrygians*, under the conduct of *Midas*, migrated out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and of course there were no *Phrygians* in *Asia* before *Midas* ; how then could his father *Gordius* reign in *Phrygia*, and be raised to the throne from so mean a condition, as *Justin* himself relates ? As to the *Gordian* knot, some authors say, that it was of the bark of a cornel-tree, and that it fastened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

(64) ÆLIAN. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. ARRIAN. l. iii. (65) JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 7.

*Phrygians*



*Phrygians* by degrees to worship her as a goddess<sup>h</sup>. He built the town of *Ancyra*<sup>1</sup>, where an anchor of his contrivance was to be seen in the temple of *Jupiter*, when *Pausanias* travelled through *Greece*<sup>k</sup>. He is said to have reigned not over *Phrygia* only, but also *Dardania*<sup>l</sup>. *Cleobulus Lindus*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph<sup>m</sup>, which is falsely ascribed by some to *Homer*<sup>n</sup>. His wife, by name *Hermodica*, is celebrated by *Heracides*<sup>o</sup> in regard of her beauty and wisdom, and said to have been the first that taught the inhabitants of *Cyme* to coin money. By her *Midas* had three sons, *Gordius*, *Ancharas*, and *Otreus*; his fourth son *Lityerses*, was a bastard (Z).

AFTER

<sup>h</sup> SUIDAS ἑλνυος. <sup>1</sup> NONNUS, in orat. 30. GREG. NAZ. PAUSAN. in Atticis. SUIDAS Μιδας. <sup>k</sup> PAUSAN. ubi supra. <sup>l</sup> L. SERVIUS in Æneid. II. <sup>m</sup> PLATO in Phædro. LAERT. in Cleob. <sup>n</sup> PLUTARCH. in vita, & anthologium PLANUDIS. <sup>o</sup> HERACLIDES in Politis.

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of *Midas* more famous than the Greek proverb *Μιδας ὄντ ὠτα*, that is *Midas has asses ears*; but what gave rise to that saying is variously reported. The poets tell us, that in a trial of skill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, both famous musicians and rivals in that art, *Midas* gave sentence in favour of the former, whereupon *Apollo* clapt a pair of asses ears on his head; this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at last it was unfortunately discovered by his barber and made public. Others say, that *Midas* having offered an affront to *Bacchus*, was by the incensed deity metamorphosed into an ass. *Conon* in his first narration (66) tells us, that *Midas*, having found a treasure, became very rich; that being instructed by *Orpheus* on mount *Pierius*, he got himself by various artifices proclaimed king of the *Brigians*; that in his reign *Silenus* appeared on mount *Brime*; that whatever *Midas* touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making use of this prodigy, he persuaded his subjects to remove out of *Europe* into that country which lies on the *Hellepont*; that he settled in *Myssa*, and there changed the name of his subjects, calling them no more *Brigians*, but *Phrygians*. He adds, that *Midas* had a great many spies dispersed up and down the country, by whose information he knew whatever his subjects did or said, whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of his subjects daring to enter into any plot or conspiracy against him. His knowing by this means whatever his subjects spoke of him occasioned the saying, that *Midas had long ears*; and as asses are said to be endowed with the

(66) *Conon. apud Phot. Biblioth.*

sense

AFTER *Midas* reigned his eldest son *Gordius*, but all we *Gordius* can say of him is, that he surrounded the town of *Gordium* II. with a wall <sup>p</sup>. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus <sup>q</sup>; during the reign of his father *Midas* the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and swallowed up great part of the city *Celæne*; whereupon *Midas*, having recourse to his oracles, understood, that the opening would not close till the most valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This answer was no sooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, silver, jewels, and whatever else of any value came to their hands, was gladly sacrificed to the common safety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with present destruction, when *Ancharus*, considering with himself that nothing in the world was of such value as a human soul, embraced his father, took leave of his wife *Timothea*, and mounting on horseback rid full speed into the opening which immediately closed. His example was long after followed in a parallel case by *Curtius* the *Roman*.

*Otreus* is stiled by *Homer* \* king of all *Phrygia*, and said to *Otreus*. have been contemporary with *Anchises*, whence we may conclude, that he succeeded his brother *Gordius*.

*Lityerses* reigned at *Celæne*, and is described as a rustic, *Lityerses*. unsociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Sositheus* the tragedian paints him as one of an insatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baskets

<sup>p</sup> STEPHANUS, p. 99. <sup>q</sup> PLUTARCH. in Parall. STOBÆUS, Serm. 7. \* HOMER. in hymnis.

sense of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was also said to have *asses ears*; but in process of time, what was taken in a metaphorical sense began to run current in the world for truth. *Tully* (67) relates, that *Silenus*, being taken prisoner by *Midas*, instead of paying gold for his ransom, taught the king, that the greatest happiness was not to be born, and next to that to die soon. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining *Bacchus* he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by some, as if he had been extremely covetous, studying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(67) *Tuscul. Quest. l. i.* (68) *Maximus Tyrius Serm. 3. Joan. Tzetzes hist. 2. Isaacus Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophrontis. p. 377. Fulgenius, l. ii. Natalis Comes Mythol. l. ix. c. 15. Greg. Sabinus in lib. xi. Metamorph.*



of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleasure in agriculture, and used often to labour in the fields like a common husband-man. But as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he used to oblige such as happened to pass by while he was reaping to join with him in the work, and then cutting off their heads for their pains bind up their bodies in the sheaves. For these and such like cruelties he was put to death by *Hercules*, and his body thrown into the *Mæander*<sup>r</sup>. However, his memory was cherished by the reapers of *Phrygia* (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn, from him called *Lityrses*, sung in harvest-time in honour of their fellow-labourer<sup>r</sup>.

**Midas III** *Midas* III. was king of all *Phrygia*, but whose son he was, or whom he succeeded, is what we find no where recorded. He was an usurper, and seized on the crown in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended with a numerous band of *Phrygians*, playing on all sorts of musical instruments; but at the same time, as they were privy to their master's design, with swords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity and not suspecting any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conspirators, all on a sudden throwing away their musical instruments, fell upon the multitude sword in hand, seized the city, and, in that terror and confusion nobody daring to oppose them, proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia*<sup>r</sup>.

**Gordius III.**

*Midas* III. was succeeded by *Gordius* III. perhaps his son. He is mentioned by *Herodotus*<sup>u</sup> as father to *Midas*, and that is all we can say of him. *Herodotus* does not stile him king, but as his son reigned, it is not unlikely, that he held the crown before him.

**Midas IV.**

*Midas* IV. son of *Gordius*, was the first among foreign princes that sent donations to the oracle at *Delphi*; he presented that deity with the royal seat or tribunal, from whence he used to administer justice. *Herodotus*, in whose time it was still to be seen, commends it as a piece of most exquisite workmanship<sup>w</sup>: at that time it stood by the golden cups, with which *Gyges* king of *Lydia* had presented the same oracle; for after *Midas* *Gyges* was the first of the *Barbarians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, who sent presents to *Delphi*<sup>x</sup>. Perhaps

<sup>r</sup> *ATHENÆUS*, l. x. c. i. *SUIDAS* Διούργος. *POLLUX*. l. iv.  
<sup>r</sup> *THEOCRITUS* Eidill. x. *ERASM.* Adag. Chiliad. iii. Cent. iv.  
 Ad. lxxv. <sup>r</sup> *POLYÆNUS*, lib. vii. <sup>u</sup> *HERODOT.* lib. i.  
<sup>w</sup> *HERODOT.* l. i. <sup>x</sup> *HERODOT.* ubi supra.

this *Midas* was succeeded by another *Gordius*, for we find that the kings of *Phrygia* took alternatively the names of *Gordius* and *Midas*.

*Midas* V. lived in most calamitous times, when the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia Minor*, possessed themselves of *Sardis*, and made a most dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Patlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Midas* not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought best to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood <sup>1</sup>. And this is the first time that we find this sort of death mentioned in history; his example was followed long after by *Psammetitus* king of *Egypt*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. *Plutarch* <sup>2</sup> says, that *Midas* thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these in all likelihood were occasioned from the terror and consternation he was in, at the approach of so dreadful and merciless an enemy. *Midas* had two sons, *Adrastus*, and another whose name is not mentioned in history. *Adrastus*, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life-time, and being thereupon banished *Phrygia*, repaired to the court of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, who not only purified him, according to the custom of those days, from the blood he had innocently shed, but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, assuring him, he should want for nothing that *Cræsus* could give him. *Adrastus* complied with his request, and being entrusted with the education of the king's favourite son by name *Atys*, he unfortunately killed him too at a chase; which so grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himself, though *Cræsus* had generously forgiven him <sup>3</sup>. In him ended the royal family of *Phrygia*, which became a province of the *Lydian* monarchy, and continued in that state till *Cræsus* was conquered and all *Lydia* reduced by *Cyrus*, as we shall relate in the history of *Lydia*.

*Midas* V.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2447.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
552.

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. l. i. EUSTATHIUS in odyss. λ  
in Q. Flaminio.

<sup>2</sup> HERODOT. ubi supra.

<sup>3</sup> PLUTARCH.



## S E C T. V.

## The History of PHRYGIA MINOR.

THE tract we commonly call *Phrygia Minor* was anciently stiled *Troas*, *Teucria*, and *Dardania*, from kings that reigned in that country. It was also named *Idæa* from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, who were masters of great part of it, some say before, others after, the destruction of *Troy*; the epithet of *Minor* was added to distinguish it from the other *Phrygia* where *Midas* reigned, as *Eustathius* expresses himself<sup>a</sup>. In the reign of king *Priam* the name of *Troas* generally prevailed.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime called *Hellepontica* and the mediterranean termed *Epietetus*. The former borrowed its name from the *Hellepont*, and extended along the coast from the town of *Percote* to the promontory *Lectum* or *Lecton*, opposite to the north side of the island of *Lesbos*. This part was properly called *Troas* or *Troja*, though the *Trojan* kingdom extended from the river *Æsopus* to the banks of the *Caicus*<sup>b</sup>, including not only *Troas* but also the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Epietetus*, or the inland part of *Phrygia Minor*, extended to the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus* in the *Greater Mysia*. This part at first belonged to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who yielded it, by agreement, to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, whence it was called *Epietetus*, that is, *acquired*. However, these appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all *Phrygia Minor* (A).

*Phrygia Minor*, as precisely as we can gather, lay between the forty and forty second degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not

<sup>a</sup> EUSTATH. in Dionys. ver. 810. 582.

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xiii. p.

(A) *Strabo* sometimes distinguishes *Troas Hellepontica* from *Epietetus*, and sometimes confounds them; nay, he often makes *Epietetus* part of *Phrygia Major* (69), wherein he agrees with *Ptolemy*. *Eustathius* distinguishes three *Phrygias*, viz. the *Greater*, where *Midas* reigned, extending as far as *Pisidia*; the *Lesser* lying on the *Hellepont*, and from thence reaching to mount *Olympus*; the third he calls *Epietetus*, and places it near *Dorylæum*.

(69) *Strab. l. xii. p. 374. 388. 393.*

pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may say, that *Phrygia Minor*, as comprehending both the *Hellepontica* and *Epietetus*, was bounded by the *Propontis* on the north, by the *Ægean* sea on the south, by *Mysia Minor* on the east, and the *Hellepont* on the west.

ON the coast where the cities of *Percote*, *Abydos*, *Arifsa*, *Dardanium*, *Rhœteum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy*, or *Ilium*, *Larissa*, *Colona*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, &c. *Percote* is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and *Homer*, who mentions one *Merops* and his two sons as being of this city <sup>c</sup>. *Abydos* was built by the *Milesians* on the *Hellepont*, and became famous for the poetical story of *Hero* and *Leander*. Here it was that *Xerxes* began his bridge so much talked of, over which in seven days and seven nights he marched according to *Herodotus*, seventeen hundred thousand foot and fourscore thousand horse, exclusive of the camels and carriages. Here all *Alexander's* cavalry and most of his infantry landed, under the command of *Parmenio*, on their passing out of *Europe* into *Asia*. The geographers are generally of opinion that the castles of the *Dardanelles* were built on the ruins of *Sestos* and *Abydos*; but they are manifestly mistaken, for the castles are directly opposite to each other, whereas *Sestos* was a great way nearer the *Propontis* than *Abydos*; and *Strabo* <sup>d</sup> reckons 3750 paces from the port of *Abydos* to that of *Sestos*. Besides, there are no remains of antiquity to be seen near the castles, but very remarkable ones three miles farther, where the channel is considerably narrower <sup>e</sup> (B). *Arifsa*, the place appointed for the

*Cities of  
Phrygia  
Minor.*

<sup>c</sup> HOMER. *Iliad*. A. ver. 229. <sup>d</sup> STRAB. l. xiii. <sup>e</sup> TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant. SPON. voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.

(B) The *Hellepont*, every one knows, signifies *the sea of Helle*; for the antients tell us, that a daughter of *Atbamas* king of *Thebes*, whose name was *Helle*, was drowned in that channel as she was carrying the golden fleece to *Colchis* with her brother *Phryxus* (70). The name of *Dardanelles* is probably derived from *Dardanium*, an ancient city not far from the castles bearing that name. This strait was antiently called the *Hellepont* and the strait of *Abydos*; but now it goes under the following names, *the strait of Gallipoli*, *the channel of the Dardanelles*, *the arm of St. George*; from a famous church of *St. George* in a village called *Peristafis* not far from *Gallipoli*: It is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Bogbas*, or *strait of the white sea*. The mouth of the channel is

(70) *Eustath. in Dionys. p. 810.*

Y y 2

defended



the general rendezvous of *Alexander's* army, after he had passed the *Hellepont*. *Dardanum*, built by king *Dardanus*, near a promontory, bearing the same name. This city was

defended by two new castles, which *Mahomet IV.* built in 1659. to secure his fleet against the insults of the *Venetians*, who used to attack it in sight of the old castles. The waters, that pass through this strait from out of the *Propontis*, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows no ship can enter, but when 'tis south, the current is scarce perceptible. *Tournefort* (71) tells us, that the mouth of the *Hellepont* is four miles and a half over. But *Le Brun* (72) says, that it is only a mile and a quarter. *Spon* (73) informs us, that where the old castles stand the *Hellepont* is near two miles broad, and that the very name of *Abydo* or *Avido* is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But *Le Brun* assures us (74), that the strait at the old castles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is still called *Sestos*, and the other *Abydo* or *Avido*; he adds, that this sea, where broadest, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narrowest: Among the antients, *Strabo* (75) allows it about a mile in the narrowest place; *Pliny* (76) and *Herodotus* (77), seven furlongs or stadia, and *Polybius* only two (78). Of *Abydos* was *Leander*, who used to swim from thence to *Sestos* to visit his mistress. One night that the sea was very rough, and he near being drowned, *Martial* makes him address the waves thus;

*Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo.*

He is represented on the medals of *Caracalla* and *Alexander Severus*, as conducted by a cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous resistance against *Philip* of *Macedon*, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, chose rather to destroy themselves than submit to the conqueror. *Abydos* was taken by the *Turks* through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiss to observe here, that what *Herodotus* (79) relates of *Xerxes*, viz. that he ordered three hundred lashes to be given to the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it for having broke down the first bridge he built here, is looked upon by some as quite fabulous. *Gilles* (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was first laid to his charge by the *Greek* poets, and that *Herodotus* took the thing too seriously; the 300 lashes, says this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the sea to fix the ships that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters is meant the two iron chains that fastened them together at both ends and on each side.

- (71) *Tournefort. ubi supra.* (72) *Le Brun voyage au Levant.*  
 (73) *Spon. ubi supra.* (74) *Le Brun, ubi supra.* (75) *Strab. l. xii.*  
 (76) *Plin. l. viii. c. 32.* (77) *Herodot.*  
*l. vii. c. 34.* (78) *Polybius, l. c.* (79) *Herodot. l. vii.*  
 (80) *De Bosph. Thrac. l. ii. c. 12.*

the

the residence of *Dardanus* and his successor *Erichthonius*. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all *Troas*. Some think, that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. Here *Mithridates* and *Sylla* concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that *Dardanum* was the patrimony of *Æneas*. *Rhæteum*, memorable for the tomb of *Ajax*, who was said to have been interred there<sup>f</sup>. *Sigeum*, seated on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the *Sigean* sea<sup>g</sup>. On this promontory was the tomb of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* honoured with a visit, and in antient times a statue of the same *Achilles*<sup>h</sup> with ear-rings like the statue of a woman, which *Tertullian*<sup>i</sup> interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dress (C).

*Troy* or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it, *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his son *Ilus*. It was seated on a rising ground near mount *Ida*, and about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in *Strabo*'s time, and most of the antient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new *Ilium*. All *Strabo*<sup>k</sup> says of its situation is, that the new *Ilium* or *Troy* was 30 furlongs nearer the shore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander the Great*, remarkable for nothing but a temple of *Minerva*, which that prince visited after defeating *Darius* on the banks of the *Granicus*, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole

<sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. xiii p. 409.

<sup>g</sup> VIRG. ÆNEID. ii. ver. 312.

<sup>h</sup> SALMASIUS *Plinianæ exercitat.* p. 610.

<sup>i</sup> TERTUL. de

pallio.

<sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. xiii.

(C) *Pliny* (81) places not far from hence the the tomb of *Protesilaus* with trees set round it of a very extraordinary nature; for when they are grown up to such a height as to be discovered from *Troy*, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of shooting up and dying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of *Protesilaus*, who in the *Trojan* expedition was the first among the *Greeks* that set foot in *Asia*, and the first that was slain.

(81) *Plin. l. xvi c. 44.*



city to be embellished, which was performed by *Lyfimachus*, one of his generals, who surrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almost reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the *Romans* first entered *Asia*. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient *Trojans*, no cost nor pains was spared to restore it to its antient lustre, especially in the time of the *Cæsars*. *Cæsar Augustus* sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many stately buildings, and enriched it with most ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be seen at present. *Bellonius*<sup>1</sup> tells us, that in his time the walls were yet standing with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he spent four hours in compassing them, partly on horseback, and partly on foot. He observed round the walls a great many marble tombs of most exquisite workmanship, with their covers entire. Two of these were still remaining when Mr. *Spon*<sup>m</sup> visited those places, who informs us, that they were in the style of the antient *Romans*, and not unlike those that are to be seen at *Arles*; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that *Troy* which was rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Bellonius* likewise observed the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the shore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large cisterns to receive the rain-water. As to the so much celebrated rivers *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them small brooks, and adds, that in summer-time they are quite dry. But *Sandys*<sup>n</sup> thinks, they are not so contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them, who perhaps mistook others for them. *Spon*<sup>o</sup> observed on the south of the haven three columns lying among the bryars, of which two were entire, and each of one single piece, being thirty foot long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. *Le Brun*<sup>p</sup> speaks of great remains of a most noble structure which he visited at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty five feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thickness with fourteen gates of a competent size; the vestiges of this magnificent structure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth.

<sup>1</sup> *BELLONIUS*, l. ii. c. 6.*DYS*, l. i.<sup>m</sup> *SPON*, ubi supra,<sup>o</sup> *SPON*, voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.*BRUN*, voyag. du Levant.<sup>n</sup> *SAN-*<sup>p</sup> *LE*

Our author thinks, that these ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever saw. The harbour of *Troy*, so much spoke of by the antients, is now quite choaked up with sand; however, there are still to be seen fragments of columns, to which they fastened their ships and gallies, and as these were placed round it, *Spon* thinks, that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to antient *Ilium*, we shall have occasion to speak of it more at length in the reign of king *Priam*, when it was taken and laid in ashes by the *Greeks* after a ten years siege.

*Troas Alexandria* was situated between the promontories of *Lectum* and *Sigeum*, and is named by *Stephanus* in the second place among the eighteen cities, which were so called from *Alexander*. It is sometimes named *Alexandria* without the appellation of *Troas*, and sometimes *Troas* without that of *Alexandria*, or *Alexandrea*, which has made some think, that *Alexandria* and *Troas* were two different cities. Its first name was *Antigonia* from its founder *Antigonus*, which was afterwards changed by *Lyfimachus* into that of *Alexandria* in honour of *Alexander*<sup>1</sup>. This is supposed to be the place meant by the apostle *Acts* xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the *Turks* *Eski-Stamboul*. These are the chief cities on the coast, the others are but of small account, and therefore we shall dwell no longer on this subject.

Of the rivers that watered *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*, we shall only mention the *Scamander* and *Simois*, rivers, as *Mela* writes<sup>2</sup>, greater by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* rises from mount *Ida*, and, having received within its banks, not far from *Troy*, the *Simois*, discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, over-against the island of *Tenedos*. It is said by *Herodotus* to have been drunk up by the army of *Xerxes*. *Pliny*<sup>3</sup> calls it a navigable river, and distinguishes it from the *Xanthus*, though it is certain that these are but two different appellations of one and the same river. Its original name was *Scamander*; but it was afterwards called also *Xanthus*, because it was believed to communicate a yellowish tincture to the sheep that drank its waters<sup>4</sup>. *Homer* tells us<sup>5</sup>, that it was named *Scamander* by the gods and *Xanthus* by men, where according to his custom he ascribes the most antient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river

<sup>1</sup> PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 408. <sup>2</sup> POM-  
PON. MELA, l. i. c. 18. <sup>3</sup> PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. <sup>4</sup> ÆLIAN.  
de animal. l. viii. c. 21. ubi sequester de fluminibus. MAXI-  
MUS TYRIUS Serm. 12. <sup>5</sup> Iliad xx. ver. 74.



was honoured by *Hesiod* with the title of *divine Scamander*. It was a custom among the *Phrygian* brides to bathe themselves before marriage in this river, using on that occasion the following words, *Receive, O Scamander, my virginity*. Which opportunity one *Cimon* an *Athenian* taking hold of, under the disguise of a river-god deflowered *Callirhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occasioned the abrogating of that superstitious ceremony.

THE *Simois* springs likewise out of mount *Ida*, falls into the *Scamander* near *Ilium*, and discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, as we said already. Whatever these rivers were in antient times, they are at present but small brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

IDA is the only mountain of this country that deserves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills than a single one; for it extends from the city of *Zeieia*, near the borders of *Mysia Minor*, to the promontory *Lectum*. We are told by the poets, that *Paris* on this hill, being chosen judge by the three contending goddesses, decided the controversy in favour of *Venus*, which, say they, occasioned the destruction of *Troy*.

Soil and  
climate.

THE soil of this country was antiently reckoned among the most fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requisite for the pleasures of life, and yielded to no spot that lay under the same happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting signs and sufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers describe the *Asiatic* coast of the *Hellepont* as a most beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all sorts of grain <sup>w</sup>.

Tenedos.

OVER-AGAINST *Troy* lay *Tenedos* about two leagues from the shore, and formed the *Trojan* harbour. As all the splendor and magnificence of this island stood and fell with *Troy*, it will not be improper to insert here a succinct account of it. All antient writers agree, that this island was first called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos* from one *Tenes* or *Tennes*, who brought a colony thither from the continent. *Tennes* was son to *Cygnus* king of *Coloneæ* in *Troas*, and is described by *Diodorus Siculus* \* as a man of great probity and justice, having been greatly beloved by his subjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The antient inhabitants of *Tenedos* gave the following account of him, which *Diodorus Siculus* looks upon as fabulous, but *Suidas* and *Pausanias*

<sup>w</sup> TOURNEFORT, ubi supra.  
l. v.

\* DIODOR. SICUL.

seem to credit. *Tennes*, say they, was son of *Cycnus* and *Proclea*, sister to *Galetor*, who was killed by *Ajax* in attempting to burn the ships of *Protesilaus*. *Cycnus*, after the death of his wife *Proclea*, married *Philonome*, who falling in love with her step-son *Tennes*, and finding that she could by no means make him comply with her incestuous desires, complained of him to her husband, as if he had offered violence to her. *Stephanus* adds, that the evidence she produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. *Cycnus* giving more credit to his wife than his son, caused him to be shut up in a chest and thrown into the sea, which carried the chest safe to the island we are speaking of, where *Tennes* was received as sent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his sister by name *Hemithea*, not caring to outlive her brother, was at her own request with him locked up in the chest. Some time after *Cycnus*, being convinced of his son's innocence, failed to *Tenedos* to crave his pardon, and express the concern he was in for so hasty and inhuman a resolution. But *Tennes* instead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which fastened his father's ship to the shore. This hatchet was carried by *Periclytus*, a citizen of *Tenedos*, to *Delphos*, and there lodged in the temple of *Apollo*. The *Tenedians* caused two others to be made resembling this in shape and size, which they consecrated in the temple of their city. These adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the antients (D).

## SECT.

(D) The one is *Τένειδος αὐλητής*, that is, the *Tenedian player on the flute*, a saying used by the antients to reproach a false evidence. The other *Τένειδος πύλαρις*, that is, the *Tenedian Ax*, an expression used to signify a quick and an unalterable resolution (82). *Aristotle*, cited by *Stephanus*, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a king of *Tenedos* having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. *Stephanus* adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of *Tennes* and his sister *Hemithea*, others of *Jupiter* and some *Amazon*, who might have founded a city in *Tenedos*. The ax on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. *Suidas* tells us, that

(82) *Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. iv. Cent. 1.*



## S E C T. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the TROJANS.

Antiquity.

THE inhabitants of *Lesser Phrygia* or *Trojans*, so called from *Troy* the metropolis of that country, were without all doubt a very antient people; but as to their original there is a great disagreement among authors.

Some

*Tennes* after he was settled on the throne of *Tenedos* ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials with an *ax* in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence *Τένεδιος ἄνθρωπος*, *Τένεδιος συνήγορος*, that is, *A man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos*, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity (83). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of *Troy*. It was within sight of that powerful city, as *Virgil* observes (84); he supposes, that the *Greeks* concealed themselves behind this island when they feigned to raise the siege. After the fall of *Troy*, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as *Pausanias* observes. *Tenedos* was one of the first conquests of the *Persians*, after the overthrow of the *Ionians* at the isle of *Lada* (85). It was reduced by the *Athenians*, or at least sided with them against the *Lacedemonians*, since *Nicolochus* admiral of *Lacedemon* ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it in spite of the vigilance of the *Athenian* generals. The *Romans* enjoyed *Tenedos* in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by *Verres*, who, as *Tully* informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of *Tennes* founder of the city (86). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Smynthius*, of which idol we shall have occasion to speak presently. There are no ruins to be seen at *Tenedos* except those of the granaries, which *Justinian* caused to be built as a repository for the corn that was brought from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the *Dardanelles*. These magazines, as *Procopius* informs us, were two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muscate wine of this island is the most delicious of all the *Levant*, and

(83) *Suidas, Erasmus, ubi supra. Cic. lib. ii. Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. Tournefort, voyag. au Lev.* (84) *Virg. Æneid. l. ii.*

(85) *Herodot. l. vi.* (86) *Cic. pro Manil. pro Muræna pro Arch. poeta.* (87) *Procop. de Ædific. Justin. l. v. c. 1.*

though

Some make them *Samothracians* by descent, others *Greeks*, and tell us that *Teucer*, according to them the first king of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*, and lord of a village named *Axonus*. Some derive them from the island of *Crete*, from whence they suppose *Phrygia Minor* to have been peopled; but these are again divided among themselves as to the leader of this colony, some bestowing that honour on *Teucer*, others on *Dardanus*. Some will have them descended from the *Arcadians*, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from *Italy*, which opinion, though destitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as most redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart* <sup>1</sup> thinks, that *Lesser Phrygia* was planted by *Ashkenaz Gomer's* eldest son, there being the footsteps of his name in the *Ascanian* lake, and a river called *Ascanius* with a bay of the same name in *Bithynia*, and likewise in a city named *Ascania* in *Lesser Phrygia*, with isles on the coast named the *Ascanian* islands: He also observes, that, besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Hom*er mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by *Ashkenaz* out of *Greater Phrygia*, where his Father had settled, into *Troas* or *Lesser Phrygia*, and that by this colony and their descendants that tract of country was peopled, which from the *Ægean* sea extends along the coast of the *Hellepont* and *Propontis*, to the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Axenus*, as it was first called by the *Greeks*, which he supposes to be a corruption for the *sea of Ashkenaz*. He observes, that the scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*. And to prove, that the *Ashkenaz* mentioned in scripture were the people of these parts, he shews out of *Xenophon* <sup>2</sup>, that *Hystaspes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellepont*, brought from thence many of the horse and other soldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the siege of *Babylon*. But whoever was the progenitor of the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that in process of time

<sup>1</sup> Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9.<sup>2</sup> Cyropæd. l. vii.

though it is not celebrated by the antients as that of *Scio* and *Lesbos*, yet it may be proved from several medals, that *Tenedos* has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, since on the reverse of some medals of that island is to be seen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication, that it was in antient times famed for this production.



their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of *Myfians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*, who settled among them, and were reckoned of the same descent with the antient proprietors.

*Govern-  
ment.*

As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from *Dardanus* to *Priam* we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at first, like most others, parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of *Cygnus*, *Pandarus*, *Eurypius*, and other princes of small territories within the limits of *Lesser Phrygia*<sup>a</sup>. But all these were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; insomuch, that *Strabo*<sup>b</sup> enumerates no fewer than nine small kingdoms or principalities subject to *Troy*, besides the island of *Lesbos*. And this is what drew out the *Trojan* war to such a length, for all these countries were to be subdued before *Troy* could be invested. *Diodorus Siculus*, informs us<sup>c</sup>, that the *Trojans* were subdued by *Ninus*; but *Philostratus* tells us in express terms, that they were allies, and no ways vassals or tributaries to the *Assyrians*. The *Trojan* kings seem to have been absolute and no ways controlable by the subject. But we shall have occasion to resume this subject when we come to their history.

We have no particular system of their laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

*Religion.*

As to the religion of the *Trojans*, it was in substance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, which we have already described. Their principal deities seem to have been *Cybele*, or, as they stiled her, *the great mother of the Gods*, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into *Troas* from *Crete* by *Teucer*, lord of that island and the progenitor of the *Trojans*<sup>d</sup>. She was chiefly worshipped on the hills of *Ida*, *Dindymus*, *Berecynthus*, and *Cybele*, whence she borrowed her name. *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy* called *Pergamus*. In this temple, and by this god, *Homer* feigns, that *Æneas* was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with *Diomedes* were cured by *Latona* and *Diana*, *Apollo's* mother and sister. *Minerva* or *Pallas*, from whose temple *Virgil* pathetically describes *Cassandra* dragged by the victorious *Greeks*, while the city was in flames<sup>e</sup>. The famous *Palladium* was a wooden statue of this goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived as to move them, and at the same time roll

<sup>a</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. STRAB. l. xiii.

<sup>b</sup> lib. xiii.

<sup>c</sup> ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> VIRGIL. ÆNEID iii.

<sup>e</sup> ÆNEID. ii.

her eyes in a threatening manner. We are told, that, while the *Trojans* were erecting a temple to *Pallas* in their citadel, this statue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being consulted returned answer, that the city of *Troy* could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* got privately into the castle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the *Trojans* of their main Defence enabled the *Greeks* to take the city. All the *Roman* writers assure us, that this *Palladium* was brought into *Italy*, by *Æneas*, and lodged first at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at last removed to *Rome*, and deposited there in the temple of *Vesta* under the care of the vestals and the *Nautian* family. The *Romans* were so strongly possessed with the false notion, that the city, which was blest with this valuable treasure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that *Metellus*, seeing the temple of *Vesta* all in flames, ventured his life without the least hesitation to rescue this sacred depositum, and was on that score thanked by the senate and people of *Rome*, as if he had saved the republic. The *Romans* universally believed themselves masters of the true *Palladium*, but could never shew how they came by it. For to say, that it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the same as to deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the *Greeks* before they entered *Troy*, how could *Æneas* bring it into *Italy* (E).

*Venus*

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the antients as to the *Trojan Palladium*. Some tell us (88), that a king of *Phrygia Major* presented *Ilus* with a pied ox, warning him at the same time to build a city where the ox should lie down; that *Ilus* followed him, and in the place where he lay down built a city, calling it from his own name *Ilium*. They add, that *Ilus*, having desired *Jupiter* to signify his approbation by some visible token, found the *Palladium* next morning before his tent. Others say (89), that *Chrysis* daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*, brought him the *Palladium* as part of her fortune; that *Dardanus* first erected a temple in *Samothrace* to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into *Phrygia* on the *Hellepont*. *Lycophron* seems to insinuate, that the *Palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddess, for he calls *Ulysses* Δελφωόσημον κλοπα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). *Johannes Antiochenus*, *Eusebius*, and others say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin (91) *Julius*

(88) *Apollod. l. iii.*

(89) *Vide Rosin. Roman. Antiquitat.*

p. 147.

(90) *Seldenus de dis Syris Syntag. 2.*

(91) *Sel-*

*den. ubi supra. Syntag. 1.*

*Firmicus*



*Venus* also is counted among the *Trojan* deities, but as to *Vesta*, whom *Æneas* is said by the poets to have carried into *Italy*, with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at *Troy*. She was indeed worshipped all over *Greece*, where there was not one city, but could shew a temple dedicated to this goddess with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made some think, that the rites and ceremonies of *Vesta* were introduced into *Italy* by the *Greeks*, and not by the *Trojans* <sup>f</sup>.

AMONG the other *Trojan* deities we find mention made of *Apollo Sminthius*, so stiled from the *Phrygian* word *Sminthos* signifying a *field-mouse*. We are told <sup>g</sup>, that this sort of vermin made such a devastation in the fields of *Troas*, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessful, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which answered, that they should be delivered from that plague if they sacrificed to *Sminthian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in *Amaxito* a city of *Troas* to their pretended deliverer, addressing him under the title of *Sminthian Apollo*. Others <sup>h</sup> relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of *Troas* worshipped mice for having on a certain occasion gnawed the bow-

<sup>f</sup> PRUDENTIUS contra Symmach. l. ii. sect. viii. <sup>g</sup> STRAB. l. xiii. ÆLIAN, vit. H. l. iv. <sup>h</sup> POLEMO apud Clem. Protrept.

*Firminus* (92), *Clemens* (93) and *Arnobius* (94), tell us, that the *Gentiles* believed it to have been made of the bones of *Pelops*. According to the common opinion it was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but some tell us, that the true *Palladium* never fell into the hands of the *Greeks*, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape and size exposed to public adoration; this, say they, was carried off by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the true *Palladium* remained in *Troy* till *Æneas* removed it from thence to *Lavinium*. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true *Palladium*, and putting it, as it were, upon the same level with a false one, since it was not able to save the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, suppose, that the *Greeks* returned the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, or rather to *Æneas*, being warned so to do by the oracles. But we shall have occasion to examine in the course of this history the truth of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Italy*, and add something relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may observe, that there was another *Palladium* of great fame worshipped at *Athens*, which *Nicias* had placed in the castle of that city.

(92) *De errore profanar. religion. c. xvi.*  
(94) *Adversus gentes, l. iv.*

(93) *In protrept.*

strings

strings of their enemies, and thereby secured a complete victory to the *Phrygians*. The worship of *Apollo Sminthius* was introduced into *Myfia*, the isle of *Tenedos*, and other countries; for *Strabo*<sup>1</sup> tells us, that a mouse was engraved at the foot of *Apollo's* statue in a temple of *Chrysa* a city of *Myfia*, to unfold the reason of his being surnamed *Sminthian*; he adds, that the statue was done by *Scopas* a celebrated statuary of *Paros*. The same author, in speaking of the isle of *Tenedos*, says, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Sminthian Apollo* (F). As to the religious customs and ceremonies of the *Trojans* we are almost quite in the dark; but we may suppose them to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

THE character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were *Character.* a brave and warlike people; and in this we shall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king *Priam*, when they withstood for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all *Greece*. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes; for we do not find in their history any kind of intestine broils, or plots, or conspiracies against the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

WE can say nothing particular touching the customs of the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they *Customs, language, &c.* are celebrated by the antients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they arose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence, those great encouragers of arts and industry. Their language was in all likelihood the same with that spoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, and perhaps in all that tract, which was afterwards known by the name of *Asia Proper*, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue with some variation of dialect.

THEIR trade we can only guess at from their situation, *Trade.* which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and must have abounded in all things

<sup>1</sup> ubi supra.

(F) *Tournefort* (95) mentions two medals of *Tenedos*, the one with *Apollo's* head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverse the same ax with two mice.

(96) *Tournefort Voyage au Levant.*

necessary



necessary for life, since it could support for many years together two very considerable armies, as we shall see in the following section. Their settlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Sicily* <sup>k</sup>, in *Italy* <sup>l</sup>, in *Egypt* <sup>m</sup>, and in *Afric* <sup>n</sup>, are a convincing proof, that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navigation, which in all likelihood were the sources of the riches, splendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the states round them.

## S E C T. VII.

*The reigns of the TROJAN kings.*

**T**ROAS or *Phrygia Minor* was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*; for *Servius* names out of *Nero's Troica* one *Cynthus* king of *Troas* long before *Teucer*. But as the *Trojan* history of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were lost labour to make a narrow search into it. It is no less uncertain which of the two abovesaid princes reigned first, some writers giving the precedency to *Teucer*, others to *Dardanus*; and truly this is so dark and obscure a subject, that every one may say what he lists. We shall follow the most common opinion, and begin with *Teucer*, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of so perplexed a cause.

Teucer.

*Teucer*, the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river *Scamander* and mount *Ida*, ruled over all *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*. He is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no where specified. Having no issue male he married his only daughter, by some called *Batia*, by others *Asia*, by others *Arisba*, to *Dardanus*, settling therewithal the crown of *Phrygia* on him and his descendants. Those who make *Teucer* a *Phrygian* by birth suppose him to have come to the crown by a lineal descent, and place *Cynthus*, whom we have mentioned above, among his ancestors; so that, according to these writers, *Teucer* was not the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings prior to those of the *Dardanian* family sprung from *Dardanus* and

<sup>k</sup> PAUSANIAS, l. ii. & 5. <sup>l</sup> STRAB. l. vi. <sup>m</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. c. 1. <sup>n</sup> HERODOT. l. iv.

*Batia.* From *Teucer* the country was called *Teucra* and the inhabitants *Teucra* (G).

*Teucer* was succeeded by *Dardanus* the son of *Corytus* or *Corythus*, by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Corytus* was king of *Samothrace*, and had by *Electra* two sons, *Jasius* and *Dardanus*, and one daughter by name *Harmonia*. *Dar-*

*Dardanus.*  
Year of  
the Flood,  
1520.  
Year be-  
fore Christ  
1479.

(G) This is the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, and, as we have hinted, the most common. However, *Virgil*, who had as good means to come at the truth, as any other could have, and very likely did not depart from it, in such things as no ways concerned *Augustus*, makes *Teucer* a *Cretan*, and delivers his opinion as follows :

*Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto ;*  
*Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.*  
*Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.*  
*Maximus inde pater, si rite audita recordor,*  
*Teucus Rhæteas primum est ad-vectus in oras,*  
*Optavitque locum regno ; nondum Ilium, & arces*  
*Pergamæ steterant, habitabant vallibus imis.*  
*Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,*  
*Idæumque nemus ; hinc fida silentia sacris,*  
*Et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones (96).*

*Teucer* then, according to those who follow *Virgil's* opinion, which is ascribed to *Berosus*, was the son of one *Scamander* a native of *Crete*, from which island *Teucer*, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to sea with the third part of the inhabitants in quest of new seats, and arrived at that part of *Phrygia* which lies on the *Hellepont*. Here he landed not far from the *Rhætean* promontory, and being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to settle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the earth. His first care was to raise a temple to *Apollo Sminthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the *Cretan* or *Phrygian* language *Sminthos*. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one *Ida* from a hill of the same name in his native country, and the other *Scamander*, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called *Xanthus* ; whence *Homer* says, that it was called *Xanthus* by the gods and *Scamander* by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more ancient. He likewise introduced the worship of *Cybele* according to the rites that were practised in *Crete*, where that goddess was supposed to have brought forth and nursed *Jupiter*. Some think the authority of *Virgil*, with regard to *Teucer*, to be of very great weight, since it no ways concerned *Augustus* whether *Teucer* was of *Crete*, or not.

(96) *Æncid.* iii. ver. 104.



*danus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Samothrace*, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whose statues his first wife *Chryse* had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince. Insomuch, that *Teucer*, who was stricken in years and had no issue male, invited him over into *Phrygia*, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Batia*, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*, which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the *Paphlagonians*, and, as he was always attended with success, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built two cities, the one he honoured with his own name, styling it *Dardana* or *Dardania*, and this he chose for his royal seat; the other he called *Thymbra* from *Thymbraeus* one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself entirely to religious matters. The *Palladium*, or, as others will have it, the *Palladiums* (H), were by his orders

(H) Some writers tell us, that *Dardanus* had with *Chryse* two *Palladiums* or statues of *Pallas*, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised, that the city in which either of them was kept should never be liable to any disasters. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the words which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following;

*Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere sacra,  
Cœlicolasque illic festis colere atque choreis.  
Munera namque deæ servabis arce reposita  
Palladis; hæc quoniam cepit tua regia conjux,  
Servatura tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.*

One of these, say they, was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the other was brought by *Æneas* into *Italy* (97). But *Varro* (98) tells us, that the *Palladium* was brought to *Rome* by one *Nautes*, and adds, that the priesthood of *Minerva* was hereditary in his family. Others say, that *Diomedes*, after the destruction of *Troy*, being driven by a storm on the coasts of *Italy*,

(97) *Procop de Bell. Goth. l. i. Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophron. p. 146.* (98) *Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium.*

orders brought over into *Phrygia*; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Jasius*, who governed that island in the absence of *Dardanus* (I). *Dardanus* had two wives, the first named

and there ordered by an oracle to return the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, sent it to *Aeneas* by *Nautes*, one of *Aeneas*'s friends and companions.

(I) In what has been said of *Dardanus* we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, *Cedrenus*, *Johannes Tzetzes*, &c. but *Virgil* and the poets to flatter *Augustus* make *Dardanus* son of *Electra* not by *Corytus*, but by *Jupiter*. And as to *Corytus*, they will have him to have been king of *Hetruria*, and not of *Samothrace*. *Virgil* tells us, that *Dardanus* passed out of *Hetruria* into *Samothrace*, and from thence into *Phrygia*. He expresses himself thus (99):

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt ;  
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ:  
Oenotrii coluere viri ; nunc fama, minores  
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.  
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes ; hinc Dardanus ortus,  
Jasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.*

And elsewhere (100).

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)  
Auruncos ita ferre senes ; his ortus ut agris  
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,  
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.  
Hinc illum, Coriti Tyrrhæna ab sede profectum,  
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cæli  
Accipit, &c.*

*Virgil* does not tell us on what occasion *Dardanus* quitted *Tuscany*: But *Annus* informs us, that after the death of *Coritus*, the two brothers *Dardanus* and *Jasius* falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to save himself by flight from the *Tuscans*, and from *Siculus* king of *Spain* and brother to *Electra*, who was come to compose their differences. The same *Annus* gives the name of *Comblombascus* to the father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*, and adds, that the word *Corytus* was a title of dignity. *Apollodorus*, in his fabulous history of the *Greeks*, tells us, that *Jasion*, as he styles him, and *Dardanus* were sons of *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas* and *Jupiter*; that the former, being passionately in love with *Ceres*, and attempting to ravish her, was thunderstruck, and that *Dardanus* was so concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning *Samothrace* his native coun-

(99) *Æneid.* iii. vers. 163. (100) *Æneid.* iv. vers. 205.



named *Chryse* an *Arcadian*, by whom he had two sons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*; the other *Batia*, who likewise bore him two sons, *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idæus* and *Dimas*, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* <sup>o</sup>, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, whence they led colonies into *Asia*, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an island of the *Ionian* sea, which from himself he called *Zacynthus* <sup>p</sup>. *Erichthonius* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, as we shall see anon. As to his sister *Harmonia*, she married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom, whom her brother *Jasus* had initiated in the mysteries of religion. We shall have occasion to speak of her and her husband *Cadmus*, when we come to treat of the *Theban* kingdom. *Dardanus* reigned in *Phrygia* 64 or 65 years, and was succeeded by his son

Erichthonius.

Year of the Flood, 1585.

Year before

Christ

1414.

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Erichthonius, who treading in the footsteps of his father was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than of war, he carefully maintained a good understanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. By his wife *Astyoche* he had but one son named *Tros*. He reigned, according to some, forty six, according to others seventy five years, and dying left the kingdom of *Phrygia* in a most flourishing condition (K).

ON

^o DIONYS. HALICAR. l. i. supra.

^p DIONYS. HALICAR. ubi

try, he retired to the opposite continent, where he was kindly received by *Teucer* king of *Phrygia*. *Isaacus Tzetzes* (9) thinks, that *Dardanus* was forced by an inundation to leave *Samothrace*. As to *Atlas* the father of *Eleëtra*, some say, that he was king of *Mauritania*, others of *Samothrace*, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to *Corytus* who had by her *Chryse* first wife to *Dardanus*. *Boccace* (10) is of opinion, that *Atlas* was neither an *African*, nor a *Samothracian*, but an *Italian*. The want of good authorities in this point of antient history has given every one leave to say what he pleased.

(K) *Apollodorus* tells us, that *Erichthonius* had an elder brother, by name *Ilus*, who died before his father, and a sister called *Idæa*, who married *Phineus* II. king of the *Thracian Thyni*, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the history of *Thrace*. As the name of *Erichthonius* is entirely *Greek*, some have concluded from

(9) In *Apollonium*.

(10) *De gen. deor.* l. iv. c. 8.

thence,

ON the death of *Erichthonius*, *Tros* ascended the throne, *Tros*. and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became soon the most famous of all *Asia*. This grand work being at last finished, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city. Why *Tantalus* was omitted we know not; but he highly resented such a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and soon after had a fair opportunity of shewing his resentment. For *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father *Tros*, being sent by him with a splendid retinue to carry presents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in passing through the territories of *Tantalus* was not only detained, but abused by that vitious and impious king (L). This indignity the generous

1631.

Before

Christ

1368.

thence, that the *Greek* tongue began very early to prevail in *Phrygia*; which argument would be of no small weight, could they but prove, that *Erichthonius* was that prince's original or *Phrygian* name, and not a *Greek* translation thereof; for the *Greeks*, as *Plato* observes (11), used to translate foreign names into their own language, as the *Egyptians* did all *Greek* names into theirs. Some finding a king of *Athens* bearing the same name, infer from thence, that the *Trojans* were originally *Athenians*. An opinion built on so slight a foundation is scarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of *Ganymede's* being taken up into heaven by *Jupiter* is variously interpreted; but *Natalis Comes* (12) is of opinion, that this story was invented by the *Greeks* to give a kind of sanction to the unnatural lust that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly *Jupiter*, as *Arnobius* observes (13), seems to have been set up for no other purpose, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great measure their own guilt. Thus *Theocritus* the poet, in celebrating the incestuous marriage of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* with his sister *Arfinoe*, produces the example of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and *Seneca* the tragedian had recourse to the same topic to find something commendable in the marriage of *Octavia* and *Nero*: *Sortita fratris more Junonis toros*, says he, speaking of *Octavia* (14). Others tell us, that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle between *Tantalus* and *Ilus*; for *Ilus* pursued the war with *Tantalus* which his father had begun. They add, that the body of *Ganymedes* not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occasion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by *Jupiter*. *Suidas* charges *Minos* with the rape of *Ganymede*, and says, that *Minos* being kindly received and entertained by *Tros*, on that occasion fell in love with *Ganymede*, and requited the favours he had received of the father, by abusing, and

(11) *In Atlantic.* (12) *l. ix. c. 13.* (13) *lib. v. contra gentes.* (14) *Pag. 334.*

forcibly

nerous youth took so to heart, that he died soon after of pure grief. Neither did his father *Tros* long outlive him; for the war, which he made upon *Tantalus* to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*, or, as *Apollodorus* will have it, *Cleopatra*. *Hyginus*, by mistake, makes *Ganymedes* son to *Erichthonius*. From this king *Phrygia Minor* borrowed the name of *Troas*, as its metropolis did that of *Troy*.

As the chief commanders of the *Trojan* troops, whose names are of great renown in antient history, and from whom most of our *European* nations have once pretended to derive their pedigree, were descended from *Tros*, before we proceed in the history of the *Trojan* kings, we shall give a succinct account of his numerous progeny. *Tros*, as we have already observed, had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as others call her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*. Of *Ilus*, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, and his posterity, we shall speak in the series of the kings. *Ganymedes* died without issue. *Affaracus* had by his wife *Hieromname*, or, according to others, *Clytadora*, one son named *Capys*, of whom we know nothing else but that the city of *Caphya* in *Arcadia*, according to *Stephanus*, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchises*, who was famous for the comeliness of his person, which gave rise to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. He had the misfortune to see the city of *Troy* twice taken and plundered. During the first siege, which happened in the reign of *Laomedon*, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the second, he was no more fit to bear arms, being wore out with old age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdness and dissoluteness of

forcibly conveying away the son, who was the only delight of his old age. *Cicero* (15) seems to make *Ganymede* the son of *Laomedon*, which is a mistake. *Orosius* (16) and *Eusebius* (17) inform us, that the war which *Tros* made upon *Tantalus* was described by one *Patrocles* a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(15) *Cicero* 1. *Tuscul.*
Evangel. 1. ii.

(16) *lib.* i. c. 12.

(17) *De Præpar.*

his youth, to which his blindness is also ascribed. He is supposed to have been saved out of the flames of the burning city on the shoulders of his son *Æneas*, and to have accompanied him to *Sicily*, where he died. He had two sons, *Æneas*, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and *Elymus*, and one daughter named *Hippodamia*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymæi* a people of *Sicily*. *Apollodorus* calls him *Lycus*. *Hippodamia* married *Alcathous*, who fell in a battle by the hand of *Idomeneus* ¹.

Gleomestra had but one son, by name *Lycus*, father to *Antenor*. As to *Lycus* antient history is quite silent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king *Priam* ambassador into *Greece* to demand his sister *Hesione*, whom *Hercules* after taking *Troy* had carried captive into *Greece*, and bestowed on *Telamon*, as a reward for being the first that mounted the wall of that city. The *Greeks* treated him more like a spy than an ambassador; whereupon, returning to *Asia*, he inflamed *Priam* and his sons against that nation. However, some time after he not only entertained in his house the *Greek* ambassadors that were sent to demand *Helena*, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of *Priam*'s sons, and found means to convey them safe out of *Troy*. This having gained him the good will of the *Greeks*, he was sent into *Greece* on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the trust reposed in him, and some years after the city itself, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which *Antenor* shewed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Greeks*, entering *Troy* sword in hand, shewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard for *Antenor*, having even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before his door, lest, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or person by the greedy and incensed soldiery. Some add, that having known *Ulysses*, who had entered the city in disguise to observe the strength of the *Trojans*, he neither apprehended nor discovered him. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindness shewn him by the *Greeks*, saying, that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which in those days were deemed sacred even by the most savage nations. Of this opinion is *Livy* ²; and *Virgil* also seems to free him from all suspicion of treachery, saying that he es-

¹ HOMER. *Iliad*. v.² Decad. i. l. i.

caped falling into the hands of the *Greeks*^c. But be that as it will, the *Trojans*, that remained in the country after the destruction of *Troy*, were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Troas*. At the same time the *Heneti*, being driven out of *Paphlagonia* and forced to seek for new settlements, chose him for their leader in room of their king *Pylæmenes*, who had been killed in the siege of *Troy*. With these and a few *Trojans* he put to sea, and steering his course up the *Adriatic* gulph, landed in the country of the *Euganei* lying between the sea and the *Alps*. Here he resolved to settle, and having driven out the antient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of *Heneti* and *Trojans* under the common name of *Veneti*, he gave rise to a new nation. He built a small town in the place where he landed and called it *Troy*. He is supposed to have built the city of *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano*, sister to *Hecuba* and daughter to *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, *Iphidamus*, *Coon*, *Helicaon*, *Laodocus*, *Acamas*, *Archilochus*, *Polybus*, *Agenor*, *Laodamas*, *Demoleon*, *Glaucus*, and *Crino*. *Iphidamus* was brought up in *Thrace* under the care of his grandfather, and came to succour *Priam* and his country with twelve ships, which he left at *Percope*, marching by land to *Troy*, where he was slain by *Agamemnon*, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have conquered had he not been less fortunate than brave^d. *Coon*, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, singled out and dangerously wounded the same *Agamemnon*, but at last fell likewise by his hand. *Helicaon* married *Laodice* daughter to king *Priam*. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Æneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* was a warrior of great prowess, attended *Hector* in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter *Achilles* himself^e. The others are named by *Homer*, *Pausanias*, *Calaber*, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. *Pindar*^w tells us, that the sons of *Antenor*, after the destruction of *Troy*, joined *Menelaus* and *Helena*, and with them settled in *Libya*. But *Eusebius* says, that they reigned in *Phrygia* till the return of *Hector*'s sons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps some of them remained in *Phrygia*, and some accompanied *Menelaus* and *Helena*; among the latter were, according to *Symmachus*^x, *Glaucus*, *Acamas*, and *Hippolochus* or *Archilochus*. As to *Thiano* *Antenor*'s wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that

^c *ÆNEID*. i. verse 246.

Phoc.

^d *HOMER*. *Iliad*. λ.^e *Apud* *Isaac*. *Tzetzum*, p. 276.^f *HOMER*. *Iliad* λ. *Pausanias* in^w *PINDAR*. *Pyth. Od.* 5.

she was the chief priestess of *Pallas*, and that she betrayed the *Palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*, who were sent into *Troy* under the pretence of an embassy to king *Priam*. Let us now return to the succession of the *Trojan* kings.

Tros was succeeded by his son *Ilus*, who, pursuing with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many signal victories drove *Tantalus* out of *Asia* and possessed himself of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of *Phrygia*. *Pelops* the son of *Tantalus*, after several unsuccessful attempts, was at last entirely routed, and forced to quit *Asia* and follow his father into *Greece*. *Bysnus* king of the *Bebryces*, who had espoused the quarrel of *Tantalus* and his son *Pelops*, was likewise defeated, and, some say, killed in the engagement. *Ilus* having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himself entirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned with many stately buildings the city of *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Plutarch* informs us, that in his time the temple of *Pallas* being set on fire by lightning, he saved the *Palladium* out of the flames; but on that occasion lost his sight, which, however, he afterwards recovered. *Herodianus* informs us^y, that he called the place, where he defeated *Tantalus*, *Pessinus*, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that spot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Leucippe* two sons, *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*. *Tithonus*, whom some believe to have been the son, and not the brother of *Laomedon*, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exercise having acquired a strong and robust constitution, and inured himself to hardships, he betook himself to a military life, and went to serve among the *Assyrians*, who in those days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage and conduct soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes* or chief lords of the *Assyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Persia*. Hearing that *Phrygia* was invaded by the *Greeks*, he obtained leave of *Teutamus* king of *Assyria*, who had a great value for him, to send his son *Memnon* at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops to assist his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the son; for *Memnon* being slain by the *Thessalians*, *Tithonus*, already worn out with old age, was so

Ilus.
Year of
the Flood
1680.
Year be-
fore Christ
1319.

^y lib. i.

grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comeliness of his person, his rising early in the morning as he was a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fables which the poets relate of him ; but for these and their explanation we must refer the reader to *Athenæus*^a, *Tzetzes*^b, *Natalis Comes*^c, and other mythologists.

Tithonus had by his wife *Cissia*, or, as *Diodorus* calls her, *Ida*, two sons, *Memnon* and *Emathion*, and one daughter named *Hemera*. *Memnon*, being brought up under the discipline of his father, proved a brave, wise, and experienced commander. He served with great success in *Egypt* against the *Ethiopians*, who were become very troublesome neighbours to the *Egyptians* ; for he routed and dispersed their armies, laid waste their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the *Egyptians*, who out of gratitude transferred it to *Memnon*, appointing him king over the country which he had subdued. In *Æthiopia* he built a city bearing his own name, and some make him likewise the founder of *Abydos*. Having thus distinguished himself in *Egypt* and *Æthiopia* he returned to his father in *Assyria*, where he was set over part of *Persia* in quality of satrapa or chief governor, and is said to have built in his satrapy the city of *Susa*, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched, at the head of 20,000 *Ethiopians* and the like number of *Persians*, to the assistance of king *Priam*. On this occasion he behaved with his usual bravery, and often put the *Greeks* to flight ; but at last falling into an ambuscade was killed by *Achilles* at the head of the *Thessalians*. His body was rescued out of the enemies hands, his obsequies performed with great solemnity, and his ashes sent back to his father. *Josephus* places his tomb near *Ptolemais* in *Phœnice*, but *Pliny* and *Ælian* say, that he was buried at *Susa* (M).

^a Athen lib. xii. c. 26.

^b Isaac Tzetzes in *Cassandr. Lyc.*

^c *Natalis Comes*, l. vi. c. 4.

(M) *Pausanias* (18) tells us, that a cenotaphium or empty tomb was raised to him in the country of *Troas*, not far from the river *Æsepus*, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly visited by strange birds known to them under the name of *Memnonian* birds. These on stated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it stood, of all rubbish, and afterwards dipping their wings in the *Æsepus* sprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) *In Phocis.*

Every

Every body has heard of the vocal statue of *Memnon* near *Thebes* in *Egypt*. This, according to *Pausanias* ^d, *Eustathius* ^e, and *Lucian* ^f, was broke in pieces by order of *Cambyses*, but ever after that part which remained on the pedestal, at the rising of the sun, yielded a sound like that of the string of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the instrument by being drawn too tight. *Eusebius* seems to have credited this story; for he says, that this miraculous effect ceased at the birth of Christ. *Pausanias* ^g informs us, that *Memnon's* sword was kept at *Nicomedia*, and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms used by the antients were of brass. *Anticles*, quoted by *Pliny*, says, that *Memnon* invented letters fifteen years before the reign of *Phoroneus* first king of *Argos*. *Heliodorus* ^h makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Æthiopia*.

Emathion, the other son of *Tithonus*, remained at home with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*. *Probus* the grammarian is of opinion, that *Macedonia* was from him named *Emathia*, and *Justin* mentions an antient king of *Macedonia* bearing his name ⁱ. *Romus*, descended from one of the sons of *Tithonus*, was reckoned by some, as *Plutarch* informs us, among the founders of *Rome* ^k. As to *Hemera*, we know nothing of her but what is related by the spurious *Dictys* now extant, whose history deserves no manner of credit.

ON the death of *Ilus* *Laomedon* was placed on the throne, his elder brother *Tithonus* being at that time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being assisted therein by *Apollo* and *Neptune*, that is, he carried on the work with the treasures that were consecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These were looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods whose temples he had plundered. He treated *Jason* and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coasts of *Troas*, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships and quit the country. To revenge this affront, *Hercules* who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned some time after with twelve galleys to *Troy*, which he besieged, took, and plundered. In this war *Laomedon*

Laomedon.
Year of
the Flood,
1720.
Year before
Christ
1279.

^d In Atticis.^e In Dionys.^f In Toxeri.^g In Atticis.^h In *Æthiop.* l. x. c. 1.
*Romulo.*ⁱ Justin. l. vii.^k Plutarch. in

killed *Oileus*, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after killed by *Hercules*, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). *Laomedon* had five sons, *Tithonus*, *Lampon*, *Clytus*, *Iceaton*, and *Priam*; his daughters were *Hesione*, *Cilla*, *Astyoche*, *Antigone*, *Proclia*, and *Euthria*. All his sons, except *Priam*, were killed in the war with *Hercules*. As to the daughters, *Hesione*, as we have said, being taken by *Hercules*, was bestowed in marriage on *Telamon*, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which *Priam* who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, but he sent *Antenor* into *Greece* to expostulate with *Telamon*, and to demand his sister *Hesione*. In the council of the princes of *Greece* this embassy was heard with contempt, and the ambassadors used in a manner no way suitable to their character, which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the *Trojan* war. *Cilla* and *Astyoche* are only named by *Apollodorus* *. *Antigone* is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and insolent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with *Juno*, and being transformed into a stork by that incensed goddess †. *Proclia* married *Cygnus*, by whom she had *Tenus* and *Hemithca* †. *Euthria*, being taken by the *Greeks*, and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the *Trojan* women, who were captives with her on board the *Greek* fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed, and the *Greeks* being gone ashore near *Pallene* to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves, which obliged the *Greeks* to settle there †, having no other ships to

* *Apollod.* l. iii. † *Servius* in l. i. *Æneid.* † *Isaac Tzetzes* in *Cassandr. Lycoph.* p. 118. † *Polyænus* l. vii.

(N) Others tell us (19), that *Apollo* and *Neptune* were hired by *Laomedon* to build the walls of *Troy*; and that, upon his refusing to pay them their wages, *Apollo* sent a plague, and *Neptune* drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expose his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster, and atone for his crime by sacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by *Hercules*, say they, but *Laomedon* refused him the reward which he had promised; whereupon *Hercules* besieged and took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

(19) *Euseb. in Chron.*

purſue their voyage. *Apollodorus* mentions one *Bucolion*, a natural ſon of *Laomedon*'s by *Calybe*, who was ſlain with his father and brothers by *Hercules*. *Laomedon* reigned, according to ſome, thirty fix, according to others, forty four years.

Laomedon being ſlain by *Hercules*, as we have ſaid above, *Podarces*, the only ſurviving ſon, who had been carried away captive with his ſiſter *Hefione*, was with a great ſum of money ransomed and placed on the throne of his anceſtors, and hence came the ſurname of *Priam*, which is derived from a Greek verb ſignifying to redeem or ransom. His firſt care after his acceſſion to the throne, was to encompass the city of *Troy* with a ſtrong wall, to prevent ſuch calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being diſcovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near *Abydos*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is ſaid to have embellished the city with ſtately edifices, towers, caſtles, aqueducts, &c. He maintained in conſtant pay a conſiderable army, reduced moſt of the neighbouring ſtates, and was rather conſidered as ſovereign of all *Aſia Minor*, than king of *Troas*. He married to his firſt wife *Ariſbe*, or, as others call her, *Alyxothoe*, by whom he had but one ſon named *Æſacus*; but by his ſecond wife *Hecuba*, daughter to *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Hector*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; and daughters, *Creuſa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra*. Beſides theſe he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers ſay, that being abroad when *Troy* was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by *Hercules*, notwithſtanding ſome of his elder brothers were then alive.

THE name of this king will be ever memorable in hiſtory for the war that happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and the *Trojans*, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the ſiege, the deſtruction of that great city, and the endleſs colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors. As to the cauſe of this fatal and deſtructive war, it is agreed on all hands, that the rape of *Helen* firſt kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to ſuch an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to ſtand by him at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, is not determined by antient

antient writers. *Herodotus*ⁿ gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the *Phœnicians* having ravished *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, and carried her with other *Greek* women into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* making use of reprisals, first carried off *Europa*, the king of *Tyre*'s daughter, and afterwards *Medea* daughter to the king of *Colchis*, refusing to restore either till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of *Io*. *Paris*, adds *Herodotus*, in the next succeeding age hearing of these adventures, was encouraged to ravish *Helen*, persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpose. For how could the *Greeks* ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of *Colchis*, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the *Phœnicians*, whom the king of *Colchis*, in all likelihood, had never so much as heard of? Besides, it is plain from *Thucydides*, that the distinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer*'s time, and consequently highly improbable, that the *Greeks* so long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look upon them all as their enemies by reason of an injury done by one. Others say, that king *Priam*, hearing that his sister *Hesione* was ill-used by *Telamon*, to whom *Hercules* had given her in marriage, sent first *Antenor*, and afterwards *Paris* to complain thereof, and insist on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has some appearance of truth; for *Telamon* in history bears the character of a surly, cruel, and ill-natured prince; insomuch, that his own son *Teucer* chose rather to roam on the seas in quest of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reason, but because his brother *Ajax* had laid violent hands on himself, which it was not in *Teucer*'s power to prevent. *Paris*, add these authors, coming into *Greece* upon this embassy, was hospitably entertained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*, who being obliged by his private concerns to pass over into *Crete*, his base and ungrateful guest laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means satisfactory; for were it true, that *Hesione* was ill used by *Telamon*, yet no body can imagine, that *Priam* would on that score send a solemn embassy into *Greece*, or think of taking his sister from her husband, with

ⁿ lib. i.

whom

whom she had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is most natural to think, that *Paris*, in ravishing *Helen*, never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*; but, falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted by his own perverse inclinations to do what in those days was commonly practised both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* herself had been stolen before by *Theseus*, and such practices of stealing women were so common, as *Thucydides* ^o informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same *Thucydides* ^p tells us, that as *Helen* was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father *Tyndareus*, after recovering her from *Theseus*, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of *Greece*, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to rescue her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred *Menelaus* to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to *Tyndareus*, was what drew them together, and armed them against the ravisher and his abettors. To which we may add the great power of *Agamemnon*, brother to the injured *Menelaus*, who, as he was by far the most potent prince of all *Greece*, so he had without all doubt, a great influence over the rest of his countrymen. But be that as it will, war against *Troy* was determined in a general assembly of all the princes of *Greece*, and this was the first enterprize the *Greeks* ever undertook with common consent. Before the assembly broke up, *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; *Ægium* a city in *Peloponnesus* was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as *Greece* was at that time divided into endless dynasties, enjoined to send his quota of troops and ships.

THE best and most rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from *Homer*, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most antient history of *Greece*. The known rules of epic poetry suppose the truth of the history, though they admit of its being embellished with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the *Trojan* war, and the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, yet we could not question the truth of the fact. But most of the historical events related by *Homer* are attested and con-

^o Thucyd. l. i.^p Idem ibid. p. 6.

firmed by the most creditable historians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely by the *Arundelian* marbles. We must therefore carefully distinguish in *Homer's* works what is historical from what is merely fictitious. He describes the state of *Greece* at that time, and informs us, that it was cantled out into a great many dynasties; that *Agamemnon*, king of *Mycæne*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the most powerful prince of all *Greece*; that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the several nations and princes that sided with the *Trojans*; he gives us an insight into the art of war practised in that age; discloses the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; describes the situation of their country and cities, &c. all which are purely historical; so that *Homer's* poems may deservedly be considered as the most antient history of the *Greeks*, whose earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of such a writer to transmit their actions to posterity (O).

THE number of ships employed by the *Greeks* in this expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, amounted to 1000; *Homer* enumerates 1186; but *Thucydides* ^a raises the number to 1200. The *Bæstian* ships, that were the largest, carried 120 men each; those of the *Philœtæ* were the smallest, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that supposing the fleet to have been of 1200 sail, as *Thucydides* affirms, and the ships to have carried one with another 85 men, we shall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men strong, no great force, considering, that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acaruanes* alone ^r, were engaged in this war. The *Greeks*, as *Thucydides* observes, could have raised a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being distressed for provisions in a foreign country ^r. Against this army the city of *Troy* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* say, were not the tenth part of

^a lib. i. p. 8.

^r JUSTIN. l. xviii.

^r ubi supra.

(O) *Dion Chrysostom* (19), in an oration addressed to the *Trojans*, attempts to prove the siege and reduction of *Troy* by the *Greeks* to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty essay, since the author elsewhere (20) disproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the siege and taking of *Troy* are transactions so well attested, and have left such a remarkable epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question.

(19) *Orat.* xi.

†

(20) Περὶ ἀσκησιως, p. 255. d.

the

the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia Minor* sided with the *Trojans*. *Rhesus* king of *Thrace* marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance, and *Memnon*, as we have said, joined them with 20,000 *Persians* and the like number of *Æthiopians*. Wherefore the *Greeks*, foreseeing the resistance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would cost them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hostilities, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* ambassadors to *Troy*, to demand *Helen* and the treasures which *Paris* had carried off with her, hoping, that the fame of the vast preparations which they had made might frighten the *Trojans* into a compliance with so equitable a demand. What answer was returned to the ambassadors we know not; but 'tis certain, that they returned without *Helena*, and highly dissatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

*Herodotus**, upon a tradition that prevailed among the priests of *Egypt*, seems inclinable to believe, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before he could reach *Troy*. The tradition, as *Herodotus*, who learnt it of the priests themselves, informs us, amounts to this: *Paris* on his return with *Helen* was by stress of weather driven on the coast of *Egypt*, and forced to put in at *Tarichea* on the *Canopean* mouth of the *Nile*. Here some slaves of *Paris*'s retinue, taking sanctuary in a temple of *Hercules* which stood on the shore, informed against their master, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name *Thonis*, the injury which he had done to *Menelaus*. *Thonis* laid the whole matter before *Proteus*, at that time king of *Egypt*, who, finding, upon examination, the deposition of the slaves to be true, detained *Helen* and the treasures that had been taken with her, in order to restore them to *Menelaus*; but commanded *Paris*, after having severely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The *Egyptian* priests add, that when the *Greeks* sent ambassadors to demand *Helen* and her riches, the *Trojans* protested, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of *Proteus* king of *Egypt*, which the *Greeks* looking upon as a mere shift to put them off, began the war; but at last after taking the town, as *Helen* no where appeared, and the *Trojans* persisted in their former protestations, the *Greeks* began to believe them, and sent *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, where he was kindly entertained by *Proteus*, and had his wife restored to him without any injury done to her person or goods.

* lib. ii.

These things the *Egyptian* priests assured *Herodotus* that they knew for certain, as they had happened in *Egypt*, and had been handed down to them from those who had conversed with *Menelaus* himself. *Herodotus* produces one argument of no small weight to prove the truth of this tradition, viz. that if it had been in king *Priam*'s power to restore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. How great soever his tenderness to *Paris* might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. *Homer* seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the *Egyptian* priests, for he mentions *Paris* and *Helen*'s arrival in *Egypt*, and says, that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied) except *Euripides*, suppress the circumstance of *Helen*'s not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cause. But whether the *Trojans* would not, or could not, restore her, the ambassadors on their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved without further delay to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemies country (P). They steered to the coast of *Troas*, where on their landing they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, who was slain by *Hector*, and many others of less note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of

(P) *Calchas*, a famous soothsayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the *Greeks* during the war, declared, that the goddess *Diana* opposed their passage with contrary winds, and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note than *Iphigenia* daughter to *Agamemnon*. The goddess, say the poets, was incensed against him for having killed by chance one of her stags; but after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented so horrid a sacrifice by putting a hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have observed elsewhere (21), that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from *Jephthah*'s sacrificing his daughter.

(21) Vol. III. p. 469. (O)

their vessels, which, as the building of ships with decks was not then introduced, could not carry such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, sending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and part to rove about the seas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or historians, agree, that the *Greeks* employed the first eight or nine years in scowering the seas, pillaging the coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the *Trojans*. Hence in the poets we read of many towns taken, islands plundered, strong holds razed, and numbers of people carried into captivity by *Achilles*, whom the army could not well have spared, had there been any service of importance to be performed before *Troy* (Q).

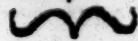
At last the several small parties, that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the *Trojans* had been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies. Insomuch, that when the *Greeks* first invested the town, *Hector* attacked them at the head of an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. The *Greeks* had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which *Homer* says was sent by *Apollo*, because *Agamemnon* refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but *Heraclides* on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilentious vapours raised by the sun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between

(Q) *Ovid* says, that from the first year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Greeks* did not sit down before *Troy* till the tenth year, contenting themselves with laying waste the enemies country, and blocking up the city. *Homer* (21) introduces king *Priam* sitting on a high tower, and there learning of *Helen* the names of the *Greek* commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year, for which fiction, allowing it to be such, there would have been no room, had the *Greeks* been encamped under the walls of *Troy* for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that some with *Thucydides* (22), say, that the whole army was employed in subduing the *Trojan* allies; while others, with *Herodotus*, tell us, that a considerable body of troops was encamped the whole time before *Troy*.

(21) *Iliad.* 3.(22) *lib. i. p. 9.*

Agamemnon and *Achilles*; for *Agamemnon* being obliged by the soothsayer *Calchas* to return his fair captive to her father a priest of *Apollo*, to appease that revengeful deity, took *Bri-seis* in her room, who in the division of the booty had fallen to *Achilles*. This affront *Achilles* revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the *Trojans*. In one of these *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector*; but his death was not long unrevenged, for *Achilles* returning to the camp put the *Trojans* to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing *Hector* himself. *Achilles* did not long outlive him, being slain by *Paris*. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the *Greeks* at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery, is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: Some say, that *Aeneas* and *Antenor*, who commanded the *Dardanians*, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no terms, even after the death of *Hector* and *Paris*, concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have had its birth from the *Greeks* entering the city by the *Scaean* gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called a horse, and in the nature of that which the *Romans* in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called a *Ram*. Be that as it will, the *Greeks*, having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood, from *Teucer* to *Priam*, 296 years, according to the most exact computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ.

Troy
taken.
Year of
the Flood,
1815.
Year be-
fore Christ
1184.



THE *Greeks*, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to sea in order to return to their respective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. *Menestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built a city calling it *Salamis*, from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. *Agapenor*, who commanded the

the *Arcadians*, built in the same island the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* settled in *Epirus*, and there built *Ephyra*. *Ajax* the son of *Oileus* was lost. Some of the *Locrians* were driven on the coasts of *Afric*, others to *Italy*, whereof all the east part was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of the many towns built there by the *Greeks*. Many, who got safe home, were obliged to put to sea again, as *Thucydides* informs us ^v, in quest of new seats, others having seized their territories, and usurped the sovereignty, during their absence. *Agamemnon* and his brother *Menelaus* fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, some sailing with *Menelaus* to the island of *Tenedos*, and others remaining with *Agamemnon* on the coasts of *Troas*. Those, who followed *Menelaus*, not agreeing among themselves, parted, each holding his own course homewards. *Agamemnon* arrived safe at *Mycenæ*, where he was soon after his arrival murdered by his wife *Clytemnestra*; but his son *Orestes* revenged his death by the murder of *Clytemnestra*, of *Ægisthus* her gallant, and of *Helen* their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*. The adventures of *Ulysses* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but what may have some foundation in history is, that some years passed before he got home. The adventures of the other *Greeks* are less known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, those who escaped the general slaughter, seeing their country utterly ruined, took their measures accordingly, and settled in distant regions. *Antenor*, as we have said already, established himself in *Italy*, and founded the nation of the *Heneti*. *Helenus*, one of *Priam's* sons settled in *Macedonia*, where he built the city of *Ilium*. Some say, that during the siege he went over to the *Greeks*, and shewed them in what manner they might easily master the city.

As to *Æneas*, all the *Roman* writers assure us, that he settled in *Italy*, and there founded the kingdom of *Alba*. From him the *Cæsars* affected to derive their pedigree, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. *Livy* alone seems to betray some sort of doubt as to this particular, insinuating, with a great deal of reserve, that he has not sufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithstanding the unanimous consent of

the *Latins*, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned *Bochart* ^w has carefully collected, to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable (R).

THE

^w *Bochart*. *Quest. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia.*

(R) In the first place this opinion is directly opposite to that of *Homer* (23), who supposes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, whom he represents favourable to *Æneas* on all occasions, and averse from *Priam* and his whole race, assuring him, that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that *Æneas* and his posterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the custom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand that such things will happen as the poet knows to have already happened; but no poet ever made them utter such things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be *Homer's* case if *Æneas* had not reigned in *Phrygia*. To this argument some answer, that *Æneas*, after settling a colony in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia*, and reigned over the few *Phrygians* that outlived the destruction of their country. As this answer has no manner of foundation in history, it is scarce worth refuting. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (24) is of opinion, that *Neptune*, or rather *Homer*, meant only, that *Æneas* was to reign over such *Phrygians* as accompanied him, or over a *Phrygian* colony. But this is no more than what happened to *Antenor*, *Acestes*, *Copys*, *Helenus*, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make *Neptune* distinguish *Æneas* from the other *Phrygians* by some particular marks of his favour. Besides, the words of *Venus* in the hymn which is generally ascribed to *Homer* Ἰν Τροίᾳ δὲ μένει are capable of no other sense, but that *Æneas* shall reign in the country of the *Trojans*; and in this sense they are understood by *Strabo* (25), who tells us in express terms, that *Æneas* remained in the country of the *Trojans*, that the family of *Priam* being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him transmitted to his posterity. *Eustathius* thinks (26), that when *Homer* introduces *Neptune* promising to *Æneas*, that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*, the poet by the *Trojans* meant the *Romans*; and because it might be objected, that *Homer* could have no knowledge of the *Romans*, being dead long before the foundation of *Rome*, he adds, that *Homer* had either seen the oracles of the *Sibyls*, which derive the *Roman* princes from *Æneas*, or had himself foreseen, as most poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the *Romans* were to descend from *Æneas* and be masters of the world. But as to the books of the *Sibyls*, *Homer* certainly never did, nor could, see them; for they

(23) *Iliad*. 20. (24) *lib. i.* (25) *lib. xiii.* (26) *In Iliad*. 20.
were

THE city of *Troy* being utterly ruined, and most of the inhabitants of *Troas* put to the sword, some writers tell us, that the neighbouring *Phrygians* and *Lydians*, possessing themselves of that country, settled there, and that *Troas* from that time began to be called *Phrygia*; others are of opinion, that *Æneas*, having gathered together the scattered remains of the *Trojans*, rebuilt the city, and that his descendants and the descendants of *Hector* reigned there till the country was subdued by the *Lydians*, who became so powerful as to over-run all *Asia Minor*. If the *Trojans* had any kings of their own after their city was destroyed by the *Greeks*, they must needs have made but a very indifferent figure, since they are not so much as named in history.

were forged, as several writers have demonstrated, above a thousand years after *Homer's* time; and as to the spirit of prophecy, which *Eustathius* is pleased to bestow upon poets, every one sees that it has not the least appearance of truth. To the authority of *Homer* we may add that of *Agathocles Cyzicensis*, quoted by *Festus* (27), who cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berocynthia*, by the river *Nolos* (or, as others read, *Gallus*) not far from *Troy*. *Stephanus* informs us, that the city of *Ascania* in *Phrygia* was built by *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, wherein he agrees with *Nicolaus Damascenus*. *Mela* tells us, that the city of *Antandros* was so called, because *Ascanius* who reigned there, being taken by the *Pelasgi*, yielded this city to them for his ransom. *Hellanicus* in his *Troica* makes *Æneas* fly into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Pallene*; but as to *Ascanius*, he says, that he remained in *Troas* and reigned there. *Strabo* assures us, that the city of *Scopis*, in former times situate near *Troy*, was removed from thence sixty furlongs by *Scamander* the son of *Hector* and *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*; and adds, that these two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being first changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheless such as were descended from these two families were still honoured with the title of kings. To these authorities *Bochart* (28) adds two arguments of no small weight, namely, that the chief deities of the antient *Trojans*, viz. *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*, and that there is not the least similitude imaginable between the antient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language, which he proves by producing the few *Phrygian* words that have been transmitted to us. This, however, is no exception to *Virgil's* divine and inimitable *Æneid*; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the historians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flourished before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(27) *Festus voce Roma.*(28) *Ubi supra.*

C H A P. XIV.

The HISTORY of the MYSIANS.

S E C T. I.

The description of the country, the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the inhabitants.

Name.

THE small country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the *Lydian* word *Myfos* signifying a *beech-tree*, because that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Mysia Minor* or the *Lesser Mysia* lay on the *Propontis*, and from thence extended to mount *Olympus*, being bounded by *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* on the north and west, by *Phrygia Minor* on the south, and by *Phrygia Major* on the east. *Mysia Major* or the *Greater Mysia* was bounded on the north by *Phrygia Minor*, on the south by *Æolia*, on the east by *Phrygia Major*, and on the west by the *Ægean* sea. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Mysia Minor*, *Ptolemy* calls *Mysia Major*; the former is also named *Olympena* from mount *Olympus*, and *Hellepontica* because some towns antiently belonging to it were seated on the *Hellepont*. That part of *Mysia* which lay between *Ancyra* of *Phrygia* and the river *Rhyndacus* is called by *Strabo* *Abrettana*, and the remaining part *Morenga*. The former denomination is often given to all *Mysia*.

IN that part of *Mysia Minor* which lay on the *Propontis* were the following cities: *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum* seated in an island of the *Propontis* bearing the same name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by *Alexander the Great*. It borrowed its name from *Cyzicus* king of that island and the adjacent continent, who is said to have been killed through mistake by *Jason* the *Argonaut*. This city, when first known

†

to

to the *Romans*, was one of the greatest and richest of all *Asia*, and hence was stiled by *Florus* the *Rome of Asia*, and celebrated by him and all the other *Latin* writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, &c. *. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the antients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of *Jupiter*, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship †. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against *Mithridates*, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However, the antient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; insomuch, that when any one behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a *Cyzican* ‡. *Tully* § represents those of his time as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatever they cost. The current coin of this island, called *Stater* and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed, that their city had been given by *Jupiter* to *Proserpine* for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* ¶. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Constantinople* to embellish that city. Under the *Romans* it was the metropolis of the *Consular Hellespont*, but is at present little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi*.

* *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 5. † *Xiphilinus* in *Dione*. *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 15. ‡ *Hesychius*. *Eras.* *Chiliad.* § *Act.* iii. in *Verr.* ¶ *Appian.* in *Mithridatico*.

(S) This gave birth to the *Greek* proverb *Κυζικηνὸν στατήριον* an expression used in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving; as if the *Cyzician stateres* were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the abovementioned proverb to be a taunt on those who talk big and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) *Eras.* *Chiliad.*

Parium, so called, as some writers inform us, from *Parus* the son of *Jason*. Some think, that *Archilochus*, the famous writer of *Iambics*, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked *Cupid* much celebrated by the antients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* of *Cnidos*. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the *Ophiogenes* mentioned by *Pliny*^c, who are said to have had the gift of curing the bitings of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence stood a stately temple of *Apollo Aetæus* and *Diana*, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at *Parium*, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of *Asia*. The antient *Parians* were a colony of *Milesians*, and the more modern of the *Romans*, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely *Parium* and *Troas*. *Homer* makes *Parium* and *Adraſtia* one and the same city; but *Strabo* distinguishes them. *Parium* is now reduced to a village, but retains its antient name.

Lampsacus or *Lampsacum* was seated at the entrance of the *Propontis* over-against *Callipolis* in the *Thracian Chersonese*. It was built, according to some, by the *Phocenses*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named *Lampſaces*. It had a capacious and safe harbour and a noble temple consecrated to *Cybele*. It was in antient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themistocles* in his exile. *Alexander the Great* conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert if possible their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before *Alexander*, but the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed, that he would deny their request. Whereupon *Anaximenes*, who was at the head of that embassy, addressed the king thus: Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of *Lampsacus*, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and desiring to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a prince, have sent us to beg, that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city, a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure. This unexpected request, and the vow which *Alexander*, being bent on its destruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preservation.

^c lib. vii. c. 2.

Priapus was worshipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lusts. *Tully* * represents the inhabitants of *Lampsacus* as a quiet and indolent sort of people, and more fit to relish the ease of peace, than suffer the toils of war. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, and surrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampsaco*, and the *Turks* *Lepseck*. These were the chief cities of *Mysia Minor* seated on the coast.

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Mysia*, which, according to *Strabo*, lay between the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Ida*. Here *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhyndacus*, which rises from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake called now the lake of *Abouillona* is five and twenty miles in compass, and eight miles wide, being interspersed with several islands and peninsulas, whereof the largest, which is three miles in circuit, is called *Abouillona*. As the village situate in this island bears the same name, some modern travellers ^d take it to be the antient city of *Apollonia* (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its antient lustre to the reign of the emperor *Alexis Comnenus*, when it was taken and pillaged by the *Turks*, as his daughter *Anna Comnena* informs us. *Apollo* was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city, for, besides that it bore his name, he is represented on the reverse of several medals of this city ^e.

THE chief rivers of *Mysia Minor* are the *Rhyndacus* and the *Granicus*. The *Rhyndacus*, called by *Pliny* *Lycus*, and by the moderns *Lartacho*, has its source in the lake of *Apollonia*, or *Artynia*, as *Pliny* names it, and falls into the *Propontis* near *Cyzicus*. This river is memorable in the *Roman* history for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who, designing to surprise *Lucullus*, was himself surprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this

* *Act. iii. in Ver.*^d *TOURNEFORT* voyage au Levant, &c.^e *TOURNEFORT* ubi supra.

(U) *Vaillant*, who visited those places, describes *Apollonia* as seated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the *Rhyndacus*; but this learned traveller mistook the city of *Lopadi*, or as the *Turks* call it, *Ulubat*, for the antient *Apollonia*, not being aware, that the inhabitants of *Apollonia* for the conveniency of their commerce removed from *Apollonia* to *Lopadi*, giving the name of the city they had forsaken to this their new habitation; it being manifest from *Anna Comnena*, that in her time *Lopadi* bore also the name of *Apollonia*.

river. The *Granicus* rises on mount *Ida*, and discharges itself into the *Propontis* between *Parium* and *Cyzicus*. This river *Alexander* crossed at the head of 30000 *Macedonians* in face of the *Persian* army 600000 strong. Travellers observe, that its banks are very high and steep on the west side; so that the forces of *Darius* had a considerable advantage, had they known how to use it. This river at present is called the *Sousoughirli*, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

IN this part of *Mysia* stands mount *Olympus*, called by the antients *Olympus Mysiorum* to distinguish it from several other mountains of the same name. It is one of the highest mountains in *Asia*, and great part of the year covered with snow.

THE city of greatest note in *Mysia Major* was *Pergamus*, seated in a spacious plain on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal seat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the transcribing of which parchment was here first invented, and thence called by the *Latins* *Charta Pergamena*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* gave occasion to this useful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the *Egyptian* papyrus, in order to defeat the design of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, which was to cause all the valuable books then extant to be carefully transcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with *Ptolemy's* famous library at *Alexandria*. In *Pergamus* were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call *Tapestry*, and the *Romans* named *Aulæa* from *Aula* signifying a hall, because the hall of *Attalus*, who invented them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. *Galen* the famous *Physician* was born in this city. Here *Æsculapius* is said to have practised physic. We must not forget that *Pergamus* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*. It is now an inconsiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are still to be seen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the *Attalic* kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

ON the coasts of the *Greater Mysia* were seated the following cities, *Antandros*, *Scepsis*, *Affos*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

Soil and
climate.

THE soil of this country is one of the finest and richest of

(W) *Spon* mistakes the *Fourtissar*, as it is now called, for the *Granicus*. The *Fourtissar* is a small brook rising on mount *Tininus*, which some, through mistake, think to be the *Caicus* of the antients.

Asia,

Asia, and as such celebrated by the antients ^f. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well stocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for pasturing them. It was plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Ida* and mount *Olympus*. In short, the *Mysians*, as *Philostratus* informs us, with respect to their country, were the happiest of all the *Asiatics*.

As to the origin of the *Mysians*, *Herodotus* ^g informs us, *Origin.* that they were *Lydians* by descent. According to his account, *Manes*, the first king of *Lydia*, was father to *Cotys*, and *Cotys* to *Atys*, who had three sons, *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Cares*. From *Lydus* the *Lydians*, formerly called *Mæones* from *Mæon* the father of *Cybele*, borrowed their name. *Mysus* and *Cares* planted *Lydian* colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named *Mysia* and *Caria*. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us that *Mysus*, was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. *Strabo* derives the *Asiatic Mysians* from those of *Europe*, inhabiting that tract which lies between mount *Hermus* and the *Danube*, and is now known under the names of *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no use to relate, as they are mostly founded on distorted and far-fetched etymologies.

As to the character of the antient *Mysians*, it must be con- *Character.* sidered at different times; for they seem to have been once a warlike people. *Herodotus* ^h and *Pliny* ⁱ speak of a very powerful army of *Mysians* and *Trojans*, which before the *Trojan* war, passing over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe*, subdued all *Thrace*, and advancing to the *Ionian* sea penetrated as far as the river *Peneus*. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, so as to be looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant nation on the earth; insomuch, that the *Greeks* ^k had no expression to signify more emphatically a person of no worth or merit, than to call him *the last of the Mysians*. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the *Greeks* ^l to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceased. Their language was in all likelihood the same as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan*, with some variation of dialect. As to their manners, customs, arts, and sciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation and wealth; for *Philostratus* in-

^f VIRG. GEORG. l. i. vers. 103.

^g lib. i. & vii.

^h lib.

vii.

ⁱ lib. vii. c. 6.

^k STRAB. l. xii.

Cic. pro Flacco.

^l ÆSCHYL. in Persis. ERASM. Chiliad.

forms us, that in antient times they were the most wealthy nation of all *Asia*.

Religion. THEIR religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*, whom they did not fall short of in superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies, which has made some believe them to be originally *Phrygians*. *Cybele* had a stately and rich temple at *Cyzicus*, and *Apollo Actæus* near *Parium*. *Nemesis* also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple built by king *Adrastus* not far from the city of *Parium*, whence both the country and the goddess were named *Adrastia*. *Priapus* was worshipped by the more modern *Mysians*, but unknown to them even in *Hesiod's* time. The *Mysian* priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horse, and eat his entrails, before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Their history. CONCERNING their government, thus much appears that it was monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition; but authors are of opinion, that they had kings long before that time. *Diodorus* ^m tells us, that they lived in subjection to *Ninus*, by whom they had been conquered, and to the *Assyrian* kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of *Troy* and dispersion of the *Trojans*, the *Mysians* possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*.

Olympus. THE first king of *Mysia* we find mentioned is called *Olympus*: He is said to have married *Nipæa* the daughter of *Jasius* or *Jasion*, brother to *Dardanus* king of *Troy* ⁿ.

Teuthras. *Teuthras* appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned over the *Mysians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans* ^o. He married *Auge* daughter to *Aleus* the king of *Arcadia's* son ^p. As he had no issue male, he gave his daughter *Agriope*, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to *Telephus* his second wife's son by *Hercules* ^q (X). He built a city

^m lib. ii. cap. i. ⁿ Scholiast. Apoll. p. 155. ^o STRAB. l. xiii. ^p DIODOR. l. iv. c. iii. ^q STRAB. l. xiii.

(X) *Euripides*, quoted by *Strabo* (30), informs us, that *Telephus* was a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*; and adds, that her father *Aleus* caused both her and her child to be locked up in a chest and

city calling it *Teuthrania*, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in process of time to all *Mysia* ^r. He had another daughter by name *Tecmessa*, who, in the division of the booty, which the *Greeks* had got in plundering *Mysia*, fell to *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*.

Teuthras was succeeded by *Telephus* a natural son of *Her-* Telephus.
cules by *Auge*. *Telephus*, being exposed by his grandfather's order on mount *Parthenius*, was nursed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one *Corythus*, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards *Mysia*, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king *Teuthras* her husband, who, being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the *Trojan* war he first sided with king *Priam*, and was dangerously wounded by *Achilles*; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* to stand neuter ^r. *Pausanias* and *Aristides* tell us, that he planted a colony of *Arcadians* in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. *Jornandes* ^t makes him king of the *Goths*, wherein he confounds the *European* with the *Asiatic Mysians*; for those of *Europe*, whom *Pliny* calls *Masians*, are thought to be descended from the *Mysians* of *Asia*. *Telephus* had two sons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*: *Eurypylus*, according to some ^u, was killed in the *Trojan* war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians* ^w. *Latinus* is said to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into *Italy* ^x.

Eurypylus left one son by name *Arius*, who succeeded his Arius.
father or grandfather, and was slain in a single combat by *Amphialus* the son of *Neoptolemus*, who possessed himself of the kingdom of *Mysia* ^r. We read of no other kings of *Mysia* till many ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we shall speak of in its proper place.

^r PINDAR. in Olymp. ^t DIODOR. lib. iv. STRAB. l. xiii.
APOLLODOR. STEPHAN. &c. ^u De rebus Geticis. ^w CALA-
BER. l. vi. vii. viii. HYGINUS fab. 113. ^x STRAB. l. xiii.
^y CEDRENIUS. p. 115. ^z PAUSANIAS in Atticis.

thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of *Pallas* guided to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, and that *Teuthras*, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with *Auge*, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son *Telephus*, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

C H A P. XV.

The HISTORY of the LYDIANS.

S E C T. I.

*The description of LYDIA.**Name.*

WHENCE this country borrowed the name of *Lydia* is not determined. Some, led by the affinity of Words, derive it from *Lud*, *Shem's* fourth son, whom they pretend to have settled here. But this opinion we shall examine, when we come to enquire into the origin of the *Lydians*. All the antient writers tell us, that *Lydia* was first called *Mæonia* or *Meonia* from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of *Atys*, when it began to be called *Lydia* from his son *Lydus*. *Bochart*², finding in his learned collection of *Phœnician* words the verb *Lud* signifying *to wind*, and observing that the country we are speaking of is watered by the *Mæander* so famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named *Lydia* or *Ludia*. As to *Meon* and *Lydus*, he rids himself of them at once, by denying that there ever were any such persons. To support this opinion, he endeavours to prove, that the *Phœnicians*, and after them *Moses*, who, in the description of countries, made use of their terms, gave the name of *Lud* not only to *Lydia* on the banks of the *Mæander*, but likewise to *Æthiopia*, where the *Nile*, as *Herodotus* observes³, has as many turnings and windings as the *Mæander* itself. Now as these two countries, lying on the two most winding rivers that were then known, were named *Lud*, which word signifies *to bend* or *wind*, who can doubt, says he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? As to the antient name of *Mæonia*, he takes it to be a *Greek* translation of the *Phœnician* word *Lud*, wherein he agrees, in some measure, with *Stephanus*, who derives the name of *Mæonia* from *Mæon* the antient name of

² Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12.³ lib. ii. c. 29.

†

the



the *Meander*. Some take the word *Mæonia* to be a translation of a *Hebrew* word signifying *metal*, because that country, say they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines.

THOUGH *Lydia* and *Mæonia* are by most authors indifferently used for one and the same country, yet they are sometimes distinguished, that part, where mount *Tmolus* stood, and which was watered by the *Pactolus*, being properly called *Mæonia*, and the other lying on the coast, *Lydia*. This distinction is used, as *Spanhemius* observes ^b, by *Homer*, *Callimachus*, *Dionysius*, and other antient writers. In after ages, when the *Ionians*, who had planted a colony on the coast of the *Ægean* sea, began to make some figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given to the antient *Mæonia*.

Lydia, according to *Pliny*^c, *Ptolemy*, and other antient geographers, was bounded by *Mysia Major* on the north, by *Caria* on the south, by *Phrygia Major* on the east, and *Ionia* on the west, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the antients stile the kingdom of *Lydia* was not confined within these narrow boundaries, chiefly under the latter kings, but extended from the river *Halys* to the *Ægean* sea. *Pliny*'s description includes *Æolia*, lying between the *Hermus* and the *Caicus*, but that tract we shall consider apart.

THE chief cities of *Lydia* were *Sardis*, the metropolis of that kingdom and the seat of king *Cræsus*. This city stood on the banks of the *Pactolus* at the foot of mount *Tmolus*. The *Persians* thought *Sardis* of such consequence after it fell into their hands, that *Xerxes*, hearing it was taken by the *Greeks*, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner; *The Greeks have taken Sardis*; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from *Sardis* stands a village of the same name, which some take to be that *Sardis* which is mentioned in the *Revelations*, and was one of the seven churches. Near this city was to be seen in *Herodotus*'s time ^d the sepulchre of *Alyattes* father to *Cræsus*, whereof the foundation was of stone, but the whole superstructure of earth, being

^b Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, vers. 250.

^c Lib. v.

c. 29.

^d HERODOT. l. i.

six furlongs and 200 foot in circumference, and a thousand three hundred foot in breadth.

Philadelphia, formerly the second city of *Lydia*, and so called from *Attalus Philadelphus* brother to *Eumenes*, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were antiently celebrated the common feasts of all *Asia*, as appears from an inscription quoted by *Spon*^e. It was one of the seven *Churches*, and continued to make a good figure under the *Greek* emperors. It was the last in *Asia Minor* that submitted to the *Turks*, and that upon very honourable terms after six years siege. Among the *Greeks* it retains its antient name, but is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Allachsheyer*. Part of the antient walls is still remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and some sepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an antient tradition among the inhabitants, were transported by the *Christians* into *Europe*.

Thyatira, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs us, was situated in a pleasant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. This city was another of the seven churches, and its present ruins testify its former grandeur. The *Greeks* call it *Thyra*, and the *Turks* *Akbisar*. It is a place of some trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

Magnesia, by the *Turks* called *Guzethisar*, seated on the *Mæander*, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many stately buildings demonstrate. Here *Themistocles* died, this being one of the three towns that *Xerxes* allotted to him for his subsistence during his exile. It is still a large, handsome, and well-built city. Another city of the same name stood at the foot of mount *Sipylus* on a rising ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in history for many battles fought there, but especially for that between *Antiochus* and the *Romans* under the command of *Scipio*, which decided the fate of *Asia*. This city was for some time the seat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is still the capital of *Carasia*.

MOUNT *Sipylus* is the only one in *Lydia* of any note. The goddess *Sipylene* took her name from this mountain; or rather *Cybele* was called *Sipylene*, because she was worshipped in a particular manner on mount *Sipylus*. And hence on the reverse of almost all the antient medals of *Magnesia* this goddess is represented, sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. *Plutarch* informs us, that mount *Sipylus* was likewise named the *Thun-*

^e Voyage d'Italie, &c.

der mountain, because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Asia*; and hence we find on the reverse of several medals stamped at *Magnesia*, *Jupiter* armed with thunderbolts. Mount *Tmolus*, and in more antient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

THE rivers of this country, that we shall take notice of, are the *Pactolus*, which rushing from mount *Tmolus* waters the city of *Sardis*, and then discharges itself into the *Hermus* or *Sarabat*. It was called by the antients *Chrysothoas*, from the colour of its sands which shine like gold. The *Cayster*, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in *Phrygia Major*, bathes *Lydia*, and empties itself into the *Ægean* sea near *Ephesus*. It has almost as many windings, if *Spon* is to be believed, as the *Mæander* itself, but neither have near so many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* beneath *Paris*.

As to the origin of the *Lydians*, *Josephus*, and after him *Origin* and all the ecclesiastic writers, derive them from *Lud*, *Shem's* antiquity. fourth son. As this opinion has no other foundation but the similitude of names, there is a strong objection against it, viz. that the *Lydians* were first called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus* the son of *Atys*, except we suppose the *Greeks* were deceived, and that, the name of *Mæones* ceasing, they resumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that case, we ought perhaps to consider *Lydia* as possessed by the *Ludim*, or posterity of *Lud*, on a second or third remove; for we see no more reason than Sir *Walter Raleigh*[†], why *Lud* should straggle so far from his friends as *Lydia*, according to what we have said elsewhere[‡]. Some of the antients will have the *Lydians* to be a mixt colony of *Phrygians*, *Myfians*, and *Carians*. Others, finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the *Egyptians* and *Tuscans*, who were a *Lydian* colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally *Egyptians*. The very similitude of names, which on like occasions is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged some writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the *Lydians* were a very antient nation, as is manifest from their very fables, for *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all said to have been the children of *Lydus*. And *Xanthus* in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by *Stephanus*, informs us, that the antient city of *Ascalon*,

[†] Book i. cap. viii. sect. 15.

[‡] Vol. I. p. 365.

one of the five satrapies of the *Philistines* mentioned in the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, was built by one *Ascalus* a *Lydian*, whom *Alcymus* king of *Lydia* had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent, we know not on what occasion, into *Syria*. The *Heraclidæ*, or kings of *Lydia* descended from *Hercules*, began to reign before the *Trojan* war, and had been preceded by a long series of kings sprung from *Atys*, and hence styled *Atyadæ*, which is a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

Govern-
ment.

The *Lydians* began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, viz. the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*. The *Atyadæ* were so called from *Atys*, the son of *Cotys* and grandson of *Manes*. *Manes*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Tellus* and first king of *Mæonia*, had by *Callirhoa*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, one son by name *Cotys*; *Cotys* by *Halia* the daughter of *Tri'lus* had two, *Asius* and *Atys*; from *Asius* *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, which in process of time became common to the whole continent. *Atys* married *Callithea* the daughter of *Choræus*, and had by her *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*. *Lydus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Mæonia*, which in his reign began to be called *Lydia*. *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into *Italy*, and settled in *Hetruria*, now *Tuscany*. This is the account *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us of the kings sprung of *Atys*, or the first race of the *Lydian* kings.

THE *Atyadæ* were succeeded by the *Heraclidæ* or the descendants of *Hercules*. For *Hercules*, being by the direction of the oracle sold as a slave to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia*, to expiate thereby the murder of *Iphitus*, had during his captivity by one of her slaves a son named *Cleolaus*, whose grandson by name *Argon* was the first of the *Heraclidæ* that ascended the throne of *Lydia*. This race reigned from *Argon* the first to *Candaules* the last 505 years, the father succeeding the son for 22 generations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the *Trojan* war.

THE third race called *Mermnadæ*, perhaps from one of the family named *Mermnas* (for the antients are silent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the *Medes* shook off the *Assyrian* yoke. The *Mermnadæ* were also, properly speaking, *Heraclidæ*, being descended from one *Lemnos*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls him, *Agelaus*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*. The first king of this race was *Gyges*, and *Cræsus* the last.

As to their character, it must be considered at different *Their cha-* times: Under *Cræsus* and some of his predecessors, they were *rafter*. without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terroure of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the *Persians*, and enjoined by *Cyrus*, according to the advice given him by *Cræsus* (Y), to wear long vests, and apply themselves to such arts and callings only, as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and intirely given up to idleness, pleasures and diversions.

THE soil of this country, by reason of the many rivers *The soil*. that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines. It was enriched with several mines, whence *Cræsus* is said to have drawn his immense wealth.

As to the religion of the *Lydians*, it seems to have been *Religion*. much the same with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already spoke of; they worshipped *Diana*, *Jupiter*, and *Cybele* at *Magnesia* under the name of *Sipyrene*; for in the alliance concluded between those of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* on the *Mæander* in favour of king *Seleucus Callinicus*, both par-

(Y) The *Lydians*, not long after they were conquered by *Cyrus*, rebelled at the instigation of one *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, whom *Cyrus* had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of *Cræsus* at *Sardis*. With this gold *Pactyas* putting to sea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raised a considerable army of mercenaries, marched to *Sardis*, where he besieged *Tabalus*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to *Cyrus*, as he was leading his army against the *Babylonians*, *Bactrians*, and *Egyptians*, he resolved to march back into *Lydia*, sell all the *Lydians* for slaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This resolution he imparted to king *Cræsus* at that time his prisoner, who, fearing the utter ruin of his country, earnestly entreated him to forgive the *Lydians*, and wreak his just anger on *Pactyas* alone by whom they had been seduced, advising him at the same time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the *Lydians* the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only, as were most capable of debauching their minds, and inclining them to idleness. This advice was followed by *Cyrus*, and in a short time the *Lydians* became the most lewd and debauched nation under the sun (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib. i.*

ties swore, as appears from the *Arundelian* marbles, by the goddess *Sipylene*. She borrowed this name from mount *Sipylus*, or perhaps from a town of the same name, which, as *Strabo* informs us^h, was ruined by an earthquake in the reign of *Tantalus*. In the same city of *Magnesia* stood a temple of *Diana Leucophryna*, no ways inferior to the so much celebrated temple of *Diana Ephesiana*.

The man-
ners, cus-
toms, &c.
of the Ly-
dians.

THE customs of the *Lydians* were, as *Herodotus* informs usⁱ, much the same with those of the *Greeks*, except that they used to prostitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by prostitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleased. They punished idleness as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardships. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as some have pretended to argue from *Jeremiah* ^k, but long spears, such as were antiently used by the horse; and in horsemanship, if *Herodotus* is to be credited^l, the *Lydians* far excelled all other nations. They were the first that introduced the art of coining gold and silver to facilitate trade; the first that sold by retail, that kept eating-houses and taverns, that invented public sports and shews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*, who borrowed them of the *Tuscans*, descended, as we shall see anon, from the *Lydians*. *Herodotus* informs us^m, on what occasion they invented those public and several other private diversions. During the reign of *Atys* the son of *Manes*, a great scarcity of provisions prevailed all over the kingdom of *Lydia*, which the inhabitants endured for several years with an astonishing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversion, and some inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and such other diversions as were in antient times used among the *Greeks*, chess only excepted, whereof the *Lydians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diversions, they used to play one whole day without intermission, eating and drinking the next day without amusing themselves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately fasting and feasting, as the scarcity of their provisions could well allow, finding that their calamities increased rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies,

^h STRAB. l. i. p. 38.
xlv. 9.

ⁱ HERODOT. ubi supra.

^l HERODOT. l. i.

^k Jerem.

^m HERODOT. ubi supra.

commanding

commanding them to determine by lot, which of the two should remain at home, and which go abroad in quest of new seats, since their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his son *Tyrrhenus* to command those who should be obliged to remove, he himself remaining to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay. Those who by lot were constrained to abandon their country marched to *Smyrna*, where they equipped a small fleet, and putting to sea, after many adventures, arrived in that part of *Italy* which was then called *Umbria*, and now *Tuscany*. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called *Lydians*, but *Tyrrhenians* from their leader *Tyrrhenus*.

THE trade of the antient *Lydians* is no where mentioned ; but we may suppose it to have been very considerable, especially under the latter kings, when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory ; whosoever considers the splendor of this monarchy, and commodious situation of the country, cannot doubt, but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immense riches not only of the *Lydian* princes, but of several private persons. *Herodotus* ^a mentions one, by name *Pythius*, who not only entertained *Xerxes* and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade *Greece* ; but made him a proffer of two thousand talents of silver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety three thousand pieces of gold bearing the stamp of *Darius*, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The same *Pythius* had presented *Darius*, father to *Xerxes*, with a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, and was reckoned, after the kings of *Persia*, the richest man in the then known world. Commerce.

S E C T. II.

The reigns of the kings of LYDIA.

THE first king of *Lydia* we find mentioned in history Masnes. is *Masnes*, or *Manes*, as *Herodotus* call him. He is said to have been the son of the earth, which in the language of the antients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous king of *Lydia*, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright living at *Cyme*, was raised to the throne of

^a HERODOT. lib. vii.

Lydia. The same author adds, that as the *Lydians* were distributing the money for his ransom, a citizen of *Cyme*, for whom the slave was at that time making a cart, insisted on his finishing what he had in hand before he was set at liberty, protesting, that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of *Lydia*, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate slave may have been *Mafnes*, since he in regard of his mean descent is called by the antients son of the earth. *Heraclides* does not tell us what induced the *Lydians* to place a slave on the throne; but we may suppose this to have been brought about by the advice of some oracle, as it happened in the case of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*; for *Heraclides* informs us, that the *Lydians* chose a slave for their king, in hopes of being rescued by his means from the oppressions they groaned under.

Cotys. *Mafnes* was succeeded by his son *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his son
Atys. *Atys*, in whose reigns, as the country was overstocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the space of 18 years, and obliged the king to divide his subjects, keeping one half of them at home, and sending the other abroad in quest of new settlements, under the conduct of his younger son *Tyrrhenus*.

Lydus. *Atys* was succeeded by his son *Lydus*, from whom the country had the name of *Lydia*, having been called to that time *Mæonia*.

Alcymus. *Alcymus* appears next: It is uncertain whom he succeeded: He is represented as an excellent prince, and is said to have had nothing so much at heart, as the welfare of his subjects; whence in the seventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as *Suidas* informs us, to offer up prayers and sacrifices for his health and prosperity. *Stephanus* calls him *Alciamus*, and adds, that in his time the city of *Ascalon* was built by *Ascalus*, son of *Hymenæus* and brother to *Tantalus*, who conducted an army of *Lydians* into *Syria*.

Adrymetes. *Adrymetes* or *Adramytis* is mentioned by *Athenæus*, and said to have been the first that employed women in such ministries as other kings had done eunuchs.

Cambletes. *Cambletes*, *Camblitas*, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. *Athenæus* says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death.

Tmolus. *Tmolus* put an end to his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as *Plutarch* acquaints

us^a, by *Diana* for ravishing one of her followers, by name *Arrhipe*.

Theoclymenus succeeded his father *Tmolus*, of whom we find Theocly- nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount *menus*. *Tmolus*, which from him had its name.

AFTER *Theoclymenus Marfyas* reigned, who, on what *Marfyas*. occasion we know not, coming into *Italy*, built there, as we are told by *Solinus*^o, the city of *Archippena*.

Jardanes succeeded *Marfyas*, and in his reign all manner *Jardanes*. of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to such a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal palace against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lusts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince.

ON the death of *Jardanes* his daughter *Omphale* was by the *Omphale*. unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father's life-time, and by causing the slaves all over the kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with *Hercules* she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named *Alcaeus*.

Omphale was succeeded by her son *Alcaeus*, according to *Alcaeus*. some authors, who will have him to have been the first king of *Lydia* of the race of *Hercules*.

AFTER *Alcaeus* reigned *Belus*, and after *Belus* his son *Ni- Ninus*. *nus*, of whom we know nothing but their bare names.

Argon succeeded his father *Ninus*, and is said to have trans- *Argon*.ferred the royal seat to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have *Argon* to have been the first of the descendants of *Hercules* that reigned in *Lydia*.

Argon was succeeded by his son *Leon*, *Leon* by *Adryfus*, who *Leon, &c.* reigned thirty six years; *Adryfus* by *Alyattes* who reigned fourteen; and *Alyattes* by *Meles*, who reigned twelve.

Candaules the son of *Myrsus* was the last king of this se- *Candaules* cond race, and lost by his imprudence both his life and king- Year of dom. The fact is thus related by *Herodotus*^p: He had a the Flood, wife whom he passionately loved, and believed the most beautiful 2264. of her sex. He extolled her charms above measure to *Gyges*, Year be- his favourite, whom he used to entrust with his most important fore Christ affairs; and, the more to convince him of her beauty, resol- 735. ved to shew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen used to

^a PLUTARCH. de fluviis.
DOT. x. l. i.

VOL. V.

^o SOLINUS, lib. vii.

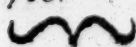
F f f

^p HERO-

undress

undress when she went to bed, ordering him to retire after seeing her, and take all possible care not to be observed. But notwithstanding all the caution he could use, she plainly discovered him going out, and though she did not doubt but it was her husband's contrivance, yet she passed that night in a seeming tranquility, suppressing her resentment to the next morning, when she sent for *Gyges*, and resolutely told him, that he must either with his death atone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death *Candaules* the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* at first earnestly begged of her, that she would not drive him to the necessity of such a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he must either kill his master, or die himself, he chose the former, and being led by the queen to the same place, where her husband had placed him the night before, he stabbed the king while he was asleep, and at the same time married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the *Delphic* oracle. For the *Lydians* having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of *Gyges*, that if the oracle should declare him to be the lawful king of *Lydia*, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should resign the crown to the *Heraclidae*. the answer of the oracle proved favourable to *Gyges*, whereupon he was universally acknowledged for lawful king of *Lydia*. *Candaules* is said ^r to have purchased a picture, done by one *Bularchas*, and representing a battle of the *Magnetes*, for its weight in gold, which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for *Candaules* was contemporary with *Romulus*.

Gyges.
Year of
the Flood,
2281.
Year be-
fore Christ
718.



Gyges, having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of *Lydia*, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of *Delphi*, among the others six cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Colophon*, and subdued the whole country of *Troas*. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of *Abydos* was built by the *Milesians*. *Plutarch* and other writers relate his accession to the crown of *Lydia* in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that *Gyges* rebelled against *Candaules* and slew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* ^r, and *Tully* ^t, we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*,

^r PLIN. lib. xxxv. c. viii.
lib. iii. de off.

^t PLATO de rep. l. xi. & x.

^t Cic.

Suidas, Philostratus, &c. Gyges reigned thirty eight years, and was succeeded by his son *Ardyes*.

Ardyes.

Ardyes or *Ardys* carried on the war against the *Milefians* which his father had begun, and possessed himself of *Priene*, in those days a strong city. In the reign of this prince the *Cimmerians* invaded and over-ran all *Asia Minor*; but what battles were fought between the *Lydians* and these invaders, and with what success, we find no where mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us ^u, that in the time of *Ardyes* they possessed themselves of *Sardis* the metropolis of *Lydia*, but could never win the castle. *Ardyes* reigned forty nine years, and was succeeded by his son

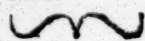
Sa lyattes.

Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years, and warred most part of his reign with the *Milefians*.

Alyattes.

AFTER him came his son *Alyattes*, who for the space of six years waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus*. Certain *Scythians* being driven out of their country on occasion of a sedition that happened among them, they retired into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* received them with great humanity, and, as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be instructed in the use of the bow, and in the *Scythian* tongue. The strangers were great sportsmen, and used daily to supply the king's table with game, which they dressed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, *Cyaxares*, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with most opprobrious language, which the *Scythians* resenting, agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and serve his flesh up to the king's table dressed like venison. This they effected and then made their escape into *Lydia*, where they were kindly entertained by *Alyattes*, which, according to *Herodotus*, gave occasion to a war that lasted six years, *Cyaxares* demanding the *Scythians*, and *Alyattes* refusing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various success, the *Medes* sometimes defeating the *Lydians* and the *Lydians* sometimes the *Medes*. In the sixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a sudden turned into night (Z), which so frightened both the *Lydians* and *Medes*, that they gave over fighting, and shewed a strong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediati-

Year of
the Flood,
2379.
Year be-
fore Christ
620.



^u HERODOT. ubi supra.

(Z) The total eclipse fell upon the 28th of May, and had been foretold by *Tales* the *Milefian* some years before.

on of *Syenneſis* king of *Cilicia* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*. The peace was ratified by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Alyattes* and *Aſtyages* the ſon of *Cyaxares* (A). A peace being thus concluded between the *Lydians* and *Medes*, *Alyattes* employed all his forces againſt the *Scythians*, and, after a war, which laſted ſeveral years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of ſo troubleſome gueſts. He was attended with the like ſucceſs in the war he undertook againſt the *Smyrneans*, whom he worſted in ſeveral battles, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of their capital and whole country. He continued for the ſpace of five years the war, which his father had begun againſt the *Mileſians*, ravaging their country, and about harveſt time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of proviſions to ſurrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the *Mileſians* being at that time maſters of the ſea. In the 12th year of this war the *Lydians* having ſet fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of *Minerva* at *Aſſeſus*, which was burnt down to the ground. Not long after *Alyattes* falling ſick ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*, which reſuſed to return any answer, till ſuch time as the king ſhould rebuild the temple of *Minerva* at *Aſſeſus*. Hereupon *Alyattes* diſpatched ambaffadors to *Miletus*, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the *Mileſians* till the temple ſhould be rebuilt. On the arrival of the ambaffadors *Thraſybulus*, then king of *Miletus*, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully ſtored with all manner of proviſions. This *Thraſybulus* did to the end, that the ambaffadors, ſeeing ſuch quantities of corn, and the people every-where diverting themſelves, might acquaint their maſter therewithal, and divert

(A) The account which *Herodotus* gives us of the cauſe of this war ſeems to ſome writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the *Scythians* falling out among themſelves ſhould have had recourſe to either of theſe kings, whoſe countries the *Scythians* had over run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery he had ſhewn in maſſacring ſuch of their country-men as had ſettled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that *Alyattes*, being jealous of the too great power of *Cyaxares* (who had ſeized, after the conqueſt of *Nineveh*, the regions belonging to the *Aſſyrians* as far as to the river *Euphrates*), entered into an alliance with the *Scythians* againſt the *Medes* and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the *Lydians* and *Scythians*.

him

him from pursuing the war. As *Thraſybulus* had deſigned, ſo it happened; for *Alyattes*, who believed the *Mileſians* greatly diſtreſſed for proviſions, receiving a quite different account from his ambaffadors, changed the truce into a laſting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendſhip with *Thraſybulus* and the *Mileſians*. *Alyattes* had two ſons, *Cræſus* by a *Carian*, and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*. *Cræſus* ſucceeded his father after he had reigned fifty ſeven years.

Cræſus, ſucceeding his father at the age of thirty five years, *Cræſus*. enlarged his dominions ſo as to be no ways inferior to any Year of prince of that age, though there were in his time three very the flood, powerful monarchies, viz. of *Media*, of *Babylon*, and of *E-* 2437. *gypt*. *Cræſus* was the firſt that made war on the *Ephēſians*, Before whoſe city he beſieged and took, notwithſtanding their conſe- Chriſt, crating it to *Diana*, and faſtening the walls by a rope to her 562 temple, which was ſeven ſtades diſtant from the city. After the reduction of *Ephēſus* he attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, obliging them, and all the other *Greek* ſtates of *Aſia*, to pay him a yearly tribute. He alſo formed a deſign of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the iſlands, but was diverted from this thought by *Bias* of *Priene*, or, as others ſay, by *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* (B). Not long after he ſubdued the *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphylians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys*. *Athenaus* out of *Beroſus* mentions a ſignal victory of his over the *Sacæans* a *Scythian* nation, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies yearly celebrated a feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*. *Cræſus* having by theſe victories acquired great fame and renown, many wiſe men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpoſe to ſee him, and among others *Solon*, who, after publiſhing his laws at *Athens*, had abſented himſelf from his country under pretence of travelling for the ſpace of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the conſtitutions which he had

(B) *Bias* arriving at *Sardis* from *Greece* told *Cræſus*, inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the iſlanders had bought ten thouſand horſes with a deſign to attack him by land, which *Cræſus* believing thanked the gods for inſpiring them with ſuch a reſolution, as knowing, that the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted in cavalry. Then *Bias* acquainted him, that the iſlanders had no ſuch deſign, but were no leſs pleaſed in hearing that he deſigned to attack them by ſea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack him by land. Whereupon *Cræſus*, being fully apprized of the raſhneſs of his deſign, laid it aſide, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* that inhabited the iſlands.

eſtabliſhed;

established; for the *Athenians* could make no alteration of themselves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at *Sardis* he was with great humanity entertained by *Cræsus* in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, *Cræsus* asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing, that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But *Solon*, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain truth, answered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happiest man he had ever seen (C). *Cræsus* again asked him who was the happiest man after *Tellus*, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to *Cleobis* and *Biton* two *Argives* (D). *Cræsus* shewing himself highly dissatisfied with *Solon*, for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the happiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end. Where-

(C) *Tellus* was an *Athenian*, had many virtuous children who all survived him, and, after having enjoyed all the happiness which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle fought at *Eleusis* against the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the *Athenians* at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two *Greeks* proved victorious in the *Olympic* games and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of *Juno*, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither she ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons, seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother, transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddess, that she would reward her children with what she thought would prove most advantageous to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the usual sacrifices banquetted, and with her sons, they both fell asleep and died in the temple. Upon which the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at *Delphi* (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib. i.*

upon he was dismissed by *Cræsus* as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræsus* lost his favourite son *Atys*, who was unfortunately killed at the chace of a wild boar by *Adrastus*, son of *Gordius* and grandson of *Mydas* king of *Phrygia*, who had fled to *Sardis* for refuge. This loss was no small allay to his happiness, for he continued disconsolate the space of two whole years and in a state of inaction, till the conquests of *Cyrus* and growing power of the *Persians* roused up his martial spirit, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended, that the good success, which attended *Cyrus* in all his undertakings, might at last prove dangerous to himself, and therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to his conquests. To this end he consulted all the oracles of any fame either in *Greece* or *Afric* (E), he strengthened

(E) We are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cræsus* sent ambassadors to the oracles of *Delpbi*, of *Abe*, of *Phocis*, of *Amphiaraus*, of *Trophonius*, of *Branchis*, and of *Jupiter Ammon*, enjoining them to propose, each to the oracle he was to consult, and all on the same day, the following question ; *What is Cræsus the son of Alyattes king of Lydia now doing ?* What answer the other oracles returned we find no where mentioned ; but that of *Delpbi*, as *Herodotus* informs us, answered thus : *I know the number of the sands of Libya the measure of the ocean, the secrets of the silent and dumb lie open to me. I smell the odour of a lamb and tortoise boiling together in a brazen cauldron ; brass is under, and brass above the flesh.* *Cræsus* hearing this answer adored the god of *Delpbi*, and owned, that the oracle had spoke truth ; for on the same day that his ambassadors consulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoise in a cauldron of brass, which had a cover of the same metal, thinking it impossible, that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediately offered to the *Delpbic Apollo* a sacrifice consisting of three thousand oxen ; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought out beds of gold and silver, vessels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. On this occasion so much gold was melted down that one hundred and seventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longest were six spans in length, the shortest three, but all one span in thickness. These, with a golden lion weighing ten talents and many other rich presents, *Cræsus* sent to the *Delpbic* oracle, enjoining his ambassadors to enquire whether he should undertake a war against the *Persians*. The oracle returned this answer ; *If Cræsus passes the Halys he will put an end to a vast empire,* which was capable of being interpreted either of *Persia* or *Lydia*. *Cræsus*, hearing this answer, and not doubting in the least, but that he should overturn the *Persian* monarchy, sent more presents to the oracle

strengthened himself with alliances, and, having raised what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, then belonging to the *Persians*, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of *Sinope* on the *Euxine* sea, took the city of *Pteria*, and laid waste all the adjacent country. *Cyrus*, hearing of the enemy's motions, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and marching into *Cappadocia* encamped in sight of the *Lydian* army. Here after several skirmishes the two armies came at last to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both sides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But *Cræsus* fearing to venture a second battle, as his forces were not near so numerous as those of *Cyrus*, retired in the night-time, and marched with all possible expedition to *Sardis*, where he disbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-assemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the least apprehend, that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. *Cyrus*, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, resolved to pursue him to *Sardis*, and oblige him to venture a second battle before his allies could join him. This resolution was executed with such expedition, that *Cyrus* at the head of his army appeared in the plains of *Sardis*, before *Cræsus* had any intelligence of his design. The *Lydians* were strangely alarmed at so bold an attempt, which they had neither foreseen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were still remaining, marched out against the *Persians*, by whom, after a sharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to shut himself up in *Sardis*, which was soon after taken by assault and *Cræsus* himself made prisoner. In

oracle, and two staters of gold to each of the inhabitants of *Delphi*. In consideration of which the *Delphians* granted *Cræsus* and the *Lydians* a right to consult the oracle before any other nation, together with the first place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. *Cræsus*, having made these presents, sent a third time to consult the oracle, whether he should long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle answered, *That he should reign till a mule ruled over the Medes*, which *Cræsus* deeming impossible concluded, that he and his posterity were to hold the kingdom of *Lydia* for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant *Cyrus*, whose parents were of different nations, his mother being a *Mede* and his father a *Persian*. And now *Cræsus*, relying on these fallacious answers, and believing himself invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Cyrus* at the head of a powerful army.

the

the taking of the town *Cræsus* himself had been killed, had *Cræsus* * not his second son, who to that time had been speechless, ^{taken.} cried out to the *Persian* who was ready to strike, *Spare Cræ-* Year of
sus. Whereupon he was against his will saved and carried to the flood,
Cyrus, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed ^{2450.}
on a great pile of wood, with a design to burn him and four- Before
teen young *Lydians* in honour of the gods, as a sacrifice and Christ,
the first-fruits of his victory. Then *Cræsus* recollecting the ^{549.}
words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before
his death, pronounced thrice that great philosopher's name,
which *Cyrus* hearing, and understanding what induced him to
invoke *Solon*, commanded him to be taken down from the
pile, and ranked among his friends and counsellors. *Xeno-*
phon tells us, that *Cyrus* received his royal prisoner with great
kindness and humanity, when he was first presented to him,
without mentioning the treatment which we read of in *He-*
rodotus. The first favour *Cræsus* begged of the conqueror
was, that he would give him leave to send his fetters to the
oracle of *Delphi*, as the trophies of the success which *Apollo*
had promised him. This favour *Cyrus* willingly granted ;
but the oracle, or rather the priests, convinced *Cræsus*, that
he and not *Apollo* was to blame (F). Thus ended the antient
kingdom of *Lydia*, continuing subject to the *Persians* till they
also were conquered by the *Macedonians*, as we have seen in
the foregoing part of this history.

(F) The oracle answered, that the god himself could not reverse the decrees of fate, and that *Cræsus* in the fifth generation suffered for the crime of one, who, at the instigation of a woman, had murdered his master, and possessed himself of a crown which did not belong to him ; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no reason to complain ; for *Apollo* only foretold, that by making war on the *Persians* he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he desired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of *Cyrus*, was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of suing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfall was entirely owing to himself. *Cræsus*, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong ; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle, from all suspicion of falshood.

* It may not be amiss to observe here, that, the defeat of *Cræsus*, which is above referred to the year before Christ 549, is by Sir *Isaac Newton* placed in the year before Christ 544, as also by the authors in the 4th Volume p. 538.

C H A P. XVI.

The History of the L Y C I A N S.

Name and
divisions.

THE country before us was at first called *Milias* or *Tremile* from the *Milia*, a people of *Crete* that settled there, as *Herodotus*^a and *Stephanus* inform us, and afterwards *Lycia* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty sixth and thirty eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by *Caria* on the west, by *Pamphylia* on the east, by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphylia* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean*, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were *Telmessus* or *Telmisus*, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are said to have been the first pretenders to the interpretation of dreams. *Patara*, situated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* no ways inferior to that of *Delphi*. At *Patara* *Apollo* was said to reside the six winter months, and the six summer months at *Delos*, whence the epithets of *Pataræus Apollo*^b and *Sortes Lyciæ* c. This city was greatly improved and embellished by *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, and called *Arfinoe* from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. *Myra* built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coast, mentioned in the *Acts*^d. This city was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* province, and of consequence in the christian times an archbishop's see. *Olympus*, a famous city with a mountain of the same name. *Phaselis*, on the borders of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and therefore by some placed in *Pamphylia*, by others more accurately in *Lycia*. This city in the time of the *Romans* was a famous nest of pirates, but was at last reduced by *Servilius*, while *Pompey* scoured the sea with a numerous fleet. To the pirates of this town former ages were indebted for those swift vessels, which the *Romans* from the place called *Phaseli*, and we *Brigantines*. We will not take upon us

^a HERODOT. l. i. & vii.

^b HORAT. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4.

^c VIRGIL. *Æneid* iv. v. 346.

^d *Acts* xxvii. 5.

to mark out the bounds of the midland *Lycia*. *Strabo* reckons in it the following towns, *Pinara*, *Cragus*, at the foot of a hill bearing the same name, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. *Ptolemy* adds to the *Mediterranean* part of *Lycia* two small countries, viz. *Milyas* on the west bordering on *Caria*, and *Cabalia* on the east bordering on *Lycia Proper*. But *Strabo* places *Milyas* on the borders of *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*. The inland part of *Lycia* was divided by the river *Xanthus*, which, rising in two springs from the foot of mount *Cadmus*, and washing the walls of *Xanthus*, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of *Lycia*, were called *Xanthians*. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all *Asia*, is mount *Taurus*, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great oriental ocean. In *Lycia* was also the famous mountain *Chimæra* which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted and rendered habitable by *Bellerophon*, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

THE soil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholesome. It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Taurus*, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Soil and climate.

As to the origin of the *Lycians*, *Herodotus* and others^c Their origin inform us, that they were descended from the *Cretans*; for *Sarpedon*, being driven out of the island by his brother *Minos*, and landing in *Asia* with those *Cretans* who had sided with him, settled in *Milyas*, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the antient proprietors, whom *Herodotus* calls *Milyans* and *Solymi*. During the reign of *Sarpedon* they continued to be called *Cretans*, but after his death took the name of *Lycians* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*, who being forced by his brother *Ægeus* to quit his native country, had fled to *Sarpedon*. Hence the poets, and with them *Strabo*, seem to confound the *Lycians* with the *Carians*, who were undoubtedly descended from the *Cretans*. But *Diodorus Siculus*^f, and *Plato*^g before him, counts the *Lycians* among the Greek na-

^c HERODOT. lib. i. & vii. STRAB. lib. xii & xiv. PAUSANIAS lib. vii.

^f DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16.

^g PLATO in *Minoe*.

tions of *Asia*, as being descended from the *Argivi*. But not to dwell on such uncertainties, the *Lycians* were once a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. They had, according to *Strabo*^h, three and twenty according to *Pliny*ⁱ six and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their power on the seas as far as *Italy*.

Their man-
ners, go-
vernment,
&c.

THE *Lycians* are highly commended by the ancient writers for their sobriety, and manner of administering justice. They had in latter ages twenty three considerable cities, each of which sent their deputies to a general assembly or diet, the great cities three, the lesser two, and the least one only. In this assembly all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administered justice, settled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. Whence we may conclude, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no ways absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, as *Strabo* informs us^k, but with this difference, that the consent of the *Roman* governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had passed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical, and the country parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus*, and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the same time; if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have bore the greatest sway in the administration. But be that as it will, in process of time all *Lycia* became subject to one prince; for *Herodotus*, in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming of *Xerxes*'s fleet, mentions but one king of *Lycia*, by name *Cyberniscus*. This nation, as most of the other nations of *Asia*, was first subdued by *Cræsus* or the *Lydians*, and after the downfall of the *Lydian* kingdom by *Cyrus*. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity, with which the *Lycians* of *Xanthus* opposed *Harpagus* the *Persian* general, deserves particular notice. For instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, to the *Persian* yoke, they attacked with a handful of men *Harpagus*'s numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being over-

^h STRAB. l. xiv.

ⁱ PLIN. l. v. c. 27.

^k STRAB. l. xiv.
powered

powered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they first set fire to the castle, where they had shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches; and then, engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the *Persians*, but paid an annual tribute to the king of *Persia*. They fell with the *Persians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and after the death of *Alexander* were governed by the *Seleucidæ*. Of these *Antiochus the Great* being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, *Lycia* was granted to the *Rhodians*; but these disobliging the *Romans* in the war with *Perseus*, *Lycia* was declared a free country, and continued to be so till the reign of *Claudius*, who, provoked at their intestine dissensions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR customs were much the same with those of the *Cretans* and *Carians*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But they had one custom peculiar to themselves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, so that if any one was asked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourse to the female line. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but, on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours or bearing any public employment¹. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the same with that of the inhabitants of *Crete*, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the *Greek* islands.

THE succession of the kings of *Lycia* and the years of their respective reigns are overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all *Lycia* that we are sure of. Their
kings.)

Amisodarus, who is fabled to have nourished the monster *Chimæra*.

Jobates, who married his daughter *Sthenobæa*, or, as others call her, *Antæa*, to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against the *Tyrinthians* in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them. His daughter *Sthenobæa* falling in love with *Bellerophontes*, the son of *Glaucus* king of *Ephyra*, and having solicited him in vain to comply with her unchaste desires, complained to her

¹ HERODOT. lib. i.

husband as if she had been solicited by him. Whereupon *Prætus*, being unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality by putting a stranger to death in his own kingdom, sent him into *Lycia* with letters to *Jobates* his father-in-law, requesting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates*, thinking it a base thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a stranger, sent him with a small body of troops against the *Solyimi*, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he should there find his doom. But *Bellerophon* returned from this and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only safe, but victorious; whereupon *Jobates*, being reconciled to him and discovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

MANY years after reigned *Cyberniscus*, who was one of *Xerxes*'s admirals in his expedition against *Greece*^m. And this is all we find upon record concerning the antient kings of *Lycia*.

The History of the antient CILICIANS.

Name and
divisions.

CILICIA, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix*, the son of *Agenor* and brother of *Cadmus*, who is said by them to have settled in this country, as we have observed elsewhereⁿ. *Josephus*^o tells us, that it was antiently called *Tarsis* from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, who first peopled this part of *Asia*^p; and of the same opinion are *Stephanus*^q, *Zonaras*^r, and *Hierom*^s; but the latter by *Tarshish* in scripture sometimes understands *Carthage*^t, sometimes a province in *India*^u, and sometimes the sea^w. *Bochart*^x derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phœnician* word *Cballekim* or *Challukim* signifying a stone, that part of *Cilicia*, which the *Greeks* called *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very stony, and to this day called by the *Turks* *Tas Wileieth*, that is, the stony province.

Cilicia properly so called, lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded by *Syria* on the east, or rather by mount *Amanus* which separates it from that kingdom, by *Pamphylia* on the west, by *Isauria*, *Capadocia*, and *Armenia Minor* on the north, and by the *Me-*

^m HEROD. l. vii. ⁿ Vol. II. p. 330. ^o JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7.
^p See Vol. I. p. 372. ^q STEPH. verbo Ταρσος ^r ZONAR.
tom. i. ^s HIERONYM. in quæst. Hebraic. ^t Idem, in
cap. 23. Esa. ^u Idem, ad Marcell. ^w Idem, in cap.
10. Esa. ^x BOCHART. Phal. l. i. c. 5.

diterranean on the south. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the last province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out against the *Ottoman* race. This province is so surrounded by steep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of resolute men against a whole army how numerous soever, there being but three narrow passes leading into it, commonly called *Pilæ Ciliciæ* or the gates of *Cilicia*, one on the side of *Cappadocia* called the pass of mount *Taurus*, and the other two, called the pass of mount *Amanus*, and the pass of *Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The *Persian* army marched through the straits of mount *Amanus*, while that of *Alexander* was encamped at *Iffus* not far from the straits of *Syria*, which lie more to the south, and were guarded by a body of *Macedonians* under the command of *Parmenio*; the straits of mount *Taurus* *Alexander* had passed in entering *Cilicia*, the *Persians* who guarded that important pass having retired at the approach of the *Macedonians*.

THE whole country was divided by the antients into *Cilicia Aspera* and *Cilicia Campestris*; the former, called by the *Cities of Cilicia* Greeks *Trachæa* or *stony*, is bounded by *Isauria* on the north, *Aspera*. *Pamphylia* on the west, *Cilicia Campestris* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. The cities in this part of *Cilicia* mentioned by the antients, are *Sydra*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Syedra*, *Nagidus* a *Samian* colony, *Anemurium*, *Arfinoe*, *Calendris* or *Celanderis*, *Aphrodisias*, so called from *Venus* who was worshipped there in a stately temple, *Holmus*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Holmia*, *Sarpedon*, famous for a noble temple consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Lephyrium*, according to *Ptolemy*, the last city of *Cilicia Aspera*, which *Strabo* extends to *Solæ*. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Scylax* make no distinction between the two *Cilicias*. Near *Lephyrium* was a grove much celebrated by the antients, and minutely described by *Pomponius Mela*†. *Sebaste*, which *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* chose for his residence, after he was by *Augustus* appointed king of *Cilicia Aspera*; this city was situated on a small island called *Eleusa*, and not on the continent, where *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have placed it. These were the Towns of most note on the coast of *Cilicia Aspera*; the inland cities were, *Seleucia*, built by *Seleucus Nicator* on the banks of the *Calycadnus*, and peopled by the inhabitants of *Holmus*; it was a free city under the *Romans*, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from several medals, at least to the time of the emperor *Gordian*. *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, *Lamus*, and in latter

† POMP. MELA, apud APOLLODOR. l. i. c. 6. sect. iii.

times *Scandoloro*, on the confines of *Pamphylia*, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the *Carmanian* kings.

Cities of
Cilicia
Proper.

THE chief cities of *Cilicia* properly so called, or *Cilicia Campestris*, were, according to *Strabo*, *Soli*, or *Solæ*, built by the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*. This city was destroyed by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in his wars with the *Romans*, and rebuilt by *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius*^a tells us, that this city was built by *Solon* on his return from the court of *Cræsus*, and peopled by a colony from *Athens*; and adds, that these *Athenians*, having in process of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the *Barbarians*, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expressions, whence any impropriety of speech was called a *Solecism*. But this is contradicted by others^b, who derive the word *Solecism* not from the *Solenfes* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus*^c. *Tarsus*, which produced the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, and was, if we believe *Strabo*^d, in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to *Athens* or *Alexandria*. We are told, that it borrowed its name from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, by whom or by his descendants it was built; but *Strabo* out of *Aristobulus* acquaints us, that it was built by *Sardanapalus*, and proves his assertion from an antient monument found in those parts with this inscription, *Sardanapalus the son of Anacyndaraxes built the cities of Anchiale and Tarsus in one day*. *Tarsus* was at first the metropolis of all *Cilicia*, and after *Constantine's* division, of *Cilicia Prima*. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, which *St. Paul* thought fit to make use of according to the *Portian* law^d. The *Tarsians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Julius Cæsar*, exchanged the antient name of their city for that of *Julio-polis*; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the *Greeks* *Terfia* or *Terassa*; the *Turks*, as *Bellonius* and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamsa*. *Anchiale*, built by *Sardanapalus*, as we hinted above, or, if we believe *Athenodorus*, by *Anchiale* the daughter of *Japhet*. *Anazarbum*, situated on the river *Pyramus*, and in the *Roman* times the metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda*. *Suidas* tells us, that it was first called *Cyinda*, and afterwards

^a LAERT. in vitis Philosoph.

^b STRAB. l. xiv. p. 456.

^c Vid. PLUT. in vita Solon. ^d STRAB. l. xiv. p. 463. ^e ACTS xvi. 37. and xxii. xxviii.

Anazarbum, from one *Anazarbus*, who was sent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly mistaken, since *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from mount *Anazarbus* at a small distance from the place where this city stood. *Anazarbum* was the birth-place of *Dioscorides*, and continued in a very flourishing condition to the division of the empire. *Epiphania*, which gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*. *Mopsuestia*, the see of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, a great patron of the *Nestorian* heresy in the time of *Chrysostom*. *Iffus* situated, on a gulph to which it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulph on which it stands the gulph of *Ajazzo*. *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great* between *Iffus* and the straits which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. *Ptolemy* places this city in *Syria*, but *Strabo* more rightly on the bay of *Iffus*. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing cities of the world. *Alexander* in building it employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* burnt by *Erostratus*^c, and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from *Judea*^f, allowing the *Jews* the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions which he granted the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for such as traded on the *Mediterranean*, the *Red-sea*, and the *Nile*, it continued in a very flourishing condition, till trade took another course on the discovery of a way to the *Indies*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at present called by the *Turks* *Scanderoon*, by the *Italians* *Alexandretta*, remarkable for nothing else but some ruins, which shew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the antients; but as they were no ways considerable, and are at present quite unknown, we shall not dwell any longer on this subject.

THE rivers of any note in *Cilicia* are, the *Pyramus*, which rises on the north side of mount *Taurus*, and empties itself into the *Mediterranean* between *Iffus* and *Magarsus*; the *Cyd-nus*, which springs from the *Antitaurus*, passes through *Tarsus*, and disembogues itself into the *Mediterranean* near the city of *Anchiale*; it is famous for the rapidity of its stream,

^c PLIN. l. v. c. 10.^f JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. ii.

and coldness of its water, which proved very dangerous to *Alexander*; the *Calycadnus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, and several others of less note, water this province, and discharge themselves into that part of the *Mediterranean*, which the antients called the sea of *Cilicia*, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from east to west.

Soil and
climate.

THAT part of *Cilicia*, which the antients called *Cilicia Campestris*, was, if we believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, one of the most fruitful countries of all *Asia*; but the western part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horses, of which 600 are yearly sent to *Constantinople* for the special use of the *Grand Signior*. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholesome, but equally dangerous on the coast, especially to such as are not accustomed to it.

Their ori-
gin.

THIS country, according to *Josephus*^g, was first peopled by *Tarshish* the son of *Javan* and his descendants, whence the whole country was called *Tarsis*, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of *Tarsus*, as some have wrote. The antient inhabitants were in process of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians*, who under the conduct of *Cilix* first settled in the island of *Cyprus*, and from thence passed into the country which from their leader they called *Cilicia*. *Strabo*^h tells us, that this *Phœnician* colony passed from *Cyprus* into *Phrygia*, where they lived in subjection to the kings of *Troy*, and after the *Trojan* war possessed themselves of that country which was afterwards called *Cilicia*. In tract of time several colonies from other countries settled in this kingdom, namely from *Syria* and *Greece*, whence the *Cilicians* in some places used the *Greek* tongue, in others the *Syriac*, but the former greatly corrupted by the *Persian*, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

Their man-
ners, go-
vernment,
&c.

THE *Cilicians*, if we believe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. They first began together with the *Pamphylians* in

^g JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7.

^h STRAB. l. xvii. p. 342.

(G) Which gave rise to the proverbs, *Cilix haud facile verum dicit*; *Cilicium exitium*; and to the saying of *Pherocrates*, *Dii semper nobis imponunt, more Cilicum*; that is, *A Cilician scarce ever speaks the truth*; *Cilician cruelty*; *The gods, like the Cilicians, always deceive us* (32).

(32) *Vide Cbiliad. Erasmi. Verbo Cilix.*

the time of the *Mithridatic* war to infest the neighbouring coasts, and being emboldened with success soon ventured as far as the coasts of *Greece* and *Italy* itself, where they took innumerable slaves, whom they sold to the *Cypriots*, and to the kings of *Egypt*, and *Syria*. *Publius Servilius* was first employed against them, who gave them a great overthrow in a sea engagement, took *Phaselis* and several other strong holds, whither they used to retire, and ravaged their whole country. But scarce was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the *Ionian*, *Mediterranean*, and *Archipelago*, with their vessels, so as to entirely obstruct the navigation. Whereupon *Pompey* himself did not think it beneath his greatness to undertake a war against them, which he ended in the space of one month, having at the same time attacked them both by sea and land, with 500 ships and 130,000 men.

IN antient times the *Cilicians*, before they settled in that country which we call *Cilicia*, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, viz. the *Theban* and the *Lyrnessian*; in the former ruled the family of *Eetion*, in the latter that of *Evenus*. These kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of *Thebes* and *Lyrnessus*, two cities in the famous plain called the plain of *Thebes*, often mentioned both by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as having been the occasion of frequent disputes between the *Lydians* and *Mysians*, and in the *Roman* times between the neighbouring princes of *Asia Minor*. After the settling of the *Cilicians* in that country which from them was called *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily submitted, continuing subject to the *Persians* till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* by kings of their own nation. *Herodotus* indeed counts *Cilicia* among the *Persian Satrapies*¹; but from other writers it is manifest, that the *Cilicians* were governed by kings of their own in the time of *Xerxes*² and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. After the downfall of the *Persian* empire *Cilicia* became a *Macedonian* province, and on the death of *Alexander* fell to the share of *Seleucus*, and continued under his descendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. As a proconsular province it was first governed by *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and after him by *Cicero*, who reduced several strong holds on mount *Amanus*, in which some *Cilicians* had fortified themselves and held out against his prede-

¹ HERODOT. l. iii.² Vid. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii.

DIODOR. l. xvi. CURT. l. ii.

cessor, for which he was saluted by the army with the title of *Imperator* or *General*. All *Cilicia* being thus brought under subjection, it was first divided into *Cilicia Campestris* and *Trachæa*; the former became a *Roman* province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the *Romans* till the reign of *Vespasian*, when the family of *Tracodementus* being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Isauria*; the first took in all *Cilicia Campestris*, the second the coast of *Cilicia Trachæa*, and the last the inland parts of the same division; and in this state it continued till the division of the empire.

Their
kings.

As to the succession of the *Cilician* kings we are almost quite in the dark. Those we find mentioned by the antients, are *Eetion*, who reigned before their migration into *Cilicia* and assisted *Priam* against the *Greeks*. He was king of *Thebes* only, in the defence of which city he was with his seven sons killed, as we read in *Homer*¹, by *Achilles*. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector*'s wife, was his daughter. *Evenus* reigned in *Lyrnessus* during the *Trojan* war, and is likewise mentioned by *Homer*^m. He was succeeded in his petty kingdom by his sons *Mines* and *Epistropus*, who siding with the *Trojans* were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syennesis* I. who was cotemporary with *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, as we have hinted in the histories of *Media* and *Lydia*. *Horomedon* mentioned by *Herodatus*ⁿ. *Syennesis* II. who assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*^o, and is greatly commended by *Æschylus*. *Syennesis* III. who assisted, tho' much against his will, *Cyrus* the younger against his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by the kings of *Persia*; whence we conclude him to have been the last that reigned in *Cilicia* before the country was subdued by *Alexander*. Of the kings that reigned several ages after in *Cilicia Trachæa* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Year of
the Flood,
2598.
Year be-
fore Christ
401.

¹ HOMER. Iliad. Z. ^m Idem Iliad. B. ⁿ HERODOT. I. vii.
^o HERODOT. ibid.

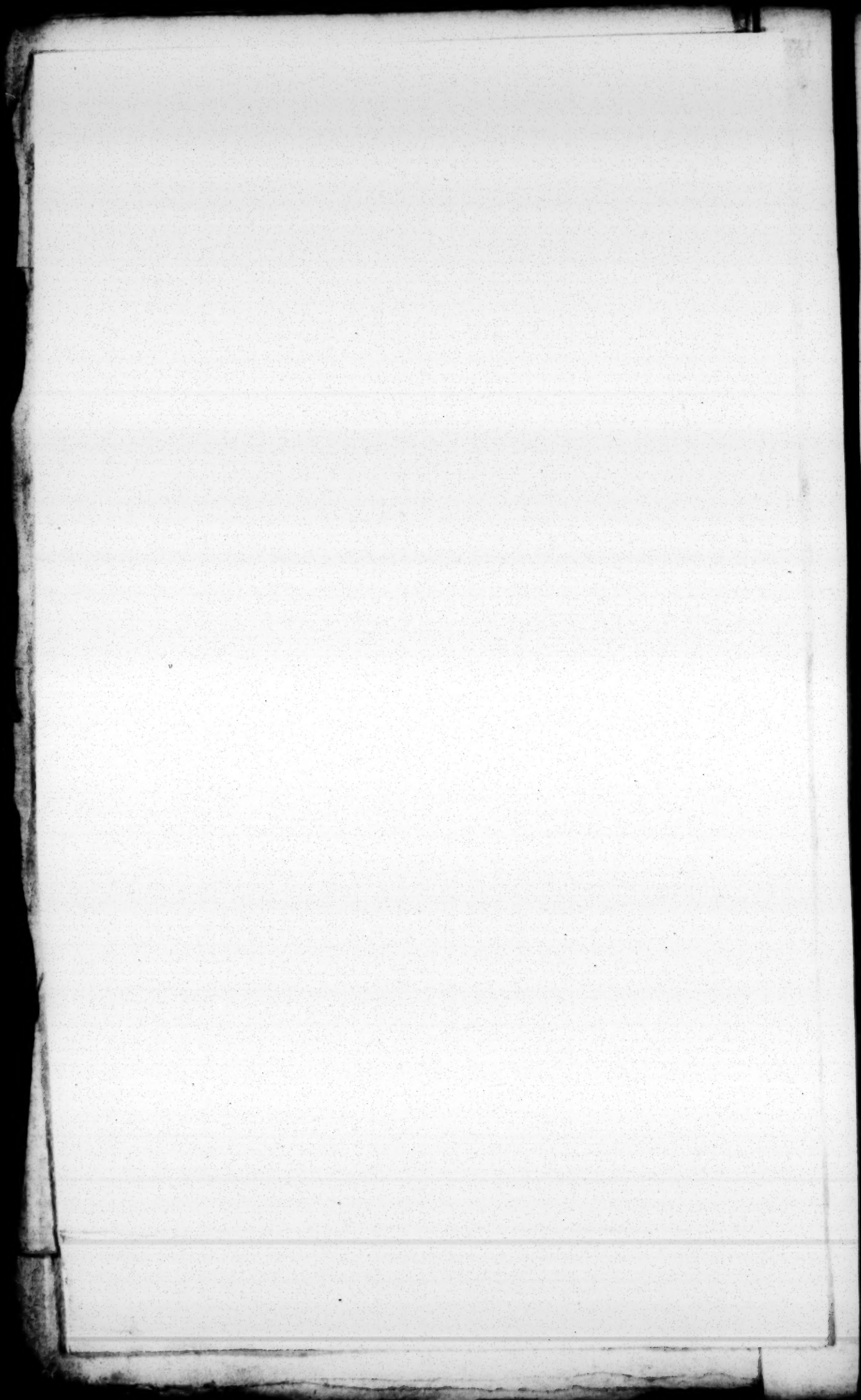


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GRÆCIA ANTIQUA
prout Primitus in Regna dein in
Respub; denique a Romanis in
Provincias in hoc & Seq. Vol. Divisa
legitur.

D.P.S.





C H A P. XVII.

The fabulous and heroic times ; containing the history of the antient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Theffaly, Corinth, of Sparta to Lycurgus, and some others of less note, to their severally becoming commonwealths.

S E C T. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

IT being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of *Greece*, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals ; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves, from the lowest beginnings, to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies ; we cannot reasonably expect, that our readers will rest satisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the *Grecian* writers have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whose antient monuments, though

*Original
of the
Greeks.*

disguised

disguised under the tales of the most unnatural actions of the gods, such as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet, when divested from the fable, afford at least so much light to those dark times, that an history of this country would be justly thought imperfect without some short account of them.

THE

(A) it will not be amiss to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha with offering some tolerable account for that heap of monstrous fables under which the history of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from some, if not all, of the following reasons:

1. From the genius of those languages in which these antient monuments were written, which was altogether figurative, and whose elegance consisted in the boldest and most sublime allusions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themselves, who, being all poets, and recording these transactions in short sonnets, to be learned by heart and sung upon proper occasions, did still inance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the most strained and surprizing allegories, that they might make the deeper and more lasting impression both on those who sang, and those who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or superior to other cotemporary nations, or perhaps rather from a shame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to say brutish, ancestors, who like wild beasts did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the strongest arm. The consciousness of which made some of them fetch their original from certain great heroes begot by some lecherous god, either upon some kind goddess, or straggling nymph, whilst others contented themselves with pretending, that they sprang like mushrooms out of their own native soil.

4. This might be also another reason, why they transformed into fictitious monsters those real ones amongst them, whose cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high esteem they had for those renowned heroes, who cleared the country of those pests of mankind. They could not, it seems, look upon the arduous, and yet successful labours of a *Minos*, a *Hercules*, or a *Theseus* in this so beneficial a province, without supposing them to have been more than mortal men, or at least without an ambition to make them pass in future ages for the offspring of some of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo the antient *Hebrew* heroes, both in their extraction and in their wonderful exploits; thus we find a great part of the character of *Hercules* to be a mere compound of those of *Sampson*, *Gideon*,
Jephthah,

THE limits of Greece, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual sending out of colonies, or by conquests which still carried their name with them, which will be best seen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our present epocha, extended from north to south, that is, from the long ridge of mountains, which divided it from Macedonia, and from the river Strymon, by which it was parted from Thrace, to the promontory of Tenarus, the utmost southern extent of Peloponnesus, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from east to west, that is, from the Ægean to the Ionian sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained the following kingdoms: In Peloponnesus, Sicyon, Argos, and Messenia, Corinth, Achaia Propria, Arcadia, and Laconia. Out of it, or in Græcia Propria, those of Attica, Megara, Bæotia, Locris, Epichnemidia, Doris, Phocis, Locris, Ozolæa, and Ætolia. In Epirus, the Molossi, Amphiloichi, Cassiopæi, Dræopes, Chaones, Thesprotii, Almenii, and Acarnania. In Thessaly, it contained the countries of Thessaliotis, Estiotis, Pelasgiotis, Magnesia, and Phthia^a. All these have at one time or other been severally governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of Argos, Attica, Thebes, and Sparta, of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war^b. The fuller description and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; the rest we must content ourselves with the bare mention, of because we know very little except their names.

FOR this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of those various inhabitants of antient Greece. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of Graioi and Graicoi^c (B). Their various names

These

^a De his Vid. PTOL. HERODOT. D. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al. mult. ^b PAUSAN. APOLL. & al. ^c CALLIMACH. Hymn. in Jov. SOPHOC. & al.

Jephthah, and other Jewish worthies. The same may be said of several others (1).

(B) From Græcus the father, or, according to others, the son of Thessalus, who gave name to Thessaly (2). But by a modern critic

(1) Vid. Grot. de Verit. Huet. demonstr. Evang. & al. mult. (2) Euseb. Chronic. Isidor. Orig. l. xiv. c. 4. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 7. Suid. & Steph. Byzant. in Voc. Γραικός & Θερραλός.

(3)

These they quickly changed for those of *Achæi* and *Hellenes* ^d, by which they are generally called in antient authors (C). Another name by which they were known in several parts of *Greece* was that of *Pelasgi*, which the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the antientest people of it, do challenge from their pretended founder *Pelasgus*, who, we find, did get such footing in *Peloponnesus*, that the whole peninsula was from him called *Pelasgia* ^e. We find these *Pelasgians*, for whom some critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), spread in many other parts of *Greece*, as in *Attica*,

^d THUCYDID. l. i. ARISTOT. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. STEPH. BYZANT. &c. ^e Id. sub voc. Πελοποννησος.

(3) derived from *Ragau* the same with *Reu* the son of *Peleg* (4), by the transposition of a letter to soften the sound.

(C) The first supposed from *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Hellen* and father of *Ion*; or, according to the fable, the son of *Jupiter* (5); the other from *Hellen* abovementioned, the son of *Deucalion* and father of *Dorus*, from whom came the *Dores*, afterwards a famous nation in *Greece*.

Thucydides observes rightly, however, that the name of *Hellenes* did not universally obtain over *Greece*; since *Homér*, who wrote so long after the siege of *Troy*, doth only call them so who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis* (6).

(D) These (7) suppose, that the descendants of *Peleg*, the fourth in descent from *Shem* the son of *Noah*, whom they suppose to have been the father of the *Scythians*, were the first who peopled *Greece*; and that they only softened the name of *Peleg*, or according to the septuagint and vulgate *Phaleg*, their progenitor, and called themselves *Pelasgians*. The last of those authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the *Hebrew* and antient *Greek*, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the *Doric* comes nearest to the eastern tongues; and from the remainder of those tongues, especially in those places where the *Pelasgians* have been, which *Bochart* thought of *Phœnician*, but our author will rather have of *Hebrew* extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a passage in *Epiphanius*, who says (8), that from the age of *Terah* downward, *Phaleg* and *Ragau* removed towards the clime of Europe to part of *Scythia*, and were joined to those nations from which the *Thracians* came.

This last passage, wherever *Epiphanius* got it, has been sufficient-

(3) *Salmas. de re Hellenist. p. 2. c. 1 ap. Hind. introd. in Hist. Græc.* (4) 1 *Chron. i. 25. Gen. xi. 18, 19.* (5) *Vid. Byzant. sub voce Ἰωνία* (6) *Thucyd. l. i.* (7) *Grot. Salmas. & Stillingfleet. orig. Sac. l. iii. c. 4.* (8) *Epist. ad Acac. & Paul.*

tica, *Thessaly*, and *Epirus*; in which last they have been supposed by some ^f to have laid the foundation of the *Dodonean* oracle. But the most antient name of all is universally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themselves derive from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, as the fable hath it, of *Apollo* by *Creusa* the daughter of *Erichtheus*, and grandson to *Deucalion* ^g. But it is more probable, as *Josephus* affirms ^h, *Iones* descended from *Javan*, the son of *Japheth* and grandson of *Noah*, and his descendants were the first who peopled these countries, as the learned *Bochart* seems to have proved by very strong arguments ⁱ (E).

It is true indeed, that among the *Greeks* themselves, only the original *Athenians* and such colonies as sprang from them were called *Iones*, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of *Greece* by that name; witness the testimony of *Hesychius* ^k, and the scholiast on *Aris-*

^f Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. v. Vid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. & BYZANT. sub voce Θέσσαλια. ^g Vid. HERODOT. l. viii. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. Achaic. ^h Ant. l. i. c. 7. ⁱ Phaleg. l. iii. c. 3. ^k Sub voce Ἰωνία.

ly confuted by *Bochart* (9), who shews, that both *Phaleg* and *Ragau*, and their descendants, continued still in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. And we have elsewhere shewn [†], that the *Scythians* were the descendants of *Magog*, and not of *Phaleg* or *Ragau*. They were the sons of *Japheth* and not of *Shem*, who divided the isles of the gentiles (10). We shall therefore leave the *Pelasgians* to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the antient *Greeks* in the following note.

(E) First from the authority of *Josephus* above quoted. 2. From the name itself of the patriarch, יון without the points, sounding more properly *Jon* than *Javan*. 3. From the authority of *Moses* who says (11), that by these (the sons of *Japheth*) were the isles of the *Gentiles* divided; which, according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means, not islands properly so called, but all maritime countries, at any distance from *Palestine*, especially those which are along the *Mediterranean*. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call *Græcia* by the name of יון, *Jon*, or, as pointed, *Javan*. According to which the *Jews* have all along to this day called the *Greek* tongue יונית *Javanith*.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of *Elisab Javan's* eldest son (13), which were still to be found in that of *Elis*, one of the antient kingdoms of *Peloponnesus*.

(9) *Phaleg*. l. ii. c. 14. [†] See before p. 232. (10) See *Gen*. x. ver. 2. ad 5. (11) *Gen*. x. 5. (12) Vid. int. al. *Isai*. cap. ult. ver. 19. *Dan*. viii. 21. x. 20. (13) *Gen*. x. 4.

*tophanes*¹, and those passages of holy writ mentioned in the last note. We omit the names of several other people among the antient *Greeks*, which were supposed to have been the oldest of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the first peoplers of that country; such were the *Aones*, *Hyanthes*, *Leleges*, *Dryopi*, *Caucones*, *Jemmices*, and others mentioned by *Strabo*^m, but which may be better supposed to have been reliques of the old *Carians*, who, *Thucydides* tells us, made frequent incursions into *Greece*ⁿ.

*The man-
ners of the
antient
Greeks.*

IF we look upon this infant state of *Greece* with respect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued uncultivated desert, inhabited by savage creatures scarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at best sheltering themselves, from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees^o. The first improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food for the more wholesome acorns, building themselves huts to sleep in, and covering their bodies with the skins of beasts. All this it seems they were beholding for to *Pelasgus* abovementioned^p, whose memory was highly revered among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their manners. On the contrary, they, who had no occasion to fight for any thing but a hole to sleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of these new acquisitions. This in time put them under a necessity of joining themselves into companies under some head, that they might either more safely plunder their neighbours, or preserve what they had got. Laws they had none, except that of the strongest arm; so that they only lived safest and most quietly, who inhabited the most craggy and barren spots of ground, whilst those, who were more pleasantly or fruitfully seated, were continually liable to be dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was, that *Greece* for a long time had no settled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Their gigantic size and strength, if we may believe *Plutarch*^q, added so much to their insolence and cruelty, that they seemed to glory in committing the greatest acts of violence and barbarity on those that unhappily fell into their hands.

THE case did not alter much for the better after they came

¹ Ap. HIND. *Introduct. in hist. Græc* ^m *Geogr.* l. vii. ⁿ lib. i. ^o *Vid.* HORAT. *Satir.* & PAUSAN. in *Arcadic.* ^p *Id. ibid.* ^q in *Theseo.*

to form themselves into regular societies, and build themselves towns and cities for safety. *Attica* seems the only place that was free from those incursions, because it was destitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but those cities fared worst which were situate on the sea-coasts, because they were in continual danger of being plundered either by sea or land; for pirates did not less infest all those seas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cause why most of the antient cities of *Greece* were built at some distance from the shore; but even in these, as all their safety consisted in the resistance they could make against an invader, so their inhabitants were under a necessity of going constantly armed, and to be ever on their guard.

*Pirates
and rob-
bers.*

ANOTHER mischief arising from these continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, so that men only planted and sowed as much as was barely necessary for their present support; and where there was such an universal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any discoveries in other useful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at sea. Hence it is also, that whilst other antient nations, as the *Jews*, the *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, and *Phœnicians*, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have seen in their several histories, the *Greeks* alone seem to have been the only strangers to them; infomuch, that one may reasonably question, by *Homer's* making oxen the standard of the value of things, whether they knew the use of money even in his days. One art, however, one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they seemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverse may be inferred from what the same poet tells us, of some of his heroes putting whole squadrons of them to flight.

*Neglect of
agriculture*

Trades.

*Art of
war.*

WE shall have occasion to shew in the sequel, that they had no letters till *Cadmus* brought them thither out of *Phœnicia*, whose alphabet, consisting only of sixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewise, that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other sciences, they continued much longer strangers to them; and it was not till some of their great men began to travel into *Egypt*, and other kingdoms, and the *Celts* made their frequent incursions into *Greece* †, that they began to have some knowledge and relish for them. We are indeed told, that *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, and some others, who went into the first of

*Arts and
sciences.*

† See before, p. 250.

those countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the *Egyptian* divinity, and religious rites from thence^r. But as for astronomy, geometry, philosophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the first from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt*, and the last from *Persia*^r; so ignorant we find them of the first of these sciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of sleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of sowing and reaping.

Their government.

THEIR government was still more rude and barbarous; every city, and almost every village or obscure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheless they gave the name of king. Hence that vast number of small inconsiderable kingdoms with which this country swarmed, and of the greatest part of which we know little else than their names, and that of one or sometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occasionally mentioned in the history of those of more note, into which they were afterwards blended either by alliances or conquest. Laws, at least a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the *Athenian* archons; till then all depended on the will and the definitive sentence of their kings; only in dubious and important cases, it was usual for them to consult some oracle, of which they had variety; the two most famous were that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, situated on the hill *Parnassus*. (F).

Laws.

THEIR

^r HERODOT. l. i. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. l. i. ^r Vid. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græc.

(F) It will doubtless be expected, that we should say at least so much of these oracles as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, since they were esteemed of such concern, that scarce any public affairs were transacted (or hardly any private ones, if the persons were in circumstances to pay for it) without consulting some of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we shall content ourselves with a short description of that of *Delphi*, as it was the most celebrated and frequented of any, either in *Greece* or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, but because *Apollo* was supposed more peculiarly to preside over, and to inspire men with, the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account also it was esteemed to outdo all others in the clearness and certainty of its answers; and by the great concourse of people who resorted to and enriched it with presents, it did likewise outshine all the rest in splendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, shall be seen in its pro-

per

THEIR religion was still worse than all the rest, being little else than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, of

per place ; here we shall content ourselves with a short account of the manner in which it was wont to be consulted and delivered, and by way of specimen to the rest ; as for those of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he please, see them in our learned bishop Potter's *Grecian archæology*.

1st, Those who consulted the oracle were to offer some considerable present to the god. 2dly, They offered also some sacrifices to him, and according as these carried a good or bad omen, so the *Pythones* consented or refused to consult the deity. 3dly, The question to be asked was to be couched in as few words as possible. We omit some other circumstances of less moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the persons consulting, and the nature of the question to be asked.

2. The time for consulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the spring ; the seventh day of that month was called *Appollo's* birth-day, because originally the *Pythones* gave no answers but on that day, so that they came so thick to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time ; in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The person who delivered the answer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but, one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in case the same misfortune should happen to them, their shame might be out of danger of being discovered by pregnancy. Yet even these they obliged to go apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dress, that they might give no temptation to their customers.

Pythia, the name that was given to the woman that delivered the oracle, is variously derived, by some, in memory of the serpent *Python* killed by *Apollo*, by others otherwise ; but most probably from *Pytho*, which was but another name for *Delphi*, the place where this oracle was given, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this *Pythia*, having washed herself in the fountain *Castalis* at the foot of *Parnassus*, and shaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, she crowned herself with a garland of those leaves, and sometimes also did eat some of them ; and then ascended the celebrated *Tripod* or *Tripus*, and sitting down upon it waited for the impulse of the god (2).

What kind of machine this wonderful *Tripod* was is variously canvassed, and to as little purpose. Some take it to have been a brass pot filled with dust, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the *Pythones*, and thence came out at her mouth ;

(1) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæst.* 9. (2) *Lyfistr. Scholiast. in Aristoph. ap. Potter Archæolog.* l. ii. c. 9.

of the *Egyptian* theology, brought thither at first by *Cecrops*, an *Egyptian* exile and founder of the *Attic* monarchy, who, according

others say, it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which she conceived the mind of the deity; others say, that it was large enough for her to plunge herself into; but the most probable opinion is, that it was a table or seat on which she either leaned or sat (3).

It was called *Tripod* because it had three feet, alluding, according to some, to the three great celestial circles, viz. the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, past, present, and future. They had more than one of these *Tripods*. The most ancient of them was that which the people of that country caused to be set over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is said to have been wrought by *Vulcan*, and presented to *Apollo* by *Pelops* king of the *Eleans*; but the most famous one was that which the fishermen drew up with their nets, and, being adjudged by the oracle to the worthiest of the seven wise men who flourished then in *Greece*, and through modesty refused by him, was dedicated to this *Delphic Apollo*. The two first appear to have been of brass, and the last was of gold; some think also, there were likewise more than one *Pythia* at the same time, but without any good foundation (4); however, when she, who officiated as such, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, from whence she was called *εγαστριμυθος* and *εγρομαντις* she began sometimes to swell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and flesh, like one in the strongest phrensy, at other times her spirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxysm has been so terrible, that it hath scared away the priests as well as the consultants, and one of them is said to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or serpent has been seen to return the answer from under the *Tripod*, and that the *Pythia* was once killed by him.

The answer was returned *viva voce*, and in hexameter or heroic verse. *Pausanias* attributes this form of answering to the famed *Phæmonoe* the first *Delphic Pythia*. But the hymn of *Beou*, a *Delphic* lady, attributes it to *Olen*, who with his *Hyperboreans* instituted this oracle, and changed their rustic prose into the smooth and heroic verse.

But though this oracle was the most famed for the clearness and truth of its answers, insomuch, that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, so as to be easily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. *Herodotus* gives us some instances of this kind of amphibolious answers given to *Cræsus*, of which that unfortunate

(3) *Cæsl. Rhodig. lect. antiq. l. viii. c. 15. ap. eund.* (4) *Vener. de divinat.* (5) *Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Oraç.*

according to *Pausanias*, did first introduce the worship of *Jupiter* in his new kingdom. *Orpheus*, *Dædalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new supplies of *Egyptic* idolatry and superstition; and *Greece* was soon after furnished with a number of deities, suited to the taste of their brutal votaries, and with a sanction and precedent for every unsocial and unnatural vice. To this desperate and universal degeneracy of the *Grecian* nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to ascribe in some measure all the fabulous accounts, which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of those famous heroes, who bestowed so much pains and time to reform and abolish it. Of this number were *Minos*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many more, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, some of whom cleared the seas, others the land, of that pestilent race, and others, lastly, by wholesome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts, and sciences, laid the happy foundations for that politeness and grandeur, for which they were so justly famed in after-ages.

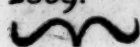
king, a munificent votary to the *Delphic* god, justly complains, as having more than once or twice mislaid him to his ruin (6).

The reader may see a number of other instances of the same nature in *Pausanias* (7), besides those which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the consulters, yet seemed to be directed by some foreseeing being, because they still answered the prediction, though in a different sense. Of this nature was that which forewarned *Epaminondas* to beware of what the *Greeks* called the *Pelagos*; by which he understanding it to mean the sea which they called *πῆλαγος*, forbore to go into any ship or gally, whereas it was the *Mantinean* wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the same nature is the *Carthaginian* general said to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle that he should be buried in *Libya*; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the *Romans* he should return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of *Libyssa* in *Bitynia* but according to our author called by the *Nicomediens* *Libya*, in which he died.

It was for this reason, that these predictions, attributed by the *Heathens* to some godhead, were by the primitive fathers ascribed to the devil, who, though incapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater guess into it than any mortal; but we leave the disquisition of such questions to divines, as well as the times and causes of these oracles ceasing in the heathen world, though this last we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to resume the sequel of the *Jewish* history.

(6) lib. i. (7) *In Arcad. Vid. & eund. in Phoc. & Potter ubi supra.*

The chronology of this epoch. Year of the Flood, 910 *. Year before Christ 2089.



THIS fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have sung and historians recorded, concerning the foundation of all the ancient *Grecian* monarchies, the exploits of the *Grecian* heroes, their wars and other transactions from the end of the *Trojan* war and upwards, to the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom the most ancient of all, amounts to 905 years, that is from *A. M.* 1915. when *Ægialeus* is said to have laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the destruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2820. (G)†. But as under this period are contained the histories of the several following monarchies; 1st, That of *Sicyon* abovementioned: 2. Of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*: 3. *Attica*: 4. *Bæotia*: 5. *Arcadia*: 6. *Thessaly*: 7. *Corinth*: 8. *Sparta*, and some others, from their foundation to their either becoming incorporate with others, or to their severally resolving themselves into commonwealths; this last circumstance will

* Vid. *USSEB.* Ann. sub utroque an. ex *Castor.* ap *Euseb.* Chronic.

(G) We need not tell our readers, that this chronology is far enough from being unquestionable; those who have read *Sir Isaac Newton* on this subject will easily agree with him, that the reigns of the several kings of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, &c. are spun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty five and forty years apiece, which is almost double the time that those of *Judah* and *Israel* reigned.

It is also not unlikely, that the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom is vastly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between *Apis* and *Epaphus* or *Epopeus*, which our author thinks to have been two names for the same person, were only feigned, and interlarded here to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told, that it began 232 years before the time of *Inachus*, or 1313 years before the first *Olympiad* (8); but what certainty can there be in a tradition of such a length?

The same fault may be supposed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, since their foundation is likewise previous to the *Olympiads*, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and, in many instances, notoriously false.

* It may be observed, that if the kingdom of *Sicyon* were founded in *A. M.* 1915, as some chronologers suppose, and we allow 1307 years to have elapsed from the creation to the flood, according to the *Samaritan* account, there will remain but 608 for the year of the flood; it is proper therefore to acquaint the reader, that in the margin, the authors have placed the foundation of it according to their own computation, which makes its dissolution coincide with the year in which they have placed the destruction of *Troy*.

(8) *Castor* ap. *Euseb.* Chron. Vid. *Newt.* Chronol.

oblige

oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha down to the times of their respective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each distinct head.

OTHER material transactions under this period are chiefly those that follow, the *Ogygian* and *Deucalion* floods; the murder committed by the daughters of *Danaus* on their husbands; the labours of *Hercules*; the unfortunate adventures of *OEdipus*; the *Argonautic* expedition; the wars of *Minos* and *Theseus*; the exploits and adventures of *Prometheus*, *Epimetheus*, and *Atlas*; those of *Perseus* and *Bellerophon*; the rapes of *Io*, *Europa*, and *Helena*; the war of the *Epigoni* or seven champions against *Thebes*; the *Trojan* war, spoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greatest part of the *Grecian* chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word, all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in suppressing robbers and pirates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppressed, and forming the *Greek* nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbarism, into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

S E C T. II.

The history of the antient kingdom of SICYON.

SICYON has the first place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the rest, and because it boasts a succession of twenty six kings, whose several reigns make up an epoch of nine hundred and sixty years and upwards. Its original name was *Ægialea*, given to it by *Ægialeus*, the supposed founder and first monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of *Apia*, from *Apis* the fourth king from *Ægialeus*, and in process of time it had that of *Sicyon* given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its supposed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninsula of *Peloponnesus*, was called *Sicyonia*, until its dissolution, and even beyond it ^a.

THIS little kingdom was situate on the north part of *Peloponnesus*, since called the bay of *Corinth*. It had the province of *Achaia* on the west, and the isthmus which joins the pen-

^a STEPHAN. de Urb. STRAB.

insula to the continent of *Greece* on the east. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is supposed to have been situate upon the river *Asopus* in about thirty eight degrees and a half of north latitude, and twenty three degrees and a half of east longitude, having the bay of *Corinth* on the north, the rest of the *Peleponnesus* on the other three points ^b.

Natural
and artifi-
cial rari-
ties.

ITS territory was rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, besides some iron mines. It was in process of time very much adorned, by *Sicyon* and his successors, with temples, altars, monuments, and statues of all their gods and antient monarchs. It would be justly esteemed the antientest monarchy in the world, not excepting even those of *Egypt* and *Affyria*, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is about 200 years before *Noah's* death, as some have computed it from *Eusebius*, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the first olympiad ^c. But that mistake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with *Terah Abraham's* father, and to have begun his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about *A. M.* 2236 ^d, which brings it somewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; besides it is not improbable, as *Sir Isaac Newton* observes, that chronologers have split *Apis Epaphus* (the 4th in descent from *Ægialeus*) into two kings, and between them have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder *Ægialeus* 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus* ^e, the son of *Inachus* and founder of *Phoronium*, since called *Argos*. The truth is, we know nothing of those princes, but their names and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The same indeed may be said of the greatest part of their successors. We meet with no memorable action or conquest performed by any of them during the long space of 962 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is so fruitful of the most surprizing exploits in most other contemporary kingdoms. However, we shall here subjoin a list of those twenty six monarchs with the length of their reigns, as we find it transmitted to us.

Chrono-
logy.

^b STRAB. MELA, & al.

^d USSER, RAWLEIGH & al.
p. 6.

^c HEYL. ex EUSEB. Chronic.

^e NEWT. Chronol. introd.

Kings of Sicyon :

Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.	
1	<i>Ægialeus</i> 52	13	<i>Marathon</i> 30
2	<i>Europs</i> 45	14	<i>Marathus</i> 30
3	<i>Telchin</i> or <i>Selchin</i> } 20	15	<i>Æchyræus</i> 55
4	<i>Apis</i> 25	16	<i>Corax</i> 30
5	<i>Thelxion</i> or <i>Thelasion</i> } 52	17	<i>Epopeus</i> 35
6	<i>Ægirus</i> 34	18	<i>Laomedon</i> 40
7	<i>Eurymachus</i> or <i>Thurimachus</i> } 45	19	<i>Sicyon</i> 45
8	<i>Leucippus</i> 53	20	<i>Polybus</i> 40
9	<i>Mossapius</i> 47	21	<i>Inachus</i> or <i>Ianischus</i> } 42
10	<i>Peratus</i> 46	22	<i>Phæstus</i> 8
11	<i>Plemneus</i> 48	23	<i>Adrastus</i> 4
12	<i>Orthopelis</i> 63	24	<i>Polyphides</i> 31
		25	<i>Pelægus</i> 20
		26	<i>Zeuxippus</i> 32

In all years 962

THERE is little else to be found in history worth notice concerning these monarchs, besides what we hinted above. Those that are the most remarkable in the list are, 1. *Ægialeus* the founder; 2. *Apis*, from whom the country was called *Apia*; 3. *Ægirus*, the supposed founder of the antient city of *Ægira*, situate on a high and almost inaccessible hill; once the capital of *Achaia* properly so called, and now supposed to be the small village of *Hylocastro*; 4. *Marathon*, of whom the famous fields of *Marathon* had probably their name; 5. *Epopeus*, who built a stately temple to *Minerva* and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. *Sicyon* from whom the whole country and peninsula took the name of *Sicyonia*. He is likewise supposed to have either built, or at least enlarged, the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

AFTER the death of *Zeuxippus* the last king in the list, that state is said to have been governed by the priests of *Apollo Carneus*, five of whom held the sovereignty only during one year each; after which *Amphictyon* held it nine years successively, and *Charidemus* the last of them continued in it eighteen years^f. After this hierarchy had lasted thirty two years the *Heraclidae*, who were by that time returned into *Peloponnesus*, became masters of it, or, according to *Pausanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became subject to that of *Argos*^g, the next antient kingdom to that of *Sicyon*.

^f EWSEB. Chron.^g In Corinth.

S E C T. III.

The History of the antient kingdom of ARGOS.

WE have already hinted in the last section, that not the kingdom only of *Sicyon*, but the whole *Peloponnesus*, was called *Ægialea* and *Apia* from the first and fourth kings of it. There were likewise two kings of the same name in *Argos*; the one the younger son of *Inachus* the founder of the kingdom, and the other the son of *Phoroneus* the elder brother of *Ægialeus*^a. Hence these two have been confounded with those of *Sicyon*, and their kingdom thought to have been of as antient, if not of older, date than the *Sicyonian*, and the country to have received its name not from the *Sicyonian*, but from the *Argivic* monarch. In so dark a dispute we can only say, that the *Argivic* *Ægialeus* being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, seeing his brother *Phoroneus* left the kingdom to his own son, it is not so likely, that the country should receive its name from him as from that of *Sicyon*. However, the kingdom soon changed its name for that of *Argolis* from *Argos*, the son of *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who was sister to *Apis*, upon whom the kingdom devolved, because *Apis* died without issue. It was also called *Hippium* and *Hippoboton* from the neighbouring pastures, in which *Neptune* is said to have fed his horses^b, or rather from an excellent breed of horses which that country was famed for.

*Situation
and extent.*

THIS kingdom is situate on the north-east side of *Peloponnesus*, surrounded on the east by the two bays of *Saron*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, and of *Argos*, and has the kingdom of *Sicyon* or *Achaia Propria* and *Arcadia* on the north and west, and that of *Laconia* on the south. What its antient limits were is hard to say; but it was very much enlarged by some of its monarchs, so that it extended itself from east to west from 23 deg. 40 min. to 24 deg. 50 min. east longitude, or about seventy miles, and north and south from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles.

*Natural
and artificial
rarity-
ties.*

ITS chief river is the *Inachus*, so called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties itself into the bay of *Argos*, now called *Golfo de Engia*, near the port *Asine*. On this river

^a APOLLODOR. l. ii. c. i. Vid. HIND. hist. Grec. ^b PAUSAN. in Corinth.

was situate the metropolis, called also *Inachus* from its founder and fourth monarch, and famous among other things for the death of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, having forced an entrance into it, was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a house. Here was also the brazen tower, in which *Danae*, being confined by her father, was deflowered by *Jupiter*. It was likewise much enriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horses bred about its territory, from which the name of *Hippium* was given to it. 2. Next to *Argos* was *Mycenæ*, which became in process of time the seat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by *Horace* for her riches, as her rival *Argos* was for her horses. 3. *Træzen*, once the royal seat of *Pittheus* the grandfather of *Theseus*. 4. *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, supposed to have been instituted there in memory of *Hercules's* killing a lion which infested that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the son of *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, who had been killed by a serpent, whilst his nurse *Hyppisyle* went to shew the *Argives* to a spring of water. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of this adventure in the sequel. 5. *Epidaurus*, in which stood the so famed temple of *Æsculapius*, resorted to from most parts of *Europe* and *Asia* for the cure of all distempers. 6. *Nauplia*, so called from its founder *Nauplius* king of *Ebena*, and for its excellent situation and harbour, whence it had the name of *Nauplia Navale*, now *Neapolis*, from which the gulf on which it is situate hath its modern name^d.

THE government of *Argos*, and afterwards of *Mycenæ*, continued altogether monarchical from its first foundation to its establishing itself into a downright democracy. *Pausanias* indeed observes, that the *Argives* were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long succession of princes; the *Heraclidæ*, who were of the family of *Perseus*, recovered the kingdom from that of *Pelops*, about eighty years after the taking of *Troy*, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that space that they gained so much ground upon their kings, that they left them little else than the bare name; but by what laws they were antiently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far these mo-

^c STEPH. de Urb.

^d MELA, HEYL. CLUVER.

narchs

narchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to say.

Year of
the Flood,
1143.
Year be-
fore
Christ
1856.

The chro-
nology of
Argos.

THIS kingdom, *Eusebius* tells us out of *Castor*^e, was founded 1080 years before the first olympiad, that is, according to *Usher*, in the year of the world 2148, so that *Inachus* the founder of it was cotemporary with *Abraham*, and with *Thurimachus* the 7th king of *Sicyon*. It continued under the name of the *Argolic* kingdom till the reign of *Acrisius* the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to *Mycenæ* a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700 and about the year 550 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of *Mycenæ* till the dissolution, which happened about the year 2920, when the *Heraclidæ* made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty one monarchs. The *Argolic* kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings after this division until the *Heraclidæ*, whose family had been set aside by that of *Eurystheus*, the implacable enemy of *Hercules* and all his race, above an age before. These dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of *Argos* had not continued above forty years, before *Meltas* their last king, having made a push to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, lost both his kingdom and life, after which the *Argivic* government was changed into a democracy.

^e Chronic.

A LIST

A LIST of the kings of *Argos* before its Translation to *Mycenæ*.

- 1 *Inachus*
- 2 *Phoroneus*
- 3 *Apis*
- 4 *Argus*
- 5 *Piræus*, al. *Criæus*
- 6 *Phorbas*
- 7 *Triopas*
- 8 *Crotopus*
- 9 *Sthenelus*
- 10 *Danaus*
- 11 *Lynceus*
- 12 *Abas*
- 13 *Prætus*
- 14 *Acrisius*
- 15 *Perseus*

Founder of the kingdom
of *Mycenæ*.

- 16 *Talaon*
- 17 *Adraftus*
- 18 *Ægialeus*
- 19 *Diomedes*

Kings of *Mycenæ*.

- 1 *Perseus*
- 2 *Eurystheus*
- 3 *Atreus* and *Thyestes*
- 4 *Agamemnon*
- 5 *Ægisthus*
- 6 *Orestes*
- 7 *Tisamenus*, al. *Penthilus*

Kings of the *Heraclidæ* at
Argos, after they had
recovered *Peloponnesus*,
and divided it into three
kingdoms.

- 1 *Temenus*
- 2 *Cisus*
- 3 *Lacidaus*
- 4 *Meltas*

1. *Inachus*, the supposed son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (A), *Inachus*. is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his sister *Melissa*, by whom he had two sons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*: he is supposed to be the father of *Io*, and therefore the *Greeks* are sometimes called from him *Inachi*.

(A) Or rather because he came thither by sea. We have had occasion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the descendants of those first founders of kingdoms of raising them such fabulous genealogies, in order to disguise the obscurity of their origin, by ascribing it to some god, to the sea, rivers, nymphs, and such like extraordinary progenitors. We shall refer our readers to the caution we gave them there concerning these miraculous offsprings †.

† See before, p. 319. sub fin. note (M).

Phoroneus.

2. *Phoroneus* succeeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before dispersed about the country into one city, which was called from him *Phoroneum* ^f; he is said to have had a son, by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*; and a daughter named *Niobe*, who became the first paramour of the lustful god *Jupiter*, by whom she had a son named *Argos*. From *Phoroneus*, his supposed sister *Io*, is sometimes called *Phoronis* by the poets ^g.

Apis.

3. *Apis* succeeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed against him, which was upheld by *Thelafion* or *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon* (B), to whose treachery he was sacrificed. Some affirm that he fled into *Egypt*, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worshipped under the title of *Serapis* and in the form of an ox. We have already observed in the history of that kingdom [†], that *Serapis* was worshipped under a human form, bearing a bushel on its head. As for their *Apis*, though he was indeed worshipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of *Argolic* extraction. We meet with several of the name, one in *Sicyon*, one in *Argos*, and this in *Egypt*; all of them so confounded by *Mythologists*, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos.

4. *Argos*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, succeeded him; he is supposed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name ^h. He is said to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by the *Grecians* before his reign, who came from that time to be called *Argivi* from him.

Criafus.

5. *Criafus*, by others called *Pirafus*, the son of *Argos*.

Phorbas.

6. *Phorbas* the son of *Criafus*, supposed to have been contemporary with *Atlas* and *Prometheus*.

Triopas.

7. *Triopas* the son of *Phorbas*, whose brother, named also *Phorbas*, settled himself in the island of *Rhodes*.

Crotopus.

8. *Crotopus*, in whose times the *Argives* felt the dire effects of *Apollo's* anger on the following occasion: that god

^f PAUSAN. in Corinth. ^g HORAT. & al. [†] See Vol. I. p. 447. ^h APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 1.

(B) This shews how little dependance there is on the writings of this epocha, since even this last reigned, according to *Eusebius's* chronology, near 100 years before *Inachus* the founder of the *Argolic* kingdom, unless they have mistook him for *Peratus*, who flourished about the latter end of *Apis's* reign.

had

had had a private amour with *Pfamathe* the king's daughter; and she to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the rushes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. *Apollo*, to punish the *Argives* for this crime, sent the monster, or fury, *Pene*, who snatched their children from their mother's bosoms, and destroyed them. This monster being killed at length by *Cærebus*, *Apollo* sent them a grievous pestilence. *Cærebus*, having consulted the oracle how his anger might be appeased, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god wherever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did.

9. *Sthenelus*, son of *Crotopus*, reigned sixteen years, after *Sthenelus*. which he, or as others think, his son *Geleanor*, was outed the kingdom by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*.

10. *Danaus* had been driven out of *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, for refusing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother. His pretence for refusing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he should be killed by a son-in-law. Being therefore expelled *Egypt*, he came to *Argos*, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being descended from *Epaphus* the son of *Io*, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of *Inachus*. Both he and *Sthenelus* agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the second meeting of the assembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was grazing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen against the present possessor. *Sthenelus* was supposed to be meant by the bull, and *Danaus* by the wolf, because he was a stranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king¹.

As soon as *Ægyptus* heard of this election, he resolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and strengthening himself by so many alliances against him. He raised a powerful army, and sent it with his fifty sons at the head of it against the new king of *Argos*; and these reduced him to such extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promise to stab their husbands on the very first night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named *Hypermnestra*, who privately conveyed her bridegroom *Lynceus* to *Lyræa*, a town not far from the metropolis. *Danaus* was no sooner apprised of her disobedience, than he would have put her to death for it; but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Ar-*

¹ PAUSAN. ubi supra.

gives, was again received into favour, and *Lynceus* declared his heir and successor. As for his other forty nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endless punishment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

Lynceus. 11. *Lynceus*, the son of *Ægyptus*, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his stead. In commemoration of his wife's having saved his life, and of the *Argives* having acquitted her, they dedicated a statue to *Venus*, and the *Argives* instituted a feast in memory of the signal *Hypermnestra* had given to her husband of his being out of danger, and called it *the feast of Flambeaus*.

Abas. 12. *Abas* was the son of *Lynceus* and *Hypermnestra*, and father of *Prætus* and *Acrisius*, by *Ocalea* the daughter of *Mantineus*. These two sons, who were twins, are said to have struggled together in their mother's womb, a sure preface of that more fatal struggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two first who made use of targets in the battles they fought against each other^{*}.

Prætus. 13. *Prætus* found means to step first upon the throne, and held it about seventeen years. It was in some part of this time, that *Bellerophon* king of *Corinth*, having committed manslaughter, came to *Argos* to be expiated by *Prætus*, whose queen *Sthenobæa*, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, solicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuse him to her husband of having attempted her chastity. *Prætus*, not suspecting the truth of the accusation, sent immediately the young *Corinthian* prince to his father-in-law *Jobates*, with letters, in which he desired him to make away with the innocent stranger. *Jobates* sent him upon several dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithstanding, *Bellerophon* came off victorious, as we shall see

* PAUSAN. in Argolic. APOLLOD. 1. ii. c. 2:

(C) This fable some mythologists interpret of their being doomed to fill the cisterns of the citadel, which *Danaus* built at *Argos*, with water, and probably also those of the city, which, according to the description an antient geographer gives us of it (1), seems to have wanted a considerable supply of that element. For though it be built upon the river *Inachus*, yet by reason of its nearness to the gulph, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackish to be drank.

(1) *Strab. Geogr. l. viii.*

when we come to speak of the kings of *Corinth*¹. In the mean time *Prætus* met with something to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother *Acrisius*, who, proving too strong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Jobates* king of *Lycia*. These two soon returned into *Argos* with an army, took the city of *Tyrins*, and obliged *Acrisius* to agree to a treaty, by which *Prætus* had *Tyrins* and other maritime, and *Acrisius* *Argos*, and the inland towns^m. *Prætus* had forty three daughters by his wife *Sthenobæa*, or, as she is called by *Homer*, *Antæa*; and they, with the rest of the women of that country, were seized with a distemper which they called *the fury of Bacchus*; but were cured by an excellent physician and soothsayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom, as a reward for his skill. *Melampus*, that was the physician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother *Bias*; but *Prætus* had soon after this partition a son named *Megapenthes*, who succeeded him in the other third called *Tyrins*; but it is likely, that these three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of *Argos* after the death of those philosophers, as we shall see after we have ended the history of the kings of *Mycenæ*, whose part from that time makes the most considerable figure.

14. *Acrisius*, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife *Euridice* called *Danae*, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that she would have a son by whom he should be killed. To prevent therefore that young princess having any conversation with mankind, he caused her to be close confined in a strong brazen tower, and under such strict watch, that she might in all likelihood have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himself, as the poets feign, into a golden shower, which, sliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D)ⁿ.

*Acrisius
king of
Mycenæ.*

THE fruit of these stolen embraces was *Perseus*, who was no sooner born, than *Acrisius* ordered him and his mother to be put into a chest, and thrown into the sea; but

¹ Idem, ibid. OVID. *Metam.* &c.
APOLLOD. ubi supra.

^m PAUSAN. ubi supra.

ⁿ APOLLOD. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden shower seems to have been only some considerable bribe to those who guarded the tower. Some think, that it was her uncle *Prætus* who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

Jupiter took care to convey them safe to *Seriphus*, where *Dictys*, the brother of *Polydectes* king of that island, brought *Perseus* up as his own son. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her son prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this opposition, and resolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, sent him into *Africa* to fetch the famous *Gorgon*, *Medusa's* head, not doubting but the attempt would cost him his life. But to his surprize he saw the young prince return with the *Gorgon* (E), and crowned with a two-fold success, having in that expedition saved *Andromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* king of *Joppe* a maritime town in *Phœnicia*, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which service she was given to him in marriage.

AT his return into *Seriphus*, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the lustful and inhospitable king. Here he found, that his mother and *Dictys* had been forced to run into a sanctuary to screen themselves from his brutish violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into stones at the sight of the *Gorgon*, set up *Dictys* upon the throne. From thence he went, with his mother *Danae* and his wife *Andromeda*, into *Argos*; but *Acrisius*, frightened at the news of his being alive and having performed such noble exploits, had retired into *Larissa*, a city of *Pelasgia* situate on the river *Peneus*, whose king *Tantalus* having soon after caused some funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceased father, *Perseus* came thither among a great concourse of *Grecian* princes, and by an unfortunate

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an antient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, *Medusa* had succeeded her father *Phorcus* in his kingdom, which was situate along the lake *Tritonis*, and that she was a *Virago*, who, for want of other employment, was much used to hunting and to fight with her *African* subjects; and that *Perseus*, coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choicest forces of *Peloponnesus*, surprised and beheaded her, and carried her head away into *Greece*, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may see what has been said of it by the judicious author last quoted.

(F) This whale is supposed to have been nothing else than a ship so called, into which *Phœnix* had seduced her in order to carry her away (4).

(2) *Vid. Paus. in Argol. Apollod. l. ii. pass. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l. iv. & al.*

(3) *Pausan. ubi supra, & Corinth. ch. xxi.*

(4) *Conon. Narrat. 40. Ross. Mystag. Poetic. Hind. Hist. Grec.*

cast of the disk (G) which fell upon *Acrisius's* foot, who was there present, killed him, and unwittingly fulfilled the oracle upon him ^o.

15. *Perseus*, though next heir to the kingdom of *Argos* in *Perseus*. right of *Danae* his mother, yet chose to exchange it with his cousin *Megapenthes* for that small one of *Tyrins* which had been left to him by his father *Prætus*, rather than to return to *Argos* after this unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm, that *Perseus* restored his grandfather to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is inconsistent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with *Megapenthes*, *Perseus* went and built the city of *Mycenæ*, and made it the seat of the kingdom. That [of *Argos*] was therefore said to have been translated thither, because this new metropolis became in a short time more populous and opulent than the other. After *Acrisius's* death, the kingdom being thus divided into several pieces and among different families, *Perseus*, having reigned about eighteen years in that of *Tiryns*, left it to his son *Alcæus*, and he to *Amphitryon*, by whose wife *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Hercules*, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three to add the more strength to the child ^p. In the mean time *Amphitryon*, having unawares killed *Electryon*, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to *Thebes*. Here the child *Hercules* began to give such early proofs of his courage, extraordinary strength, and fierceness, that he was sent to be brought up among some shepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (H) ^q.

16. *Eu-*

^o PAUSAN. ubi supra. APOLLON. ubi supra. ^p Id. ibid.
DIODOR. Biblioth. hist. l. iv. ^q APOLLON. ibid.

(G) The disk was a round piece of iron, lead, brass, or stone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gamesters used to exercise their strength and skill. He who could throw it farthest won the prize (5).

(H) We have already observed, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. *Diodorus* and *Eusebius* mention three: *Diodorus* ascribes all these fabulous actions to the youngest who was the son of *Alcmena* (6). *Servius* speaks of four, and *Varro* of forty four; but the most remarkable of these are the six mentioned by *Tully*; as follows (7):

(5) *Potter. Archæolog. Vol. 1. ch. 21. p. 443.*
l. iv. (7) *De Natur. Deor. lib. iii.*

(6) *Hist.*

The

Euryf-
theus.

16. *Eurystheus* the son of *Sthenelus*, who was come to the crown of *Mycenæ*, or, as others have it, succeeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed son of *Amphitryon* his cousin-german, made him fear, lest he should in time find means to dispossess him of it. His fear and hatred of him soon grew to such a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who was not insensible of it, because he was ever engaging him upon some desperate expedition, went to consult the oracle; and being answered, that it was the pleasure of the gods that he should serve *Eurystheus* twelve years, was cast into so deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madness, during which, among other desperate deeds, he put away his wife *Megara*, and murdered all the children he had by her, which are supposed to have been twelve, because the king imposed the same number of labours upon him as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his senses^r. These labours being for the most part fabulous, and some of them, as we have observed more than once, being probably stolen from the history of *Samson* and other *Hebrew* worthies, we shall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our history of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I).

17. *Atreus*

^r DIODOR. APOLLONOR. ubi supra.

The first, begot by the most antient *Jupiter* and *Lyfio*, who contended with *Apollo* for the tripod.

The second, the son of *Nile* and an *Egyptian*, was the inventor of the *Phrygian* characters.

The third was a native of *Crete* (and the son of the *Celtic Jupiter*): He was one of the *Idæi Dætyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*.

The fourth was the son of the second *Jupiter* and *Asteria* sister to *Latona*, and father of *Carthago*; he was worshipped by the *Tyrians*.

The fifth was the *Indian Belus*. And

The sixth was this *Hercules* the supposed son of *Amphitryon*, but begot by the third *Jupiter* upon *Alcmena*.

(I) The first labour imposed upon him was the killing of a lion in *Nemea* a wood of *Achaia*; whose hide was proof against any weapon, so that he was forced to seize him by the throat and strangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his skin about his shoulders.

In the second he killed the *Hydra*, a monster with two heads, one of which was no sooner cut off, than two sprang up in its room.

In

17. *Atreus* the son of *Pelops*, and grandson of *Tantalus* *Atreus*. king of *Lydia*, ascended the throne of *Mycenæ*, after the death

In the third he brought the *Erymanthian* boar alive upon his shoulders, at the sight of which the king is said to have been so frightened, that he ran and hid himself in a brazen hog's head. It was likewise in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns and of prodigious swiftness.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanse *Augeas's* stable in one day, which he did by turning the river *Alpheus* into it.

In the sixth he chased away the mischievous birds of the lake *Stymphalis*, who are feigned to have lived upon human flesh, and to have been at length destroyed by *Hercules's* arrows, or, according to others, to have been only scared away from thence (9).

His seventh was to fetch a famous bull from the isle of *Crete*, with which *Pasiphae* the wife of *Minos* is said to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped *Jupiter* to overcome the *Titanic* giants, he reconciled *Prometheus* to him, and loosed him from mount *Caucasus*.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the flesh of the strangers that passed by that way. *Hercules* first threw their inhuman master to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to *Eurystheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*. Their breed is said to have continued till *Alexander's* time. Betwixt this and his next task he is supposed to have gone upon the *Argonautic* expedition, of which we shall speak in due time.

In his ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*; and

In the tenth the oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia* or *Spain*, in the farthest parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmost limits of the then known world. These ten labours he atchieved, as the fable says, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewise affirmed to have killed *Antæus*, a famous giant of a monstrous size, who, when weary with wrestling or labour, was immediately refreshed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of *Tangier*. *Hercules* overcame him in wrestling, and slew him; and after him the tyrant *Busiris* in his way through *Egypt*. This bloody man used to sacrifice all his guests and strangers upon his altars, and designing to have done the same by *Hercules*, was slain by him together with all his attendants.

His two last tasks were fetching *Cerberus* out of hell, and the *Hesperian* golden apples kept by a dragon; which last is interpreted

(8) *Vid. Pausan. in Arcadic. c. 22. Sicul. l. iv.*

(9) *Apollod. l. ii. Diod.*

death of *Eurystheus* who left no issue. As for the line of *Perseus* it only subsisted in *Hercules*. *Atreus* is always joined with his brother *Thyestes* as partner of the kingdom. These two are justly branded, the one for his incest, and the other for his horrid murders. *Thyestes* for defiling his brothers wife; and *Atreus* for murdering his brothers sons and feasting him with their flesh (K).

It was in his reign that the *Heracidae*, for so were called the sons and descendants of *Hercules*, came under the conduct of their champion *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, from which they had been driven by *Eurystheus*. The controversy was to be decided by single combat and under these conditions, that if *Hyllus* killed *Euchemus*, who had undertook to be champion for *Atreus*, then this last should relinquish his kingdom to the *Heracidae*; and if *Hyllus* was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into *Peloponnesus* till fifty years were expired. It happened, that *Hyllus* was killed by his antagonist, so that *Atreus* obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the *Heracidae* went to *Tricorinthus*, and others to *Dorus*, to whose father *Hercules* had left the region of *Hestiaeotis* in trust for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the *Dores*. Their grandmother *Alcmena*, disappearing about this time, as she was returning to *Thebes*, had divine honours instituted and paid to her^c. *Atreus* was soon after their departure killed by *Ægisthus*, and succeeded by his own son.

Agamemnon.

18. *Agamemnon*, who was reckoned at that time the wealthiest and most powerful potentate in all *Greece*. His dominion extended not only through a considerable part of *Peloponnesus*, but also to several neighbouring islands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of sea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his cotemporary kings. This was the main reason of his being chosen general of the

^c PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi supra, & al.

to have been some fine herd of cattle kept by some stout man, and brought out of *Africa* to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(K) The poets feign, that the sun went back at the sight of this horrid feast. As for *Thyestes*, he went to consult *Apollo* how he might be revenged on his brother, and was answered, that if he would lie with his own daughter *Pelopea*, he would beget a son that should murder both *Atreus* and his son *Agamemnon*. He did so, and *Ægisthus*, the fruit of this second incest, fulfilled the prophecy.

Trojan

Trojan expedition for the recovery of *Helena*, his brother *Menelaus*'s wife.

THE success of that expedition, the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and other circumstances relating to this prince, have been seen in a former chapter †. After taking of that city, besides several other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the disposition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel arose between *Agamemnon* and his brother. The latter was for sailing homewards out of hand, and the other for staying to sacrifice to *Minerva*. The consequence was, that they parted in great anger. *Agamemnon* having weathered several storms, which the goddess *Pallas*, as the poets feign, had sent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards, arrived at last at *Mycenæ*, where he was murdered by his cousin-german *Ægisthus* and his wife *Clytemnestra*, who during his absence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

19. *Ægisthus* was the son of *Thyestes*, begot on his daughter *Pelopea* by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the last note. His mother, to conceal the foulness of her pregnancy, exposed him in the woods, where a shepherd finding him, nursed him with goats milk, from which he was called *Ægisthus*. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with *Clytemnestra*, during *Agamemnon*'s absence, made them both fear lest they should fall a sacrifice to the resentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore soon determined to the fact, and having murdered *Agamemnon* seized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour were at length murdered by *Orestes* *Agamemnon*'s son.

20. *Orestes*, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately conveyed to *Strophius* in *Phocis* by *Electra* his father's sister; but as soon as he was come to riper years, he returned to *Mycenæ*, and, having murdered the usurper and his own mother, took possession of the kingdom, and of that of *Argos*, whose throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the siege of *Troy*. The occasion of this flight we shall see in the sequel of the remaining kings of *Argos*, after its being parted from that of *Mycenæ*. *Orestes* ran raving mad soon after at the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by the furies. Being again restored to his senses, and vexed to find, that *Hermione*, his uncle *Menelaus*'s daughter,

† See p. 383. & seq.

M m m

whom

whom her grandfather *Tyndareus* had promised to him in marriage, had been espoused to *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*, he went and killed him in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and married *Hermione*, by whom he got also the kingdom of *Sparta* *.

WITH *Orestes* we may mention here his faithful and constant friend *Pylades* the son of *Strophius*, with whom he had been brought up. These two are famed for having been so like each other in face, shape, temper, and affection, that they seemed to have had but one soul, and were not to be distinguished from one another. Insomuch, that when *Thoas* king of *Taurica* would have put *Orestes* to death, they both affirming to be the same person, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not possibly find out which was the right person, but admired their extraordinary friendship, which was indeed such, that it passed into a proverb.

Penthilus. 21. *Penthilus*, or according to others *Tisamenus*, succeeded his father *Orestes* in both kingdoms; but in less than three years he was killed in a battle which he fought against the *Achæi*, whom he had driven from *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, and had reduced to the necessity of driving the *Ionians* out of *Ægialea* into *Attica*. After his death the *Heraclidæ*, who had already got the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, made themselves masters of these two kingdoms also, which they held until the conquest of that peninsula by the *Macedonians* †.

Adrastus in Argos. AFTER the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, and of the latter into three parts, as we have seen above; we find *Adrastus* the son of *Talaon* and *Eurynome* reigning in *Argos*, and descended from *Perseus*. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to *Polynices* prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, upon the following accident. These two princes were come to *Argos*, the former to beg the king's assistance against his brother *Eteocles*, who had deprived him of his yearly share in the government, and the latter was fled thither from *Calydonia* for man-slaughter. These two happened to have a squabble in some of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed *Adrastus*, and forced him to come and enquire the occasion of the disturbance. He had formerly been advised by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, and the other to a boar, and had been doubtless very much puzzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out he found, to his joy and surprize, an agreeable solution of it. *Polynices* bore a lion, and *Tydeus* a boar upon his shield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters

* APOLLOD. † PAUSAN. ubi supra.

to them, *Argia* to the former, and *Deipyle* to the latter, whose son succeeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

SOON after this, being resolved to assist *Polynices*, he raised a good army, and procured the best commanders he could to accompany him. Among these was one *Amphiaraus*, a good officer and great soothsayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till *Polynices* bethought himself of the following stratagem. They offered to make his wife *Eriphyle* umpire whether he should go or not, and having bribed her beforehand with a costly bracelet, she decided in the affirmative; upon which *Amphiaraus*, who foresaw that none of the chief officers would escape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithless wife, left strict charge with his two sons before he departed, that, as soon as they were come of age, they should kill her, and make war against the king of *Thebes* ^v.

Adrastus, marching with his army through the wood of *Nemea*, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of *Thoas* king of *Lemnos*, whom she had saved, when the rest of the *Lemnian* women had killed by one consent all the males of that island with an intent to turn *Amazons*. For this her filial piety, they had sold her to pirates, who brought her to *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, whose son *Archemorus*, or, as others call him, *Opheltes*, she was nursing, and had then in her arms. The *Argives* desired her to direct them to some water, and she laying down the boy went to shew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a serpent, she went and hid herself for fear of her master's anger, and *Amphiaraus* sent her sons word soon after where their mother was. The *Argives* killed the serpent, and in memory of the dead child, they are said to have instituted the games called *Nemean*, in which *Adrastus* won the race by the swiftness of his horse *Arion*. *Tydeus* got the prize at whorlbats, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoits, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and *Laodicus* at darting ^w.

FROM the *Nemean* woods they went and encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the priestesses of *Bacchus*, to whom the hill was consecrated, used to keep there. Here they sent *Tydeus* to *Thebes*, to demand of *Eteocles* the performance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refusal, *Tydeus*, desirous partly to shew his own courage, and partly to try that of the *Thebans*, gave several challenges

^v *Diodor. Bibl. l. iv* *APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5.* ^w *Id. ibid.*

to their most noted champions, in which he still came off conqueror. The *Thebans*, envious of his success, sent fifty of their choicest men to way-lay him in his return to *Cithæron*, who were all killed except one, whom he sent back to *Thebes* to acquaint *Eteocles* with his courage and success. The *Argives* on the other hand hearing what had passed, resolved upon the siege of the city; the ill success of which we shall see in its proper place. All that needs be said here is, that *Adrastus* owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse, and *Amphiaras* is said to have been swallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horses, near the river *Ismene*, or perhaps drowned altogether in that river. The other five generals did likewise lose their lives, so that it proved even as *Amphiaras* had foreseen, that *Adrastus* alone should survive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the *Athenians*, and to beg their assistance, that the *Argives* might at least be enabled to recover the dead bodies of his soldiers and subjects, which the *Thebans* refused to deliver up. The *Athenians* readily granted his request, and forced the *Thebans* into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

Ægialeus. HE was succeeded by his son *Ægialeus*, who, about ten years after the defeat before *Thebes*, entered into a confederacy with *Diomedes*, the son of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five sons of the other generals who had lost their lives in that expedition to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*, and if possible to level that city with the ground. Thence these seven captains were called *Epigoni*. The oracle being consulted promised them success, provided they chose *Alcæon* the son of *Amphiaras* their general. They did so, and came off victorious accordingly, as we shall see in the next section.

Diomedes AFTER this *Diomedes*, the son of *Tydeus* the son-in-law of *Adrastus*, who was also king of *Ætolia*, came to the crown of *Argos* in right of his wife, and was the last king of it. After his successful enterprise against *Thebes*, he lifted himself in that against *Troy*, and was one of that small number of princes which returned safe home. Upon his arrival at *Argos*, he found that his wife *Ægiale*, whom *Venus* had plagued with a *furor uteri*, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the siege of *Troy*, had entertained a criminal familiarity with *Cometes* the son of *Sthenelus*, one of the heroes that went to the siege of *Troy*. When she found that her husband had discovered her intrigue, she attempted to kill him, but he first retired to the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia*, then a small kingdom in *Italy*. Here he found
Daunus

Daunus the king of it straitly besieged, who promised him part of his kingdom if he could beat his enemies. *Diomedes* did it with success, and built a city there, which he called *Argos Hippium*, whence in process of time it changed its name into *Argyrippa*. He was afterwards killed by *Daunus*, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into swans, or birds very much like them.

IN the mean time the *Heraclidæ*, since their first expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by *Eurystheus* king of *Argos*, had made several fruitless attempts to regain it. The first, as we have seen, was in *Atreus's* time under *Hyllus*; another under his son *Clæodeus*; a third under his grandson *Aristomachus*. This last prince left three sons, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, who, when they came of age, consulted the oracle concerning the success of a new invasion, and received this ambiguous answer, that it would succeed if they went by the way of *Stenygrus*; but they thinking the narrow passage of the isthmus to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and *Aristomachus* lost the battle and his life in the attempt *.

THE *Pythonefs*, being upbraided with it by his sons, made answer, that their ancestors had brought their misfortunes upon themselves by mistaking her words. Thus when *Hyllus* was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he mistook it, the third crop; and that now by *Stenygrus* was not meant the neck of land, but the deep sea on the right hand of the peninsula. Upon this answer they went to build a navy at *Ætolia*, since called upon that account *Naupaëtus*. During their stay here, *Aristodemus* the youngest of the three was killed by lightning, and left two twins, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*. Soon after this a more severe misfortune befel them, for their fleet was destroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afresh, and answered, that *Apollo* had sent those plagues upon them, because they had murdered his prophet *Carnus*. There had indeed been such a man among them whom *Hippotes* killed, because he took him to be some magician who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be banished ten years.

THE *Heraclidæ* were also promised better success, provided they put themselves under the command of a general

* APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & seq. PAUSAN. in Bœotic.

that

that had three eyes, but where to find such a one was the difficulty; at length they met an *Ætolian* named *Oxylus*, who was returning from *Peloponnesus* into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horse, or mule, he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, upon which they chose him for their general, and promised him the country of *Elis* as a recompence^y. They then gave out, that they were going to enter the peninsula at the isthmus, which drew all the *Peloponnesian* forces thither, and sailing up the *Stenygrus*, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at *Molycrium* without any opposition.

THREE of the kingdoms of *Peloponnesus* they challenged as their undoubted right, namely *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Lacedemon* (L). The first of these they got with some difficulty, and *Tisamenus* the king of it was either killed^z, or escaped by flight^a. *Mycenæ* they conquered with the sword, and expelled all the *Nestorian* family, who went and settled at *Athens*, where *Alcmæon* and *Pæon* became the heads of two considerable families in that city[†]. As for *Lacedemon*, *Sparta* being betrayed to them by one *Philonomus*^b, they entered it with the sound of the flute, which instrument became much in vogue, as it was thought both to inspire the soldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks^c. They also kept their promise with their three-eyed general, who being descended from *Ætolus* had a right to the country of *Elis*, from which the latter had been banished by *Salmonæus* king of the *Ephei*, who were now in possession of it. These agreed with the *Heraclidæ*, that the pretensions of *Oxylus* should be decided by single combat, according to the *Grecian* custom, and the *Ephean* champion being killed, *Elis* was restored to its right owner. After these successes the three brothers, having raised three altars to *Jupiter Patrius*, resolved to divide their conquest by lot. *Cresphontes* is supposed by some juggle to have made the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, the richest and

^y APOLLOD. ubi supra. c. viii. ^z PAUSAN. Eliac. STRAB. Geogr. lib. x. ^a APOLLOD. ubi supra. [†] PAUSAN. Argol. ^b PAUSAN. ubi supra. STRAB. lib. x. ^c Id. l. viii.

(L) The first of these was their right, as being the descendants of *Perseus*; whereas the then king *Tisamenus*, who was of the race of *Pelops*, had no right to the crown. *Mycenæ* and *Lacedemon* they claimed in right of *Hercules*, who, having conquered them, had left the first to *Nestor*, and the last to *Tyndareus*, in trust for his own children.

most

most fruitful of the three, to fall to his share. *Temenus* had *Argos*, and *Lacedemon* was divided between *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* the sons of *Aristodemus* ^d, as shall be seen in its place.

Temenus now fixed in *Argos*, betrayed such an extraordinary fondness for his son-in-law *Deiphontes*, who was descended from *Ctesiphus* the son of *Hercules* by *Dejanira*, that his other sons, who had reason to fear he would appoint him his successor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. *Temenus* being dead, some authors tell us, the army, abhorring the parricides, set the crown upon *Deiphontes* and his wife ^e; but *Pausanias* tells us, that it fell to his eldest son *Cisus* ^{*}.

HOWEVER that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to lose ground very fast, as we observed before. To *Cisus* succeeded *Lacidamus*, who had little else than the title of a king. His son *Meltas*, impatient of such restraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to restore it to its antient dignity, but the people were by that time grown so powerful and headstrong, that as soon as they found out his design, they put an effectual stop to it, and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death ^f.

THE kingdom of *Mycenæ*, or *Messenia*, was not much longer lived. For though these two did outvie that of *Sparta* by far at first, yet the latter soon grew to such a height of power and splendor, as both to eclipse and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions we shall defer the further account of them till we come to speak of *Sparta*. All that need be added here is, that *Cresphontes*, who, as we observed before, had juggled himself into *Mycenæ*, soon lost his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his sons, for his extraordinary largesses to the people. His third son *Ægyptus*, or rather *Æpitus*, fled to *Cypselus* king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, and when of age obtained his assistance to regain his kingdom, killed the usurper of it, and by wisely dividing his favours and largesses between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to such a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called *Heraclidæ*, were from thenceforth called *Æpytidæ* in honour of him ^g. But this popular liberality, though now

^d POLYÆN. Stratagem. Vid. HIND. hist. Græc. lib. ii.

^e POLYÆN. ubi supra. APOLL. ubi supra. * PAUSAN. in Messenic.

^f APOLLON. ubi supra. ^g Vid. PAUSAN. in Messenic.

so successful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the subjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the excision of monarchy and a total change of government.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the antient kingdom of ATTICA.

Geography.

ATTICA was situate along the north coast of the gulph of Saron, bounded on the west by *Megara* and part of *Bœotia*, on the north by the *Euripic* gulph, now *Stretto de negro ponte*, and on the east by the *Ægean* sea. It reached in length from north-west to south-east, about sixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. east longitude. Its breadth from north to south, where it was broadest, was about fifty six miles, and decreasing as it came nearer to the sea ^a.

Natural and artificial rarities.

THE soil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable industry of the people; hence it was, that it often enjoyed a profound quietness, when other more fruitful countries were exposed to frequent incursions. So that having above all others preserved its antient inhabitants gave rise to their extravagant notion, that they, like other insects, were the spontaneous product of the soil, and as a badge of it, *Thucydides* tells us, they wore a golden grasshopper in the curls of their hair. However, they were much more advantageously situated for commerce, having several good ports, the chief of which was that of *Pyræus*, whose haven, distant from *Athens* the metropolis of *Attica* about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each side with two strong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the security of the merchandise that went up to that capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ships ^b. There were some other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to *Athens* was *Eleusis*, on the same gulph, and near the coasts of *Megara*, upon which account it had been once so strongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (A).

Cities.

2. *Rhamnus*,

^a MELA, CLUVER. BYZANT. & al.

^b THUCYD. l. ii.

(A) This city is said to have been built by one *Eleusius*, who having entertained *Ceres* there, when she went in search of her daughter, she taught him agriculture as an acknowledgment for his

2. *Rhamnus*, famed for the temple of *Amphiaraus*, and the statue of *Nemesis* (B). But the largest and most opulent was the metropolis, called at first *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* the founder of it ; but afterwards *Athens* from the goddess *Minerva* (C), whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, and to whom that city Athens. was dedicated, and in whose honour were instituted the yearly games called *Panathenæa*. It was chiefly famed, besides its strength, beauty, and opulence ; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence *Fides Attica* became a common proverb ; 2. For being the nursery of the best scholars and orators, choicest wits, and greatest philosophers ; and, 3. For having produced the greatest number of brave generals of any city in the world, *Rome* not excepted, upon all which accounts it was justly esteemed one of the eyes of *Greece* ^c.

^c JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Attic.

his hospitality. Hence that goddess is sometimes called *Eleufina* by the poets (1).

(B) The goddess of justice, called also *Rhamnasia* from this town where her temple stood (2).

(C) The occasion of it, as the story goes, is, that *Cecrops* not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horse appeared. The oracle being consulted, answered, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of *Minerva*, and the fountain (or horse) that of *Neptune* ; and that that which they esteemed the most beneficial to mankind should adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being assembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god, but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddess, and the city was called from her *Athene*. *Neptune*, in revenge of the affront, drowned their territories about it ; and the men, to appease his anger past three votes against the women, the one, that they should not be called *Athenians*, but *Atticans* ; the second, that they should have no vote in public matters ; and lastly, that no children should thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embellished this story after their way, by pretending, that those deities did visibly contend for those places, as they did also for several others, and that either *Jupiter*, or themselves, left the arbitration of the dispute to some proper judges. We shall meet with some further instances of this kind of contention in the sequel (3).

(1) Vid. Steph. de urb. in voc. (2) Id. Plutarch. &c. (3) Apollod. ubi supra. Pausan. in Attica.

THE chief river in this kingdom is the *Asopus*, flowing from the lake *Copais*, through *Bœotia* and *Attica*, and splitting itself into two streams, which divide the famous plains of *Marathon*, empties itself into the *Ægean* sea.

Govern-
ment.

THE government from its first foundation to the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical, under a succession of seventeen kings. What is most remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a dislike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it, out of a deep respect to the last monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generously sacrificed his life to the safety of his subjects, the grateful *Athenians* resolved, that no man from thenceforth should bear the title of king, and gave that of *Archon* to his son and successor^d, which continued during ten successions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the *Archontic* government was, that the former descended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that these were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

Riches.

THE riches of this kingdom, occasioned by its great commerce and frugality, are said to have amounted to 1200 (*Attic*) talents a year^d; this vast income gave them a considerable superiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they, but also as they could make use of it to gain any other estates to their side; and as their coin was commonly stamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phrase so frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen†. Hence also came the common proverb, *Bovem habet in lingua*, when a man was thought bribed to speak contrary to his own sentiments.

Coin.

Chrono-
logy.

THIS kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saïts*^e, a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the *Nile* called *Saiticum*, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or, according to *Eusebius's* chronology, 780 years before the first olympiad (D). It continued under its

^d THUCYDID. ubi supra.
Thes. ^e DIODOR. SIC. lib. 1.

† Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit.

(D) Some authors, who make *Ogyges* to have been king of *Attica* at that time in which it was destroyed by the deluge which bears his

its monarchs 487 years, according to the same chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the *Athenians* felt any grievances, that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other. The *Archontic* government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their last king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, *A. M.* 3412. there elapsed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from *Cecrops* to *Solon* amounts to 960 years.

its name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom still farther off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this *Ogyges* was, is not easy to guess: Some make him an *Egyptian*, and some an *Arcadian*: Some think he reigned in *Attica*, and others at *Thebes*. Under this uncertainty we choose to date the foundation of the kingdom from *Cecrops*, who, if *Ogyges* had really reigned there, may at least be reckoned the restorer of it, and the person from whom the succession of *Attic* princes is derived.

We must own, however, that according to this supposition of his being the first founder of the kingdom, those of *Thebes* and *Sparta* will stand foremost in point of antiquity, though in no other respect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at first in our plan of this work.

This *Cecrops* is feigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly serpent or dragon, that is, according to *Justin* (5), because he was the first that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to *Demosthenes* and the rest of the vain *Grecians*, because he had the wisdom of a man and the strength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of *Egypt*, and polished himself into a man in *Greece*; but more probably, either as he was the first institutor of marriage, or because he understood the *Egyptian* and *Greek* tongues. Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the *Red sea* with *Pharaoh's* host, in whose time he lived (6).

(4) *De hoc vid. Hellenic. Castor. Thal. Polybist. Euseb. & al. Apollod. l. ii.* (5) *lib. ii. c. i.* (6) *Euseb. Chron. vid. Polybist. Rawleighb. Heyl. & al.*

The antient kings of *Athens* :

1 <i>Cecrops</i>	7 <i>Cecrops II.</i>	13 <i>Oxyntes</i>
2 <i>Cranaus</i>	8 <i>Pandion II.</i>	14 <i>Amphydas</i>
3 <i>Amphietyon</i>	9 <i>Ægeus</i>	15 <i>Thymetæus al.</i>
4 <i>Erichthonius</i>	10 <i>Theseus</i>	<i>Thymedes</i>
5 <i>Pandion</i>	11 <i>Mnestheus</i>	16 <i>Melanthus</i>
6 <i>Erechtheus</i>	12 <i>Demophon</i>	17 <i>Codrus</i>

The Names of the thirteen *Archons* who succeeded these kings were,

1 <i>Medon</i>	the son of	<i>Codrus.</i>
2 <i>Accastus</i>		<i>Medon.</i>
3 <i>Archippus</i>		<i>Acastus.</i>
4 <i>Thersippus</i>		<i>Archyppus.</i>
5 <i>Phorbas</i>		<i>Thersippus.</i>
6 <i>Megacles</i>		<i>Phorbas.</i>
7 <i>Diagnetus</i>		<i>Megacles.</i>
8 <i>Phereclus</i>		<i>Diagnetus.</i>
9 <i>Auritthon</i>		<i>Phereclus.</i>
10 <i>Thespiæus</i>		<i>Auritthon.</i>
11 <i>Agamestor</i>		<i>Thespiæus.</i>
12 <i>Æschylus</i>		<i>Agamestor.</i>
13 <i>Alcmæon</i>		<i>Æschylus.</i>

1. *Cecrops* built the city of *Athens*, as we said before, married the daughter of *Atæus*, supposed to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in right of her laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is said to have been the first who deified *Jupiter*, and ordained sacrifices to be offered to him^f, as the supreme deity. He is likewise affirmed to have been the first who set up altars and idols, offered sacrifices, and instituted marriage among the *Grecians*, who before his time, it seems, lived promiscuously, and coupled as their fancy led them. *Pausanias* tells us, that he forbade sacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any sort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the *Athenians* *Pelanos*, and in *Greek* *Bovs*, which signifies likewise an ox. This led *Eusebius* into the mistake which we find in the first book of his chronicle, where he affirms, that *Cecrops* was the first who sacrificed an ox to *Jupiter*; whereas that creature,

^f PAUSAN. in Attic.

so esteemed by the *Athenians* on account of its serviceableness in agriculture, was not sacrificed by them till the time of *Eretheus*, who offered one to *Jupiter Polieus*, or *protector of the city*; and then, *Pausanias* tells us, that the priest who knocked it down, being seized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of *Attica*. From *Cecrops* the *Athenians* affected to call themselves *Cecropidae* during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of *Erethydae*, in honour of *Eretheus* their sixth monarch. *Cecrops* reigned fifty years, according to *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom*, and left only three daughters, viz. *Herse*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandrosos*, of whom we shall speak in a following note. As for his son *Eryfichon*, he died before his father. So that after *Cecrops's* death, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthiest citizens of *Athens* and in the greatest credit, found means to ascend the *Attic* throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. *Cranaus* enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having unfortunately married one of his daughters named *Attis* to *Amphietyon* the son of *Deucalion*, he was by him dethroned and forced to retire into the city of *Lamprea*, where he led a private life to the last, and where the *Lampreans* shewed his tomb. From his daughter *Attis* the country, till then called *Aetæa*, took the name of *Attica*.

3. *Amphietyon* (E), after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the last quoted authors, twelve years, was himself tyon. deposed, and outed by

4. *Erichthonius*, who was the reputed son of *Vulcan* and *Erichthonia* (F). He is said to have been the first inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet: He reigned fifty years.

5. *Pandion*, the son of *Erichthonius*, and father of *Progne* and *Philomela*; whose hard fate, so famous among the poets,

⁸ APOLLON. l. iii. c. 3.

(E) Not that *Amphietyon* who was the first institutor of the court of the *Amphietyons* or common council of *Greece*, but his uncle.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have sprung *ex spermate Vulcani in terram delapso*, by the assistance of *Minerva* who also brought him up. The fable adds, that she having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to *Cecrops's* three daughters, with express orders not to open it upon any account. *Pandrosos* obeyed the goddess; but her two sisters, more curious than she, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with such a phrensy, or, according to the fabulous phrase, so tormented with furies, that they flung themselves down the steepest place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

is supposed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years.

Erectheus.

6. *Erectheus*, *Pandion's* son, was reckoned the most powerful prince of his time; wherefore *Boreas* king of *Thrace*, who sought his alliance, demanded his daughter *Orythia* in marriage, and being denied carried her away by force. *Erectheus*, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle against the *Eleusians*. He left several sons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the decision to their brother-in-law *Xuthus*, who adjudged the kingdom to *Cecrops* who was the eldest. For this the other two brothers bore *Xuthus* such ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge when driven from *Theffaly* by his brethern.

Cecrops II

7. *Cecrops* II. the eldest son of *Erectheus*: this prince is generally allowed to have been the first who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houses and cottages, scattered here and there without order or regular distance; but he was, after forty years reign, ousted the kingdom by his two discontented brethren *Metion* and *Pandorus*, and forced to fly into *Ægialea*, and died there.

Pandion II.

8. *Pandion* II. the son of *Cecrops* II. was likewise driven out of *Athens* by the sons of his uncle *Metion* who took the administration for some time. *Pandion* fled into *Megara*, where *Pylas* then reigning gave him his daughter *Pelia*, and afterwards made him his successor. During his abode there he had four sons, with whom he came into *Athens* (G), whence he expelled the sons of *Metion*, and, after he had reigned a short time, either left the kingdom among his four sons, or they agreed to divide it among themselves after his death; notwithstanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldest ^h *Ægeus*.

9. *Ægeus*, when he came to the crown, finding himself

^h PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi supra.

(G) It is indeed much more likely, that he never returned into *Athens*, but that after his sons were grown up, he sent them to recover that kingdom from the *Metionidae*, so that having all shared alike the danger, they thought it reasonable to share alike in the conquest.

The space therefore of twenty five years, allowed by chronologists (7) to their father's reign, seems rather designed to mark the interval of the interregnum or usurpation, from *Cecrops's* expulsion to his grandson *Ægeus's* reign.

(7) *Pausan. Apoll. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Thef.*

despised

despised by his subjects, because he could get no children by his wives, and sometimes insulted by his brother *Pallas*, who by that time had got no less than fifty sons besides daughters, went to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and was answered, that he must forbear the use of women till his return into *Athens*¹. This puzzling answer forced him to apply himself to *Pittheus* king of *Træzen*, who was then famed for his extraordinary wisdom and skill in expounding oracles, where this prince easily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter *Æthra* whom he got with child. As none but these three were privy to the secret, *Ægeus*, before his return to *Athens*, hid a sword and a pair of shoes under a stone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princess, that if the child proved a boy, she should send him to *Athens* with those tokens, as soon as he was able to lift up the stone. He charged her moreover to use all imaginable secrecy, lest the sons of his brother *Pallas*, getting knowledge of it, should way-lay and murder him in his way to *Athens*.

Æthra being soon after delivered of a son, *Pittheus* gave out, that *Neptune* was the father of it; and when he was sixteen years old, she brought him to the stone, which she saw him lift up with ease, upon which she discovered to him the whole secret of his parentage, bid him take up the sword and shoes, and prepare himself to go to his father. Both she and *Pittheus*, however, advised him to go by sea, alledging, that since *Hercules*'s departure, who had been the great scourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again so infested with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. *Theseus*, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time shewed uncommon marks of courage and strength, no sooner heard *Hercules* named upon such an occasion, than he was fired with a desire to imitate so noble a pattern; so that all their intreaties could not dissuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to *Athens*, having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be best seen in the margin (H).

WHILST

¹ PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſ.

(H) His first encounter after he left *Træzen* was with *Periphetes* the son of *Vulcan*, surnamed also *Corynetes*, or *Club bearer*, from the club he used to fight with, whom he slew in single combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was *Sinnis* the son of *Polyphemon*, surnamed *Pityocampes*, from his bending the heads of two tall pines and tying passengers between the opposite

WHILST *Theseus* was still at *Træzen*, his father laboured under no small perplexities from his subjects and his haughty brother ; and an accident happened which had almost driven him to despair. *Androgeus*, the son of *Minos* king of *Crete*, who was come to *Athens* to be present at one of their feasts, had unhappily contracted such an intimacy with the fifty sons of *Pallas*, that the jealous old king, fearing some fatal consequence from it, had caused that prince to be privately murdered. Others say, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the *Marathonian* bull, was killed by it. However that be, *Minos*, having received the news of his son's death and made several vain attempts to revenge it on the *Athenians*, prayed to the gods to do it for him ; upon which the *Athenians* were punished with pestilence, famine, and several other plagues ; and were told by the oracle, that they must expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos*, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed a yearly tribute upon them of seven young men and seven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur* (I), during the space of seven ^k, or, according to

^k DIODOR. ubi supra.

sive branches, which, by their sudden return, did tear them in pieces : him *Theseus* put to the same death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce *Cromyonian* sow, called *Phæa*, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders, and lewdness.

Sciron a famous robber, who used to throw passengers down a steep rock after he had made them wash his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next signalized himself in the *Eleusian* games by killing *Cercyon* a famous *Arcadian* wrestler, he went to *Termione*, where he killed *Damastes*, otherwise called *Procrustes*, by distending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he used to do to those who unhappily fell into his hands.

Lastly, He went and fetched the famed bull of *Marathon* and brought him alive to *Athens*, where he sacrificed him to *Apollo* (8).

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Pasiphae* *Mino's* queen ; and who as soon as born was by the king's order thrown into the labyrinth and fed with human flesh ; but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been surnamed *Taurus* or *Bull*. He seems also to have been in great power at the *Cretan* court, either for his constant victories at the games which *Minos* had instituted in memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature ; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all

(8) *Philochor. ap. Hind. Hist. Græc. lib. i.*

to others, nine years¹, these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that *Ægeus*, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that *Minos* had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when *Theseus*, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous enchantress *Medea*, in her flight from *Corinth*, and had been deluded with hopes, that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children, had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. *Theseus*, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was soon discovered by *Medea*, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger, and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, *Theseus*, willing to give his father an agreeable surprise, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hastened to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of *Theseus*, did so quash the sanguine hopes of *Pallas* and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

AFTER this *Theseus*, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the *Minotaur*, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and imbarcking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black, to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at *Crete* he offered himself to *Minos*, and demanded the liberty to fight the *Minotaur*, or rather his

¹ PLUTARCH, ubi supra.

the *Athenian* captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

champion *Taurus*, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect, that his queen, a woman of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. *Theseus* after this had all the success he could wish : He killed his enemy, released all the *Athenian* captives, prevailed upon *Minos* to remit the tribute, and obtained his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage, not indeed with her father's consent ; but she, having been an eye-witness of his valour and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her however in the isle of *Naxos* : and some add, that, after the conquest of the *Minotaur*, *Minos* fell in love with *Peribea*, one of the seven virgins which *Theseus* had brought with him, and would have detained her. *Theseus* strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the *Cretan* king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him, that he was not the son of *Neptune*, unless he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the sea. *Theseus* immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which *Amphitrite* had put upon his head. *Minos*, however, would not be pacified without *Peribea*, and *Theseus*, still persisting in his denial, was by his order cast into the labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* used to be kept ; but he stayed not long there, before *Ariadne* furnished him with a clue, by the help of which he extricated himself out of it, and setting out with his fleet for *Athens*, left *Ariadne* behind at the island above-mentioned, where *Bacchus* fell in love with her and carried her off, whilst *Theseus* sailed homewards towards *Athens*. Unfortunately for them and for *Ægeus*, their extraordinary joy for their late success made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed ; and the old king, who went from time to time to espy them from a high rock, observing the ship afar off still hanging out its sable colours, doubted not, but that his son had like the rest fallen a victim to the *Minotaur* ; and, in a fit of sudden despair, threw himself into the sea, which from him was since called the *Ægean* sea ; so that when *Theseus* landed at *Athens*, he found the city divided between grief for *Ægeus's* death, and joy, for the safe return of his valiant son and successor. *Ægeus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theseus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, to spend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom ; so that he began, upon his first accession to it, to think how to divest himself of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into the

the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he divested himself of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of their laws. The rest he committed to proper magistrates, chosen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. The first he invested with the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two chose their inferior magistrates from among themselves, to take care of whatever related to their separate orders: so that the kingdom was in some measure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greatest post; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the husbandmen had the greatest profit; and the artists excelled them in number. He instituted two annual festivals, the *Panathenæa*, in memory of the *Athenians* being now united into one, and that called the *Metœcia*, besides the famous *Isthmian* games in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were so called from the *Isthmus* in which they were celebrated. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers thither, and, as a further encouragement for them to come and settle there, he endowed them with the privilege of natives. He likewise abolished all their distinct courts of judicature, and built one common council-hall called *Prytaneum*, a sumptuous building which stood for many ages^m. We observed before, that the *Athenian* money was stamped with an ox; this coin was supposed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theseus's* killing the bull of *Marathon*, or the *Minotaur*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was most subservient.

AFTER he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own, in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the second, who had succeeded *Pylus* his father-in-law, as we have seen above. It was then, that *Theseus* erected that famous pillar in the *Isthmus*, which shewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inscription on the one side, *This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia*, and on the other, *This is Peloponnesus not Ionia*. What we read concerning his two expeditions against the *Amazons*, is so blended with fable, so differently relatedⁿ, and so uncertain, that we shall give it

^m PLUTARCH. ubi supra. Vid. & THUCYDID. l. ii. ⁿ Conf. HERODOT. PLUTARCH. & MEURS. in Thes. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 4. in

in a short note, because they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athens* (K).

SOMETIME after these expeditions, *Theseus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous* the son of *Ixion*, and, being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of *Centaurs*, or rather *Thessalian* horsemen, as we shall see in the sequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female guests; and drove the rest out of the country. These two went from thence to *Sparta*, and stole away the famed *Helena* out of the temple of *Diana Ortia*, where she happened to be dancing *. This princess was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter* by *Leda*, the wife of *Tyndarus* king of *OEBALIA* in *Peloponnesus*; and, though then but nine years old, was already famed for the greatest beauty in the world; insomuch, that *Theseus* though then, as is reckoned, above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof against her charms. However the time, and place, and circumstances of this rape are variously reported; we have here followed *Plutarch's* account of it as the most allowed. According to him the two ravishers were pursued as far as *Tegea*; but they happily made their escape out of *Peloponnesus*, and thinking themselves now secure of their prey, they agreed to cast lots for her, upon condition, that he to whose lot she fell should help the other in getting some other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for *Theseus*, he assisted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proserpina*, daughter of *Aidonius*

• PLUTARCH. ubi supra. APOLLOD. PAUSAN. in Attic.

(K) The first expedition was only undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whose companion in all such exploits *Theseus* always affected to be. As a reward therefore for his assistance, that victorious hero gave him *Antiope* one of the *Amazonian* queens whom he had taken prisoner. *Justin* says, *Hippolyte* the other queen, and that *Hercules* kept *Antiope* for himself.

However, this gave occasion to a second expedition, in which some affirm, that the *Amazons* made a descent into *Attica* to recover their lost queen, having with them besides their own forces obtained a powerful supply of horsemen from *Sagillus* king of *Scythia*, with his son *Panasagorus* at their head, who did afterwards upon some misunderstanding withdraw his troops and left them in the lurch. Others say, that *Theseus* went and attacked them near the *Caspian* sea: however, they all agree, that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of these two expeditions he took the queen *Hippolyte*, whom he afterwards married. After this the *Amazons* were forced to clap up a peace with the *Athenians*, and these, either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of *Tellus Olympia*.

king

king of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*, who being the next beauty to *Helena* was guarded by the dog *Cerberus*, and was not to be won but by the death of that monster. However, when the king understood that they designed to steal her away, he threw *Pirithous* to be torn in pieces by *Cerberus*, and *Theseus* into prison, from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of *Hercules*.

DURING his absence *Mnestheus*, the son of *Peteus* grandchild of *Eretheus*, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war, which *Castor* and *Pollux* waged against him for the recovery of their sister *Helena*, raised a more powerful faction against him: And as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, *Mnestheus* harangued the citizens, and told them, that, since their quarrel was only against *Theseus*, their safest way was to open their gates to them, and *Theseus*, finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (L). His design was to have sailed into *Crete*, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there from *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*, and his now brother-in-law (M); but he

was

(L) The ungrateful *Athenians*, who expressed more joy for their new king, than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation against them was from thenceforth called *Aratherion*, or the place of cursing (10).

(M) *Theseus* had a son by the *Amazonian* queen named *Hippolytus*, and having soon after married *Phædra* the sister of *Deucalion* the son and successor of *Minos*, by whom he had two sons, he sent *Hippolytus* to be brought up by his own mother *Æthra* queen of *Træzen*; but he coming afterwards to be present at some *Athenian* games, *Phædra* fell in love with him, and having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment accused him to *Theseus* of having made an attempt upon her. The fable says, that *Theseus* prayed to *Neptune* to punish him by some violent death, and that as *Hippolytus* was riding along the sea-shore, *Neptune* sent two sea-calves who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; but as for *Hippolytus*, *Diana*, being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him,

(10) *Plutarch. in Thef.*

prevailed

was unfortunately cast by a tempest upon the island of *Scyros*. Here he was at first kindly received by king *Lycomedes*, but was soon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some say, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as is most likely, at the instigation of his *Athenian* rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, though others say, that, that place being his usual walk after supper, his foot unfortunately slipped in the dark. We omit for brevity's sake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in *Plutarch's* life of him. All we shall add here is, that the *Athenians* did sometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that *Cimon*, the famous son of *Miltiades*, did raze the whole island of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

II. *Mnestheus* or *Menestheus* was the son of *Peteus*, and great grandson of *Eretheus* the sixth king of *Athens*, and consequently had a better right to the crown than *Theseus*, whose father was uncertain, and who was at best but the son of *Ægeus*, and this but the adopted son of *Pandion*, as we have seen above. Whilst therefore *Theseus* was either pursuing his amours, or was imprisoned for the rape of *Proserpine*, it was easy for his rival to persuade the *Athenians* to raise him to the throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that *Castor* and *Pollux*, taking the advantage of *Theseus's* confinement, came and besieged *Aphidne* a town in *Attica*, where he had sent his mother and his wife *Helena*; and these two heroes having taken and rescued their sister, out of revenge to her ravisher, helped his competitor to mount the throne.

Menestheus, being thus chosen, was in no great care about the sons of *Theseus*, but dreaded his known valour, in case he should ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed so far upon the *Athenians*, what with gifts and caresses, that they would not suffer him to come into *Attica*. And as soon as he heard, that he was retired into the island of *Scyros*, he prevailed on *Lycomedes* to dispatch him by the stratagem we lately mentioned. *Menestheus* reigned twenty four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the siege of *Troy*, where having lost his life, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Thesean* line.

prevailed upon *Æsculapius* to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

12. *Demophon*,

12. *Demophon*, one of the sons of *Theseus* by *Phædra*, succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces that were before *Troy*. He was one of those that came back safe from that siege: In his return he landed in *Thrace*, where *Phyllis*, king *Lycurgus*'s daughter, entertained him for some time both at bed and board. Upon his departure he promised to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, consisting originally of fifty *Athenians* and as many *Argivi*, for trying of wilful murders, and lying in wait to kill. The occasion of erecting this court, and of the *Argives* being admitted to sit as judges in it, was as follows: *Agamemnon*, others say *Diomedes*, returning with his forces from *Troy*, was driven one night into an *Athenian* port called *Phalerus*, and thinking themselves in an enemy's country, began their usual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the surpris'd *Athenians* fell upon them and killed a considerable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium upon the ground among the slain, by which they knew that they were their friends the *Argives*. The oracle, having been consulted, ordered them to give the slain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to *Minerva*, and to set up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that this court should be erected to try all cases of murder, manslaughter, and chance-medly. It consisted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of sense and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its first setting up, *Agamemnon* insisting that there should be an equal number of *Athenians* and *Argives* to sit in it, the *Athenians* readily granted it. *Demophon* submitted himself afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his subjects by the turn of his horse, as he was coming from *Troy*. It subsisted a considerable time in the same form; but *Draco*, one of their *Archons*, new-modelled it, excluded the *Argives* out of it, and made it consist of fifty one *Athenians*, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age^p. *Demophon* reigned thirty three years, and was succeeded by his son, or, according to others, his brother

13. *Oxyntes*, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son

14. *Aphydas*, who was murdered by *Thymætes* in the first year of his reign.

^p EUSEB. Chron. lib. i.

15. *Thymætes*,

15. *Thymætes*, the bastard-son of *Oxyntes*, betrayed his base nature in many things besides the murder of *Aphydas*, by which he got the crown. We shall only mention the last instance of it which justly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight years, when *Xanthus* king of *Bæotia* had a contest with him about one of their frontier towns. *Xanthus* offered to decide the matter in single combat, and *Thymætes* as cowardly declined it. It happened, that *Melanthus*, a noble *Messenian* who had been driven out of his country by the *Heraclidæ*, was come to *Athens* about this time, and offered to answer the chartel. Upon their very first onset *Melanthus* called to his adversary, and asked him why he brought a second along with him contrary to their articles, and whilst *Xanthus* turned about to see who followed him, he ran him through with his lance¹. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did so please the *Athenians*, that they not only deposed their pusillanimous king, who was the last of the line of *Ereätheus*, and set their *Messenian* champion upon the throne; but instituted a feast in memory of this action, and called it *Apatheria* from the stratagem that gave occasion to it².

16. *Melanthus*, as soon as he had mounted the throne, persuaded the *Athenians* to receive the banished *Messenians* and *Nestoridæ*, and after a reign of thirty seven years left the kingdom to his worthy son *Codrus*³.

17. *Codrus* reigned about twenty one years, during which time the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ* had regained all *Peloponnesus*, and were entering into *Attica*. *Codrus* was informed that the oracle had promised them victory, provided they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, and that they had taken all proper precautions against it; but he, who had resolved to sacrifice his life to the safety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them. He disguised himself like a peasant, went into their camp, fell a quarelling with some of the *Dorian* soldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceased not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were so terrified, that they decamped without striking a blow⁴.

WITH *Codrus* ended the regal succession and title of kings of *Athens*. His subjects conceived such veneration for that magnanimous prince, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the

¹ Vid. FRONTIN Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5.

Stratag. l. i. c. 9.

Trog. l. ii. c. 6.

² PAUSAN. Achaic.

³ POLYÆN.

⁴ JUST. ex

management of the estates to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of *Archons*, and chose *Medon* the eldest son of *Codrus* to that new dignity. His election, however, was opposed by his brother *Nileus*, who pretended he could not submit to *Medon*'s authority, because he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it^u, all the *Archons* that succeeded him were from him surnamed *Medontidæ*, because they were all chosen by succession: so that the *Athenian* government continued in the family of *Codrus* under thirteen perpetual *Archontes*, somewhat above the space of two hundred years.

THEIR names need not be repeated here, having added them to the list of the *Athenian* kings: neither shall we dwell upon the transactions which happened under each several archonship; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of a change, did shew from time to time their dislike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a resemblance to monarchy, and giving its possessor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began to give some marks of their discontent under their first *Archon*. *Attica* had enjoyed so much quiet during a long season, that it swarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more harrassed with wars, so that they were forced to discharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coasts of *Lesser Asia*. Upon the very first of these expeditions *Nileus* and the rest of *Codrus*'s sons, who could not brook to be under their brother *Medon*, drew a great number of *Athenians* to them, joined with the *Ionians* and *Thebans*, and left *Athens* for *Lesser Asia*, where they dispersed themselves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. *Ephesus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myas*, *Teos*, *Lebedes*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erythræ*, *Phocæa*, *Chios* in the isle of that name, and *Samos*. These were at first each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be seen in due time.

THIS perpetual archonship, however, upheld itself so long, in spite of the people's dislike to it, that it passed through thirteen hands, from *Medon* the son of *Codrus* to *Alcmaeon* the last who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his short reign, which lasted but two years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: so that *Charops* the

^u CASTOR, ap. EUSEB. ubi supra.

Year of
the Flood
2247.
Before
Christ
752

son of *Eschylus*, was forced to accept of it upon those terms or none. This change happened about the beginning of the seventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* was born. This new decennial dignity had scarce passed through four hands, before they began again to call for a fresh reduction of it; for *Hippomenes* the last of *Codrus's* line, in whose archonship this tumult happened, had scarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his son and daughter (N), caused him to be deposed. However, they did not then gain their point; it continued still through three different hands, till at length *Eryxias* the last of them, either dying, or being deposed in the last year of his archonship, the *Athenians* appointed new archontes to be chosen from among the most considerable citizens for birth, wealth and interest, and voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* did afterwards new model and confirm, as we shall see in the next chapter.

S E C T. V.

The history of the antient kingdoms of Bœotia and Thebes.

Antient
names.

WE find two antient kingdoms called by the name of *Bœotia*; the one, and by far the more antient and considerable of the two, founded, or rather restored, by *Cadmus*, and named by him *Bœotia* from the ox which is said to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of *Thebes*. The other was in *Theffaly*, and is said to have been founded by *Bœotus*, the son of *Neptune*, and brother of *Æolus*, by *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* king of *Æolis*. This last having sent his daughter to *Metapontium* a city of *Italy*, she was there delivered of those two sons, the eldest of whom she called after her father's name *Æolus*; and he possessed himself of the islands in the *Tyrrhe-*

(N) He caused his son to be torn in pieces by horses for adultery, and his daughter he shut up with a horse without food, to be devoured alive, for having suffered herself to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous punishment, *Suidas* (11) tells us, there was a place in the city called ἵππο-καὶ-κῆρυς, *Hippo-kai-Kyres*, in memory of the horse and the young lady.

(11) *Sub voc. ἵππομενος.*

henian, now *Tuscan Sea*, and built the city of *Lipara*. *Bæotus* the younger son went to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city *Arne* from his mother. All that we know of these is, that they held this settlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the *Thessalians* did expel them from it, and forced them to seek for a new one; upon which they came and possessed themselves of that country which had been till then called *Cadmeis*, and gave it the name of *Bæotia*. *Diodorus* and *Homer* tell us, that these *Bæotians* did signalize themselves at the *Trojan* war; and the latter adds, that five of *Bæotus's* grandsons, *Penelus*, *Leitus*, *Prothoenor*, *Arcefilaus*, and *Clonius*, were the five chiefs who led their *Bæotian* troops thither.

ACCORDING therefore to *Diodorus* *, this last country, though founded into a kingdom, at least ever since the time of *Cadmus*, was not called *Bæotia* till the banished sons of *Bæotus* gave it that name, about three hundred years after the building of *Thebes*; but the most current account, especially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by *Cadmus* himself in memory of the ox, by whom he had been directed thither according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned, that it had had several other names, according to those of its supposed founders; those who ascribed it to *Ogyges* called both it and its capital *Ogygia*; others called it *Cadmeis* from *Cadmus*, *Aonia* from *Aon* the son of *Neptune*, and *Hyanthis* from *Hyas* the son of *Ailas*; but the far greater part say, it was originally called *Calydna* from *Calydnus*, the first founder of the capital and kingdom; that province is now called *Stramulippa*, and *Thebes* its antient capital *Stibes* or *Stives*.

It bordered on the east to *Attica*, and was in time joined to it, as we have seen in the last article, and was parted from it by the mountain *Cithæron*. On the north by the streight *Euripus*, now called the *Negroponte*, said to flow seven times

Geography.

* *Bibl. lib. iv.*

(A) The fable goes, that *Cadmus*, tired with going in search of his sister *Europa*, whom *Jupiter* in the shape of a bull, or, as is supposed, in a ship, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into *Crete*, was advised by the oracle of *Delphi* to follow the track of the first ox he saw, and where he rested himself to build there the city of *Thebes*, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) *Pausan. in Bæot. & al.*

Natural
rarities.

in twenty four hours, or rather, according to *Livy*, supposed to do so, because its tides are boisterous and uncertain. On the west it had the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the south the gulph of *Corinth*. Its utmost extent from east to west was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the same length from north to south; but coming near to a point eastward^a. Here is the large lake *Copais* about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two considerable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country eastward. These are the *Asopus*, which divided the territories of *Thebes* from those of the *Plateans*, and running through those of *Attica* falls into the *Ægean* sea; and the *Ismenus*, which empties itself into the *Euripus* abovementioned. The country is partly hilly, especially *Aonia* properly so called; the rest is low and flat, abounding with excellent pasturage; but whose air is so thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occasion of the inhabitants being such famous dunces.

Places of
note.

PLACES of note in *Bœotia* were; 1. the *Trophonian* cave (B), and the oracle, said to have been there given by *Jupiter*, whence he was surnamed *Trophonius*. 2. *Thespia*, a town situate on the river of that name, and shadowed on the north by the famous *Helicon*, whence the muses, to whom these were dedicated, were called *Thespiades*. 3. *Aulis*, a sea-port on the *Negropont*, famous for being the place where the *Grecian* chiefs swore the destruction of *Troy*. 4. The famed streights of the mountain *Oeta*, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the streights of *Thermophylæ* from the hot waters in that neighbourhood; but the most famed place was the city of *Thebes*, situate near the river *Ismenus*, and surnamed *Heptapylus* from its seven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, as we observed before, and to have been made by him the capital of the *Bœotian* kingdom, from which his successors, who did adorn it with many stately temples, palaces, and other sumptuous buildings, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention by and by; were also called kings of *Thebes*^b.

Laws and
Customs.

THE government was altogether monarchical like those we have seen already, but perhaps more despotic here than in

^a STRAB. MEL. & al.

^b PAUSAN. in Bœot.

(B) So called from an old soothsayer, who inhabited it, and used to be consulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many washings, anointings, and the like superstitious preparations. It is added that those who had once been in it, were never seen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, *he has been in the Trophonian den*.

the

the rest, and having no other laws than the king's will; some of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their antient customs, except what *Plutarch* tells us in his morals of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to understand, that she was fixed with her husband for life, and must not expect to return to her parents. The foundation of this antient kingdom we shall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by *Cadmus*, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make *Ogyges* or any other hero to have reigned in *Bœotia*, we cannot gather any light, from even what we have left, out of the fable-writers. Even the times which elapsed between *Cadmus* and the celebrated war between the two contending sons of *OEdipus*, and which is the most antient piece of history that we have of all *Greece*, are so stuffed with the vilest and most absurd fables of gods turned into satyrs and devils, and of men turned into monsters of cruelty and lust, that we hope we shall be excused for skipping over all that has not some affinity with the history itself. The time in which chronologists place the rape of *Europa* being about the year of the world 2550, the Flood, and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be supposed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to the time of its being totally destroyed by the *Epi-* Year of the Flood, 1545.
Year before Christ 1454.
goni it had stood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the *Cadmean* race, but usurpers. After this there reigned in *Thebes* two kings more of the race of *OEdipus*, and three of the race of *Penelopeus* the great grandson of *Bœotus*. Besides these we find *Homer* mentioning *Eetion* as king of *Thebes*. We have spoken of him in another place †, and shall omit him here in our list, because it doth not appear that he was of the *Cadmean* race, nor is he mentioned by *Pausanias* among the *Theban* kings, though he may have signalized himself in the defence of that city.

‡ Vid. *Hind. Hist. Græc.*

† See before, p. 428.

The LIST of the Kings of *Thebes*, according to our Author, is as follows :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 <i>Cadmus</i> | 10 <i>Laodamas</i> the son of <i>Eteocles</i> |
| 2 <i>Polydorus</i> | 11 <i>Thersander</i> son of <i>Polynices</i> |
| 3 <i>Labdacus</i> | 12 <i>Tisamenes</i> |
| 4 <i>Lajus</i> | 13 <i>Autesion</i> |
| 5 <i>Amphion</i> an usurper | 14 <i>Damasichthon</i> |
| 6 <i>Zethus</i> his brother | 15 <i>Ptolomeos</i> |
| <i>Lajus</i> restored | 16 <i>Xuthus</i> |
| 7 <i>OEdipus</i> | |
| 8 <i>Eteocles</i> and | |
| 9 <i>Polynices</i> | |

After this last the *Thebans*, grown weary of kingly government, resolved themselves into a commonwealth, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

Cadmus, according to the *Greeks*, was the son of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, or, according to others, of *Tyre* ; but according to the *Sidonians* his countrymen he was no more than the king's cook : these add, that his wife *Hermione* was likewise a mere minstrel at court, with whom he ran away into *Greece* †. The former tell us, that his father, sending him and his two brothers in quest of *Europa*, had forbid them to return without her. *Cadmus* therefore, having fought her far and long in vain, and despairing of success, came into *Bœotia*, where, as we have seen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at first opposed by the *Hyantes* and *Abones*, who were then in possession of that territory : the former he overcame in fight and forced them to retire into *Locris* ; but the latter he admitted, upon their submitting themselves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he built

† Vid. *ATHEN.* l. xiv. c. 22.

(C) Who and whence those people were, whom *Cadmus* brought hither, is variously conjectured : some think, that he and they came from *Thebais* in *Egypt* (2), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of *Phœnicians* ; but we think *Bochart's* conjecture (3) the most reasonable, that they were *Canaanites*, driven out of their land by

(2) Vid. *Uffer. an. sub. A. M.* 2549.
See *Vol. II. p.* 304, & Note (A).

(3) *Canaan. l. i. c.* 19.

Joshua.

built the city of *Thebes*, and a citadel, which he called by his own name *Cadmea* ^d, which name it retained many ages after.

THE fable adds, that when *Cadmus* married his wife *Hermione*, whom the poets make the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the gods came to *Cadmus* and assisted at his wedding; and that he had by her one son named *Polydorus* and four daughters, *Semele* the mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter* (D), *Ino*, *Autonoe*, and *Agave*. After this the *Encheleæ*, who were at war with the *Illyrians*, being commanded by the oracle to choose him their general, he left *Thebes* to his son *Polydorus*, and headed them; and here it was, that he and

^d PAUSAN. ubi supra.

Josbua, whose time falls in with *Cadmus* exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moses* (4), who were the same with the *Hivites*, and were called *Cadmonim* or *Easterlings*, because they inhabited mount *Hermon* the most eastern part of *Canaan*, from which the same author supposes *Cadmus's* wife to have been called *Hermione* or *Harmonia*.

The fable of these two being turned into serpents, he thinks to have sprung from their retaining their common name of *Hivites*, which in the *Syriac* signifies a serpent.

These conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital *Thebes*; for the above quoted book mentions a city of the same name in the land of *Canaan* (5) and written in the plural *Θεβæ* by *Josephus* (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of those who derive it from *Theba* the daughter of *Prometheus* (7).

(D) The reason why the poets make *Cadmus* grandfather to *Bacchus*, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into *Greece*: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of those who make *Bacchus* to be the same with *Nimrod*, and of those who make him the son of *Jupiter Ammon*, since in either opinion he must have been vastly more antient (8).

However, *Bacchus* is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine, to have gone upon a three-years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into *India*, even to the utmost parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the *Barbarian* inhabitants of those parts: and lastly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(4) *Gen.* xv. 19.

(5) *c.* ix. 50.

(6) *Ant.* l. v. c. 5.

(7) *Vid.* *Steph. Byzant.* sub *Thebæ*.

(8) *Vid.* *Bochart.* ubi supra.

Ch. xviii.

(9) *Vid.* *Diodor.* *Sicul.* lib. iv.

his wife are feigned to have been turned into serpents (E), or, as some interpret it, to have degenerated from their pristine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another son, whom he either called *Illyrius* from the name of the *Illyrians*, his new-conquered subjects, or else that people took their name from him.

Brings letters into Greece.

Cadmus is universally allowed to have introduced the use of letters into Greece from *Phœnicia*. The alphabet at first had but sixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He also was the first that set up schools there: he taught them moreover trade and navigation, and brass had the name of *Cadmean* given it in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the use of it into those parts *.

Cadmus being retired into *Illyrium*, as we have seen, left the *Theban* government to his son *Polydorus*, in whose reign his great favourite and nephew, *Pentheus* the son of *Echion* by *Agave*, having had the insolence to prophane the rites of *Bacchus*, was torn in pieces by his mother and sisters. *Polydorus*, whose son *Labdacus* was yet under age, when he found himself dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to *Nyctæus*, whose daughter *Antiope* (F), the greatest beauty then in all Greece, being soon after carried off by *Epopeus* king of *Sicyon*, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother *Lycus*, whilst he undertook a war against the ravisher of his daughter. He went soon after him at the head of his *Theban* troops, and a bloody fight ensued, in which *Nyctæus* received a mortal wound and lost the battle, upon which he caused himself to be brought back to *Thebes*, where he left once more his brother

* Vid. HERODOT. l. v.

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great serpent, he strewed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting against each other till they were all killed except five: hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called *Victoria Cadmea*.

(F) This young princess who was married to *Zethus*, is supposed to have been carried off by her own consent, because her dying father gave him orders to punish her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that she was pregnant, he contented himself at first with divorcing her, though he was afterwards persuaded by his next wife to clap her into a prison, out of which she was afterwards released by her two sons (10).

(10) Pausan. in Corinth. c. v.

ther guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on *Epopeus*, and to rescue his daughter *Antiope*. In the mean time *Epopeus*, flushed with his victory (G), neglected a slight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death some time after, and put an end to the war. *Lycus* recovered his niece, and as she was coming back to *Thebes*, she fell in labour, and was delivered of two sons, *Amphion* and *Zethus* (H), of whom we shall have occasion to speak by-and-by.

3. *Labdacus*, when of age, finding that *Laomedon*, who had succeeded *Epopeus* in *Sicyon*, was attacked by two powerful enemies, *Archandes* and *Architeles*, the sons of *Achæus*, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt *Antiope* to be restored; and *Laomedon*, though then assisted by *Sicyon*, whom he had invited from *Athens* (I), yet chose rather to deliver up that princess, than to exasperate the *Theban* king by a refusal *. We have seen what reception she met with in a late note. *Labdacus*, dying soon after, left his son *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*.

4. *Lajus* being then very young, *Amphion* and his brother *Zethus*, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. *Lycus*, having made

* PAUSAN. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is said to have built a temple to *Minerva*, as an acknowledgment for his late success, and that when it was finished, he prayed to the goddess, that if she accepted of it, she would shew some particular token of it, upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) These twins, *Homer* says (12), were begot, not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*, who fell in love with *Antiope*. Their first exploit was to murder *Lycus* and his wife, and to rescue their mother out of her confinement. After this they seized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we shall see in due time.

Antiope is also called *Nycteis* from her father *Nycteus*, and the ancient *Samotic* poet celebrates her in verses to this purpose; *That she had Asopus for her father; Epopeus and Jupiter for her gallants; and Amphion and Zethus for her sons* (13).

(I) Who, the *Sicyonians* say, was not the son of *Marathon*, the son of *Epopeus*, but of *Metion* the son of *Erectheus* (14). *Hesiod* makes him the son of *Erectheus*, and another of *Pelops* (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may see what we said of him in the second section of this chapter.

(11) *Id. ibid.* (12) *Odyss. l. ii.* (13) *Asius ap. Pausan. ubi supra.* (14) *Id. ibid.* (15) *Ibyc. ap. eund.*

it his first care to secure the person of the young prince, the only surviving one of the *Cadmean* race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and lost the day. *Amphion* seized the *Theban* crown, and called its metropolis, or at least the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt by the mother's side (K), whilst the upper city or citadel retained its antient name of *Cadmea*. It is to these two heroes that *Homer* attributes the inclosing and fortifying the former with a famous strong wall, with seven gates, and a number of stately towers at a convenient space from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long against the *Theban* forces (L). A grievous plague raged soon after which destroyed great multitudes. and among the rest *Amphion* and his family. His brother *Zethus*, who succeeded him, fell under other misfortunes, his only son was killed by his own mother, the grief of which shortened his days, and gave the *Thebans* an opportunity of setting *Lajus* again upon his throne.

Lajus having married *Jocasta*, or, as she is called by others, *Epicaſte*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by *Apolla*'s oracle, that if he had a son by her, he should be killed by him. *OEdipus* was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom *Lajus* therefore gave to a shepherd to be slain (M); but he, moved with compassion, left him exposed in a place, where he was soon after taken up by the herdsman of, and presented to, *Polybus* king of *Corinth*, who healed his feet, and, from the swelling which the boring and anguish had left in them, called

(K) Some pretend, that she was one of the three daughters of the river *Asopus*, or rather of *Asopus* the *Phliasian*, from whom that river had its name : but the *Bæotians* affirm, that she was the daughter of *Asopus* the *Bæotian*, probably the same which was also called *Nycteus* the father of their mother *Antiope*, whom *Aſius* above quoted calls *Asopus*.

(L) What the fable adds, concerning the miraculous effects of *Amphion*'s lyre in the building of those walls, is so well known, that we need not say any thing further about it, than that *Amphion* had first brought music into *Greece*, from *Lydia*, where he had learned it (16), and that it was so admired for its novelty and excellence, that he easily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilst he diverted them with the music of his harp; and probably also by his eloquence, which he was no less a master of, persuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live sociably and in community.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beasts.

(16) *Vid. Plin. lib. vii. Ch. lvi. Pausan. in Bæotic. &c.*

him *OEdipus*, and brought him up as his own ^f. When he came of age, and understood that he was not the son of the *Corinthian* king, he went to the oracle of *Delphi* to enquire after his parents, and at the same time *Lajus* led by his fate went likewise to enquire what was become of his son. They met at *Phocis*, and, some scuffle happening between them, *OEdipus* unwittingly killed his father and went to *Thebes*, where he married his mother *Jocasta*, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the *Sphinx's* riddle (N). *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were the unhappy fruit of their incestuous embraces (O). Some add, that he had also two daughters by her, but others say they were by another woman.

As soon as *OEdipus* was apprised, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and incest, the horror of his guilt threw him into such a fit of distraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and, having cursed his unhappy posterity, was led by his daughter *Antigone* to *Attica*, where he took sanctuary in *Eumenides's* grove, and soon after ended his miserable

^f Conf. PLUTARCH. in Thef. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. PAUSAN. ubi supra. APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & al.

(N) This was a mischievous monster which infested the neighbourhood of *Thebes*; it had a face and body like a dog, and destroyed all the passengers that could not expound her riddle. *Creon* the father of *Jocasta* ruled then at *Thebes*, and having consulted the oracle, was answered, that there would be no end of this mischief till somebody gave her a solution; whereupon he caused it to be proclaimed through *Greece*, that the man that expounded it should have *Jocasta* to wife; and *OEdipus* proved the person who gained the fatal prize, and from that incestuous marriage had the two sons who were the occasion of this bloody war.

(O) This is at least the account which all the antient poets, except *Homer*, have left us of it, probably to inhanse the horror of that marriage, and to raise the greater compassion for that unhappy couple and their progeny; but *Homer*, on the contrary, who introduces *Ulysses* saying, that he had seen in hell the fair *Epicaſte*, who through imprudence had married her own son, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father and husband of his mother, makes him add, that the gods, by hastening this prince's death, prevented the sad effects of that incestuous marriage. For, as *Pausanias* justly observes (17) how could they be said to stop the course of that incest, if *OEdipus* had had four children by his mother?

He adds upon the authority of a poem, intitled, *OEdipiad*, or the adventures of *OEdipus*, that he had those children by *Euriganæa* the daughter of *Hyperbas*.

(17) In *Bœotic. cap. vi.*

Q q q 2

life.

life. As for *Jocasta*, she hanged herself for grief even before he left the kingdom.

HIS two sons, after his departure, agreed, that each of them should reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other : But *Eteocles* having refused to resign after he had reigned his year, *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where having married *Adrastus*'s daughter, as we have seen in a former section, he engaged that prince to assist him in the recovery of his right : these two came soon after with a powerful army, and besieged *Eteocles* at the seven gates of his capital. *Eteocles* at the same time put himself in the best posture of defence, and went and consulted an old blind *Theban* soothsayer about the success of the war ; and was answered, that victory would infallibly fall on his side, if *Menecæus* the son of *Creon* and the last of the *Cadmean* race, would voluntarily sacrifice himself to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and sacrificed his life to the safety of his country⁶. This did not however, prevent hostilities being carried on with the utmost fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both sides, that it was at length agreed, that the contending princes should decide the contest by single combat, which they did with such desperate fury, that both fell by each other's sword. The *Argives* ventured to give the *Thebans* a second battle, wherein both sides lost several of their brave commanders, and such a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almost ruined by it. A treaty was then expostulated by the *Argivic* king for burying of their dead ; but *Creon*, who had then taken the government upon him, was so exasperated against them, that he not only absolutely refused it, but caused the princess *Antigone* to be buried alive, because she had caused the body of her brother *Polynices* to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was soon after killed by *Theseus*, who came with an army against him, and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argives* to bury their slain, as we have seen elsewhere.

IN the mean time the sons of those seven generals, who fell before *Thebes*, resolving to revenge themselves on that city for the ill success of the last expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called *Epigoni*, and renewed the siege afresh. *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, who by this time came to age, and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed *Ægaleus* one of their chiefs. But being himself soon after

⁶ Id. ibid. Vid. & CICER. STAT. & al.

killed,

killed, or forced to fly into *Illyrium*^h, the *Thebans* began to sue for a treaty, and whilst that was transacting, conveyed themselves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of *Hestiaea*, leaving *Thebes* to the mercy of the *Epigoni*. Some say, that these, being apprised of their flight, plundered the city, and quite erased her walls. Others affirm, that *Thersander Polynices's* son dissuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; soon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and in the way signalized himself at *Mysia*, and was killed by *Telephus*. His son *Tisamenus*, being then too young to command the *Theban* forces, *Peneleus* was chosen their chief, and was also killed there by *Eurypylus* the son of *Telephus*. After his death *Tisamenus* took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough; but the fates, which pursued the unfortunate offspring of *OEdipus*, did not prove so favourable to his son *Autefion*, who, we are told, was seized with such a dreadful phrensy, or, according to the poetic phrase, was persecuted by the furies to such a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the *Dorians*.

AFTER his departure the *Thebans* raised *Damafichton*, the grandson of *Peneleus*, to the throne, who left it to his son *Ptolomeos*, and he was succeeded by *Xanthus*, who was the last who enjoyed the regal dignity in *Thebes*, and was treacherously killed by *Melanthus* in single combat, as we have seen in the history of *Athens*. After his death the *Thebans*, weary of a kingly government, resolved to put it into many hands, and to settle themselves into a commonwealthⁱ, as we shall see in the next chapter.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the antient kingdom of ARCADIA.

ARCADIA, so called from *Arcas* the son of *Jupiter* and *Calisto*, was antiently called *Pelasgia*, being inhabited ^{Names.} by the antient *Pelasgi*, who boasted themselves to be descended from *Pelasgus* their pretended founder, of whom we have spoken in a former section of this chapter †, as having been supposed by a late author to be the same with *Peleg* the son of *Eber* in scripture. The *Pelasgians* did also surname him *Autochthon*^a, which was a name the *Grecians* gave to those

^h Conf. PAUSAN. Bæot. & APPOLLOD. l. iii. c. 7. ⁱ PAUSAN. ubi supra. † See before, p. 432, & note (D). ^a XENOPH. SRTAB. MEL. & al.

whose

whose original was not known. It is true, we find the *Pelafgians* in several other parts of *Greece*, as was there observed; but their chief and primitive seat is generally supposed to have been this of *Arcadia*, whose inhabitants are universally allowed the antientest people in *Greece*, and boasted themselves to be older than the moon.

Geography.

THIS country was situate in the heart of *Peloponnesus* (A), having *Elis* on the west, *Argolis* on the east, *Laconia* and *Messenia* on the south, and *Sicyon* and *Corinth* on the north ^b. Its ground, which afforded excellent pasturage, made it famous for the vast number of herds it bred; for the tuneful strains of its shepherds, who excelled all others in their pastoral performances, and the sweetness of their vocal and instrumental music; and for the extraordinary worship that was paid here to their god *Pan*. Here was also a famous temple of that deity in the city of *Tegea*, and another dedicated to *Minerva* in the city of *Stymphalus*, situate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here also bred upon the lake *Stymphalis* a kind of fowl, called from it the *Stymphalian* birds, which grew to such a size and number, that they darkened the sun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infested this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by *Hercules*, as we have seen elsewhere.

Natural
rarities.

Here was also the famed lake *Pheneus*, from which springs the river *Styx*, famous for the coldness of its water which chills them to death that drink it; it is also of such corrosive nature that it will eat iron and brass ^c. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whose name is so sacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had sworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the use of *Nectar* for a hundred years.

THE *Arcadians* were at first a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by *Pelafgus* to build huts, live sociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or

^b STRAB. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. MELA, & al. ^c Id. ibid.

(A) The *Arcadians* were consequently at a distance from the sea, and accordingly *Homer* tells us, that they had neither ships, nor any knowledge of sailing (1); so that when they are said to have embarked for the siege of *Troy*, we must understand it of *Agamemnon's* fleet, which transported them thither.

(1) *Iliad. lib. ii.*

beech-mast (B), and to cloath themselves with the skins of wild beasts. They began afterwards to give themselves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their soil. But as this country abounded with excellent pasture grounds, so it was exposed to continual incursions from those, who were either forced out of their own country, or were discontented with it. And this put them upon the necessity of exchanging the crook for the sword, and to inure themselves to some warlike discipline in their own defence, who would otherwise in all likelihood have preferred a pastoral life to any other. Hence it was, that they, especially the highlanders, became such excellent soldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other estates. They commonly used to come to the wars clad with the skins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they used with a peculiar dexterity. Their very women became at length such expert warriors, especially in a defensive war, that they have sometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other side, witness that famous expedition of the *Lacedemonians* against *Tegea*, when, flushed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they should take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle discomfited by a party of women who had lain in ambush, and their king *Charilaus* with a great number of his men bound with those very chains they had brought with them*. Having therefore such brave females to defend their country in case of invasion, they used to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring states, in the same manner as the *Switzers* are now; and this made them some amends for their want of commerce occasioned by their distance from the sea.

* HERODOT. l. i. & PAUSAN. in Arcad.

(B) Which kind of food, *Pausanias* tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, insomuch, that the *Lacedemonians* consulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage against them, received this answer from the pythones, that though *Jupiter* and the gods were on their side, yet could they expect no success against a warlike people, whose chiefest dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(2) In Arcad. c. i.

THIS

THIS extraordinary change in so rude a nation was as quick as it was surprising. *Lycaon* the son of their founder, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following note, improved what his father had done towards civilizing his subjects, by introducing the worship of *Jupiter* among them, though not with the same prudence that *Cecrops* had done among his *Athenians* (C) ; his sons, of whom he had a considerable number, set themselves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names^d, and which we shall mention in their proper places. In these they gathered the people into bodies, and brought them still nearer to a social life ; and in the next reign they began to sow corn, make bread, spin wool, and to make themselves garments of it^e. Another author adds^f, that they learned the use of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making cheese, of oil, and some other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations,

^d In *Arcad.* ch. iii. ^e *Id.* *ibid.* ^f *JUSTIN.* ex *Trog.* l. xiii. c. 7.

(C) *Cecrops*, as we have seen in a former section, forbade the sacrificing of any living creature, whereas *Lycaon* is reported to have sacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its rise only from the savage nature of that prince implied in his name, *λύκος*, signifying a wolf : the account which *Ovid* gives of him is as follows :

Jupiter, desirous to know whether the wickedness of men answered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to *Lycaon's* palace, where having made himself known, the people were going to sacrifice to him. *Lycaon*, not believing his guest to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having missed his blow, he killed and dressed a *Molossian* youth, whom he kept as a hostage, and set him before his guest to eat, for which the exasperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightning, and turned his inhuman host into a wolf.

(D) This last author says, that *Aristæus*, who taught the *Arcadians* all these things, was the son of *Jupiter* by *Cyrene*, a beautiful *Thessalian* princess whom that lustful god carried off to the top of mount *Pelion*, and of whom he got four sons, the three first of which settled in *Thessaly*, and the other, *viz.* *Aristæus*, came and reigned in *Arcadia*. This story, however, is contradicted by *Pindar* and *Siculus*, who affirm, that she had but one son by *Jupiter*, namely *Monius*, who was also surnamed *Agrius*, as being a lover of hunting and feeding of cattle ; and *Pausanias* says, that this *Aristæus* instructed *Arcas* the 4th king of the country, without taking any

†

notice

nerations, the *Arcadians*, from being but one remove from *Arts* and wild beasts, became civilized, industrious, inured to society, *husbandry*, husbandry, and a regular government. To all these we may add, that these advantages, which exposed them to frequent invasions from abroad, put them likewise upon the necessity of cultivating the martial arts, first in their own defence, and afterwards for interest and gain, whence they became such brave soldiers and expert warriors, as we observed they were. Hence it was, that most of the *Grecian* princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but especially the *Messenians*, with whom they seem to have maintained an inviolable friendship. But *Hercules*, of all the antient heroes, had the greatest confidence in them, insomuch, that we seldom find him engaged in any extraordinary exploit without having some *Arcadian* forces to assist him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their pastoral life, for which they have been so highly celebrated by the poets above all other *Grecians*.*

THEIR government, like that of all their neighbours, was at first altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the subjects began to claim something like a negative power, especially in matters of great moment, so that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, such as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions, without their consent. This may perhaps be one main reason why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other estate of *Greece*; but this will be best seen in the next chapter. We shall confine ourselves here within our epoch, and to that series of kings which that nation pretended to be descended from *Pelafgus* their first founder, and which *Pausanias* has given us from their tradition and records. And herein if he differs sometimes from *Apollodorus*, *Justin*, and other antient writers, we may suppose he had his reasons for so doing; and, if we except the remotest times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkness, the standing monuments of each country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it sometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father between his sons, and continued so, till want of issue, alliances, or some other circumstance united it again. Besides this, the several cities, built by the sons of

*Govern-
ment.*

* APOLLOD. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. &c.

notice of his reigning there. We shall have occasion to say something more of this *Cyrene* when we come to speak of *Theffaly*.

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R r r

Lycaon,

Lycaon, seem to have been divided into cantons under their several chiefs; but whether always under one sovereign or not, is not sure. Hence it is, that we read of these cantons, as of separate people, who made alliances, not only among themselves, but with foreign states, and signalized themselves during several centuries under their respective names, such as *Tegeans*, *Trapezans*, *Mantineans*, *Peretheans*, and many more, which we shall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent their being mistaken in the sequel of the *Grecian* history for so many distinct people from the *Arcadians*.

THE succession of the kings of *Arcadia*, who reigned from their founder to *Aristocrates*, who was murdered by his subjects for his treachery to the *Messenians*^b, is as follows.

1 <i>Pelasgus</i>	8 <i>Aleus</i>	14 <i>Cypselus</i>	20 <i>Æginetes</i>
2 <i>Lycaon</i>	9 <i>Lycurgus</i>	15 <i>Lajus</i>	21 <i>Polymestor</i>
3 <i>Nyctimus</i>	10 <i>Echemus</i>	16 <i>Bucolion</i>	22 <i>Echmis</i>
4 <i>Arcas</i>	11 <i>Agapenor</i>	17 <i>Phialius</i>	23 <i>Aristocrates I.</i>
5 <i>Clitor</i>	12 <i>Hyppothous</i>	18 <i>Simus</i>	24 <i>Hicetas</i>
6 <i>Azan</i>	13 <i>Epytus II.</i>	19 <i>Pompus</i>	25 <i>Aristocrates II.</i>
7 <i>Epytus I.</i>			

IT were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning. If *Pelasgus*, the supposed founder of this monarchy, were the same with *Phaleg* or *Peleg* the son of *Eber*, in whose days the earth is said to have been divided¹; it must have begun at least as early as *Terah's* time; but we hope we have sufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore[†], as well as the other conjecture of the same learned man, that *Peleg* was the father of the *Scythians*^{*}. Those who place the foundation of it about *Moses's* time seem still to have antedated it[‡]; neither would we venture to place it before the expulsion of the *Canaanites* out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in search of some more peaceful habitations. But whether in *Joshua's* time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelasgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus*, *Cecrops I.* *Lelex*, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of *Egypt*; according to him this was about 1120 years before Christ, but according to our chronology in the year of the flood 1443, or before Christ, 1556, at which time we

^b PAUSAN. ubi supra. ch. ii. & seq.

STILLINGFL. Or. Sacr. l. iii. c. S.

before, p. 233, & 432. note D.

the world, l. ii. c. 6. sect. 4.

¹ Gen. x. 25. vid. &

† See Vol. I. p. 374.

* See

‡ Vid. int. al. RAWL. hist. of

have placed the foundation of *Athens* by *Cecrops*. And it can hardly be supposed, that *Pelasgus* could be of recenter date than he, if we consider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the successions of their kings; and that *Pausanias* thinks, that *Lycaon* was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder ¹. Upon this supposition therefore, that they began near about the same time, it will follow, that this of *Arcadia* lasted in the line of *Pelasgus* about 880 years, that is till the year of the flood 2351, and first of the 28th olympiad, in which *Aristocrates* II. and the last of the race was stoned to death. This is the utmost we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whose beginning is so dark and remote. We shall in the next place subjoin what we find most material concerning these monarchs.

WE have already said all we know concerning *Pelasgus* and his son *Lycaon*, except that this last built a city on the mountain *Lycaeus*, and called it *Lycosura*, caused *Jupiter* to be worshipped there under the name of *Jupiter Lycaeus*, and instituted the *Lycaean* games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous issue, the reader may see them in the margin (E). Among so many sons *Lycaon* had but one daughter named *Calisto*, with whom *Jupiter* having had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a she-bear,

¹ ARCAD. C. i.

(E) These cities were *Pallantium* built by *Pallas*, *Oresthasium*, by *Orestheus*, *Phigalia* by *Phigaleus*, afterwards called *Phialia* from *Phialus* the son of *Bucolion*, *Trapezonte* from *Trapezeus*, and so of the rest which were built by his other sons *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Hellison*, *Acacus*, (from whom this last tribe pretends *Mercury* has that surname in *Homer* which signifies *without evil*, implying, that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and *Thocbnus*. *Hypsus* built *Hypsunte*, *Menelea*, and *Tbyrea*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*, the three cities of their name. The rest of those cantons, bearing their founders names, are the *Cromians*, *Charifians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretbeans*, *Aseatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hereans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* the father of the *Orchomenians*, the richest canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of *Methrydion* †. The youngest of *Lycaon*'s sons called *OEnotrius*, instead of following the example of the rest, obtained a sum of money and forces from his brother *Nyctimus*, who succeeded *Lycaon*, sailed into *Italy*, and settled there, and was the first who brought a colony from *Greece* thither (3). Hence that of *Virgil*:

† De his Vid. St. Byzant sub. voc. & Pausan. ubi supra. (3) Pausan. in Arcad. ch. iii.

bear, and *Diana*, to please that jealous goddess, shot her to death (F). *Lycaon* was succeeded by his eldest son

3. *Nyctimus*, and he dying, we suppose childless, left the kingdom to

4. *Arcas*, the son of *Calisto* by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom ; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved husbandry. He had three sons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called *Erato* (G), besides a natural son he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. *Azan* the eldest called his portion by his name *Azania*. *Aphydas* had the canton of *Tegea*, and *Elatus* had mount *Cyllene* (H), from which he went afterwards and settled in *Phocis*, and built a city which he called by his name.

5. *Azan* was succeeded by his only son

6. *Clitor*, who instituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerfulest prince of his time, but died childless ; so that his share of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to

7. *Epytus*, eldest son of his Brother *Elatus*, who was bit to death by a venomous serpent as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his cousin

8. *Aleus*, the son of *Aphydas*. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis, and built in it a temple to *Minerva Alea*. He had three sons, *Lycurgus*, *Amphidamus*, and *Cepheus* ; and a daughter named *Auge*, whom he condemned to be drowned

*Est locus Hesperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ (4),
OEnotrii coluere viri.*

(F) The fable adds, that *Mercury*, out of compassion to the young princess, and by *Jupiter's* order, saved the infant she was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where she became a constellation, or, if you please, that constellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muse of that name who presides over matters of love ; but a wood-nymph, such as they called *Dryades*. Those who inhabited the mountains were called *Oreades* ; those of the water *Nereides* ; and those of springs and rivers *Naiades* (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from *Cyllen* the son of *Elatus*. This is the same mountain on which *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Mercury* on *Maia* the daughter of *Atlas* †

(4) Vid. Gedoyn. Not. in eund. cb. iii. (5) Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg. Pausan. ubi supra, c. iv. † See before, p. 272.



for her criminal converse with *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea* (I). He was succeeded by his eldest son

9. *Lycurgus*, whose two sons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, the great grandson of *Aleus*.

10. *Echemus* assisted *Atreus* the son of *Pelops* against the *Heraclidæ*, who first entered *Peloponnesus* with a powerful army, and with *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules* at their head. We have spoken of this expedition in a former section, and of the success of *Echemus* against that champion whom he killed in single combat, he left his kingdom to a son of *Anceus* the son of *Lycurgus*, named

11. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the siege of *Troy* (L), and in his return thence, being, like the rest of the surviving *Grecian* chiefs, tossed about by contrary winds and tempests, was cast at length upon the coasts of *Cyprus*, and settled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*, who, till then, if we believe *Pausanias*, was only worshipped at the small city of *Golgos* ^m. From him the kingdom passed to the line of *Stymphalus* the son of *Elatius*, who was the youngest son of *Arcas*.

^l Arcad. c. ii.

^m Arcad. c. v.

(I) This princess having captivated the famous *Hercules* whilst he was at *Tegea*, was left with child by him, which her father no sooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a chest with her child and flung into the sea; she was taken up about the mouth of the *Caicus* by *Teutbras* king of *Mysia*, who was so charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her son *Telephus* as his own, and made him his successor (6).

Others say, that *Aleus* committed his daughter to *Nauplius*, to be drowned in the sea, and that she being delivered in her way to *Nauplia*, an *Argolic* port, she left her child there, and that he, instead of drowning the mother, sold her to *Teutbras*. The child was suckled by a deer, from which he was called *Telephus*, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle, who his parents were, went into *Mysia*, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (7).

(K) These were *Anceus*, who, being returned from the *Argo-nautic* expedition, was killed by the *Calydonian* wild boar, and *Epeobus*, who was carried off by sickness.

(L) Most probably as an auxiliary hired by *Agamemnon*, by whose ships they were transported to and from that siege, as we observed in a former note.

(6) *Pausan ubi supra.*
Pausan. ubi supra.

(7) *Apollod l. ii. Dio. Sicul. l. iv.*

12. *Hippothous* the great grandson of *Stymphalus* was the person who succeeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the seat of the kingdom from *Tegea* the ancient metropolis to *Trapeza*; he was succeeded by his son

13. *Epytus* II. in whose days *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, being warned by the oracle, retired into *Arcadia*, and died, and was buried in or near the city of *Tegea* ^a (M). *Epytus* was afterwards struck blind for his presumption in venturing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantineia*, and dying soon after it left the crown to his son

14. *Cypselus*, in whose days *Cresphontes*, having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of *Messenia*, was murdered with two of his sons. The third named *Æpytus*, by others *Ægyptus*, fled to *Cypselus*, who was his grandfather by the

^a Vid. HERODOT. l. i. c. 66. PAUSAN. ubi supra.

(M) *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Lacedemonians*, having proved unsuccessful against the *Arcadians*, were told by the oracle, that they would continue so, till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to consult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable answer, as it is englished by *Littlebury*.

*In the Arcadian plain lies Tegea,
Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow;
Form resists form, mischief on mischief strikes;
Here mother earth keeps Agamemnon's son,
Carry him off, and be victorious.*

The solution of this puzzling answer was afterwards accidentally found out by *Liches*, an eminent *Spartan*, who being one day at *Tegea*, and observing, with some attention, a smith working at his shop, was told by him, that in the sinking of a well, he had found a coffin seven cubits long, and that having had the curiosity to open it, to see if the body answered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

Liches, comparing the place he was in, and the answer of the oracle, did easily conceive, that by the smith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the double mischief those which are caused by *Iron*; upon which, having acquainted the *Spartans* with this discovery, it was agreed, that he should be banished for some fictitious crime, that he might be the less suspected, and return to *Tegea*, which he did accordingly, and having with some difficulty hired the smith's inclosure, did privately dig up the bones, and carry them away to *Sparta* (8).

(8) *Herodot. l. iv. c. 66.*

mother's

mother's side (N), and by his assistance regained the *Messenian* kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the usurper *Polyphontes*. We find nothing considerable during the reigns of his four next successors, *Lajus*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, and *Simus*, except that in the time of this last, an antient statue of *Ceres*, surnamed the *Black*, was set on fire, which was looked upon as a presage of that monarch's speedy death, which happened accordingly soon after : he was succeeded by his son

19. *Pompus*. This prince, by the help of the *Æginetæ*, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the sea-port of *Cyllene*, to and from which the merchandises used to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved so beneficial to the kingdom, that, in gratitude to those islanders, *Pompus* called his son and successor by their name *Æginetes*. This last was succeeded by his son

21. *Polymestor*, in whose days happened that fierce invasion we spoke of at the beginning of this section, in which the *Lacedemonians*, being come against *Tegea*, were discomfited by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king *Charilaus* bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans* : however, *Charilaus* was soon after released, upon his oath and promise, that the *Lacedemonians* should not fight against them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of *Minerva Haliea*, where they still continued in *Herodotus's* time °. *Polymestor* was succeeded by his brother

22. *Echmis*, who assisted the *Messenians*, the old and constant allies of the *Arcadians*, against the *Lacedemonians*, and was succeeded by his own son

23. *Aristocrates I.* This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, priestess of *Diana Hymnia*, a deity highly revered by the *Arcadians*, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and ravished

° HERODOT. ubi supra.

(N) About the beginning of his reign the *Dorian* fleet having invaded *Peloponnesus*, not by the isthmus of *Corinth*, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle ; but by landing above the cape of *Rhion*, *Cypselus* was forced to make an alliance with *Cresphontes*, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head against them, in consideration of which, his son helped *Æpytus* to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(9) *Pausan.* ubi supra.

her

her at the very altar of the goddess. For this fact he was stoned to death by his subjects, who, to prevent the like sacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained, that from thenceforth none but married women should be admitted to the priestly function.

WE know nothing concerning his son *Hicetas*, except that he was father to

25. *Aristocrates* II. the last of the royal line of *Cypselus*, and with whom we shall close this section; he was stoned to death by his own subjects for his treachery to the *Messenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, with whom they were at war. We shall see the sequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we shall add here is, that the *Arcadians*, not content with his death, cast his body out of their territories, left it exposed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount *Lycaeus*, on which they caused an inscription to be engraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it Englished by Mr. *Hind* in his *Grecian history* ^P.

^P P. 167. Vid. & PAUSAN. ubi supra, & in *Messenic*.

(O) The base betrayer of *Messene's* state
Has met at length a well-deserved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors justice shun;
Hail, mighty *Jove*! save the *Arcadian* throne.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of the antient kingdom of THESSALY, with
a short account of that of PHOCIS.*

Name.

THESSALY is supposed to have received its name from *Theffalus* ^a, the father ^b, or, according to others ^c, the son of *Græcus*, an antient king of an obscure village, from whom the *Greeks* are said to have been descended ^d. It was also antiently called *Æmonia*, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of *Deucalion*, or perhaps rather from *Æmon* the son of *Chlorus*, the father of *Theffalus* and grandson of *Pelasgus* ^e. From this last it was also called *Pelasgia*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyr-*

^a STEPH. BYZANT. sub voce Θεσσαλ. vid. & not. Scalig. in eund.

Γραικος.

^d Id. ibid. & CLUVER. lib. iv. c. 8.

ZANT. sub voce "Αίμων.

^b EUSEB. Chronic.

^c Vid. BYZANT. sub voce

^e BY-

rha Deucalion's wife; but it was most commonly known by that of *Thessaly*, as it is now by that of *Thanna*.

It was anciently divided into four districts, or perhaps *Division* kingdoms. *Thessaliotis*, *Istiaotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*. *Deucalion* was king of this last when the deluge which goes by his name happened, which destroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only such as happily escaped into the high mountains of *Thessaliotis*, and *Deucalion* and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and rested at length upon *Parnassus*, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of stones behind them^f. However, the name of *Thessaly* and *Thessalians* in time prevailed, and came to signify all the four parts. Sometimes it included *Magnesia* and *Phthiotis*, and sometimes not; sometimes it was joined with *Macedonia*, and sometimes severed from it, and again rejoined to it^g.

Thessaly, properly so called, had on the east the provinces *Situation and extent* of *Magnesia* and *Phthia* abovementioned, and these two were bounded by the *Ægean* sea. On the west it had *Illyricum* and *Epyrus*, now *Albania*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Mygdonia*, and on the south *Græcia Propria*. It extended from west to east about 1 deg. 20 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half east longitude, and from north to south, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

It was famous for its twenty four hills, the most remarkable of which were those that follow: *Natural rarities*.

1. *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height: 2. *Othrys*, where king *Pirithous* reigned over the *Lapithæ*: 3. *Pelion*: 4. *Ossa*, which with *Nephele* were, according to the fable, inhabited by *Centaurs*, who were afterwards killed or driven away by *Hercules* for their lustful attempt upon the women that assisted at *Pirithous's* nuptials. Here were also the plains of *Pharsalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempea*, about six miles in length and five in breadth, so pleasantly situate between the mountains of *Ossa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus*, so beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river *Peneus*, which ran through the midst of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muses. On the south borders of *Thessaly* were seated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmidons* (A), whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war.

THE

^f OVID. *Metam.* init. APOLLON. l. i. c. 7.
ubi supra. MELA, l. ii. c. 3, & 4.

^g CLUVER.

(A) The latter were so called from *μύρμις* a *pismire*, not, as the poets feign, because *Æacus* the son of *Jupiter*, seeing his

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S f f

country

Rivers.

THE whole kingdom of *Theffaly* was very pleasant and fruitful, being watered by several great rivers which run quite across the country. The chiefest of them are the *Peneus* abovementioned, the *Aliacmon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*; all which empty themselves into the *Ægean* sea, by the gulph of *Theffalonica*, antiently called *Sinus Thermaicus*. This country seems also to have been above others productive of poisonous weeds and drugs. Hence *Plautus* makes use of the word *Theffalus* to express a *poisonous thing*; but upon the whole it was so fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the same rich nature, it was seldom free from foreign invasions from some neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note.

CITIES of note were; 1. *Larissa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, called from thence *Larisseus* (B). Its situation was excellent, being near the gulph above-mentioned, and upon the river *Peneus* near the foot of *Olympus*, and at one end of the valley of *Tempea*: 2. *Demetrias*, situate on the *Sinus Pelasgicus*, now *Golfo dell Armira*, and strongly fortified by art and nature: 3. *Pegasa* on the same gulph, famous for being the place where the ship *Argo* was built, which carried the *Argonauts* to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we shall speak by-and-by. *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, which were instituted here in honour of *Apollo*, and, as some say, in memory of his killing the serpent *Python* (C). The metropolis of *Theffaly* was

country dispeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a fresh supply of subjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but because, as *Strabo* says, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the pismires in their diligence and oeconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other husbandry from that insect.

(B) Others say, that he was born at *Phthia*, especially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearness of those two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his residence in the other.

(C) We have already spoken of some others instituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in several parts of *Greece*. The four most considerable were, the *Isthmian*, the *Olympic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Pythian*; these made four annual meetings for all the *Grecians*, who resorted to those places in great number, but which were still much more esteemed for the concourse of the noblest and greatest youths, who came to signalize themselves there, some for their strength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accomplishments.

The

was, according to *Heliodorus* ^b, called *Hypatha*, and situated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, now *Golfo de Ziton*, and at a small distance from mount *Oeta*, upon which *Hercules* ended his life, after he had put on the poisoned shirt.

Theffaly was famous, among other things, for such an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Neleus* king of *Pylus* refused to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus* king of *Tiryas*, except he procured him some of them, which he soon after did by the help of his brother *Bias* (D) ⁱ. What fine horses they bred, and how expert they were in the use and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, since the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them ^k. This fable, however, reflects no less a brand upon them for their brutish incontinency, than it commends them for their skill in horsemanship. The attempt which they made upon the women that assisted at the nuptials of their neighbour, *Pirithous* king

Rarities.

^b Hist. Æthiop. ap. HEYLIN. c. xxxvi.

ⁱ PAUSAN. in Messenic.

^k OSOR. SERV. VATTABL. & al.

The prize, which was given to the victors at these *Pythian* games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may see a fuller account of all these games in *Potter's* antiquities (1).

(D) We have already spoken of these two brothers in a former section, and shewn how they came to their share of the *Argolic* kingdom [†]. Our author adds, that *Bias*, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from *Theffaly*, was caught in the attempt, and flung into prison. But being a famous diviner, he plied his art so well with *Ipbiclus* the owner of them, by foretelling many surprising events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary skill. *Bias* brought them to *Melampus*, who presented them to *Neleus*, and he left them to *Nestor*, who caused them to be kept in a stable under ground, which was still to be seen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards, like a man, and from thence downwards like a horse, and to have been the monstrous offspring of *Ixion*, when he embraced a cloud instead of *Juno*. The ground of this story was, that these people did manage their horses so well, that they were supposed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the most famous of them dwelt in a canton called in *Greek* Νεφέλη, which signifies a cloud; hence came the fable of their being begotten of *Ixion* on a cloud.

(1) Ch. xxi. & seq. son, in Messenic. ch. xxxviii.

[†] Sect. iii. p. 451. de his vid. & Pau-

of the *Lapithæ*, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the history of their wars with other nations affords us a constant proof of the latter, so that in spite of their debauchery they have still shewed themselves a warlike nation, and as such their alliance, as well as assistance, especially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers. And indeed, if we consider how liable the pleasantness and fertility of their country made them to foreign invasions, it will be no wonder they should be so well inured to the trade of war. Nor can it be supposed, that any thing but their extraordinary valour could have saved them from being swallowed up by some of their neighbours, considering that their scanty territories consisted only of four small kingdoms or districts, as often disjointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

FOR this reason we shall not pretend to give here a list of their kings, much less of those petty tyrants, who reigned, some over one or more, others over all the four districts; but shall content ourselves with mentioning what we find most remarkable under any of them, during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all must be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of *Pelias* king of *Thessaly* about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of *Troy*. We do not, however, pretend, to settle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbishop *Usher*, without entering into the difference between Sir *Isaac Newton* and him. The occasion of this expedition was as follows:

Year of
the Flood,
1714.
Year be-
fore Christ
1285.

*Argonau-
tic expedi-
tion.*

Æson, the third in descent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age or weary of government, whilst his son *Jason*, whom he had by *Polymela*, or according to others by *Alcimedea*, was yet very young, appointed *Pelias*, his brother by the mother's side, guardian of the kingdom till his son came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had resolved to secure

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we must not omit the rape of *Cyrene* a beautiful virgin, daughter to *Hypsus* king of *Thessaly*, by *Jupiter*, who conveyed her from the mountain of *Pelion* to that of *Cyra*, upon which *Battus*, so called from his stammering, settled a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that princess, after which he is said to have recovered the free use of his speech, as the oracle had obscurely foretold (2). There is also a fountain of the same name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollo* (3).

(2) *Justin. l. xiii. c. 7.* (3) *Pausan. in Lacon.*

the government to himself, sent to consult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one shoe. It happened some time after, that as he was sacrificing to *Nep-tune* he called his nephew to him, who was on the other side of a rivulet, and *Jason*, making more haste than good speed to cross the brook, dropped one of his shoes, and gave him occasion to think, that he was the person pointed at by the oracle. He then asked him what course he would take with a person of whom the oracle had bid him beware, and *Jason* readily answered, that he would send him to *Colchis* in search of the *Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at his word, and sent him immediately upon that enterprize¹. *Jason* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a considerable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, to this expedition; he procured a ship to be built for his purpose at *Pegassa* by one *Argus*, from whom he called it *Argo*, and hence he and his gallant company were called *Argonautæ*.

THESE adventurers, after many strange difficulties and exploits which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived at

¹ lib. 1.

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in possession of *Æetes* king of *Colchis*, a country lying between the *Euxine* sea and *Iberia*, and now called *Mengrelia*. It then had some considerable mines of gold, which gave rise to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding also with poisonous drugs and plants, which *Medea*, king *Æetes*'s daughter, knew how to prepare and make use of, the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantress. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Mars*, and was guarded by a dragon who never slept.

(H) The first place they touched at was the island of *Lemnos* in the *Ægean* sea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their husbands in order to lead an *Amazonian* life, yet were so charmed with these brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They sailed next to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were kindly received by their king, *Cyzicus*, but loosing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were mistaken for *Pelasgians*, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement ensued, in which *Cyzicus* and a great number of his men were killed on the spot. The return of day-light having discovered the unhappy mistake, they only stayed to bury their dead, and sailed to *Myfia*, a country in *Asia Minor* near the *Helle-spont* †.

Here *Hercules* plying his oar with more might than skill, unluckily broke it, and whilst he was gone into the wood to cut himself a

at length at the land of *Colchis*, where the golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where *Jason* acquainted *Æetes* king of the country with *Pelias's* command, and demanded the fleece of him. *Æetes* promised to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been presented to him by *Vulcan*), and plow the ground with them, sowing it with the dragons teeth which *Minerva* had given

new one, *Hylas*, his beloved boy, was stolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, so that whilst he and his brother-in-law's son *Polyphemus* went in search of him, the *Argonautæ* left them behind and sailed into *Bitiyna*.

Here *Amycus* the son of *Neptune*, king of the country, a man of prodigious strength, having obliged them, as he did all strange comers, to fight with him at whorlbats, was killed by *Pollux* one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Bebryces*, seeing their king fallen, would soon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions rescued him from the danger, after which they sailed immediately to *Salmydessus* a city in *Thrace*, where they consulted the famous blind soothsayer *Phineus*, concerning the success of their expedition.

This person, who, according to the fable, was continually infested with *Harpyes*, a monstrous kind of bird with womens faces and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his provisions, and poisoned the rest with the stench they left upon it, promised to direct them safely to *Colchis*, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the *Symplegades*, two rocks or, according to others, two islands, about half a league distant from the straits of *Bosphorus*, and so near together, that at a distance they seem to run against each other, and which, the poets say, were often pushed so close by the force of the winds, that they shut up the passage. He therefore advised them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the streight, unless they saw him got safe to the other side; they followed his advice with some success, the pigeon having lost only one part of his tail, and the ship received a small bruise on its hinder part.

From this straight they sailed to the mouth of the river *Parthenissus*, and were honourably received by *Lycus* king of that country. Here *Idmon*, the son of *Apollo* and *Asteria*, and a soothsayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. *Typhis* their pilot did likewise die here, and was succeeded by *Ancæus*. At length, having crossed the river *Thermodon* and mount *Caucasus*, they arrived safe at *Colchis*, which was the end of their Journey *

* *Apollon. Aragonaut. l. ii. Apollod. l. i. Vid. Hind, Hist. Græc.*

him, and were the remainder of those which *Cadmus* had sown at *Thebes* ^m.

Jason, perplexed how to perform these conditions, was happily relieved by *Medea* the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promised him, that if he would marry her she would assist him in it, and he had no sooner agreed to it, than she gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he was to be proof against the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, she taught him how to tame those fierce creatures, so as to be able to yoke and make use of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to sow would presently spring up into armed men, which would infallibly destroy him, unless he raised an immediate dissention among them by throwing stones at them, during which he might easily cut them off. *Jason*, having successfully performed the task; went and demanded the fleece according to *Æetes*'s promise, whilst he, instead of delivering it, was contriving how to destroy him and his company and burn their ship. To prevent this mischief, *Medea* went, and by her enchantments cast the watchful dragon into a deep sleep, stole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her desire, also her brother *Abfyrus*, into his ship, and sailed away immediately with his companions. *Æetes*, who was soon informed of his daughter's treachery, pursued immediately after them, which when she perceived, she cut her brother in pieces, and scattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to stop his farther pursuit as it actually did. For the disconsolate king, surprised at her unnatural barbarity, stayed to gather up the fragments of his sons body, and buried them in a place called from thence *Tomi*, and in the mean time she and the *Argonauts* escaped into *Theffaly*, not without having first felt the effects of *Jupiter*'s anger for the murder of *Abfyrus* (I), and after having spent four whole months in this expedition.

DURING

= Id. ibid. Vid. HIND. ubi supra, l. i.

(I) The fable adds, that *Jove* having pursued the *Argonauts* with dreadful storms, and cast them upon unknown coasts, the ship *Argo*, to their great surprise, spake to them, and assured them, that that god would never be appeased, till they were cleansed from their murder by *Circe*, a famed sorceress, supposed to have been the daughter of *Sol* by the nymph *Perse*, who lived in the island of *Æea*. They had no sooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, sailing by the coasts of the *Syrens*, they were delivered from the danger of their enchanting music, by the more charming voice of *Orpheus*.

DURING his absence, *Pelias*, who never expected his return from *Colchis*, had taken some means to cut off his father in order to fix the kingdom upon himself and his son *Acastus*, and the old king, being apprised of his plots, had poisoned himself by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen likewise, oppressed with grief for his death, and the supposed loss of her son and kingdom, had hanged herself, so that *Pelias* now thought himself secure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, *Jason* returned successful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had so well strengthened himself in it, that *Jason* brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing against

Orpheus.³ Thence they sailed between *Scylla* and *Charibdis* invironed with the fire and smoke, which seemed to issue out of those and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger also, by *Tethys* and the *Nereids* at *Juno*'s command, and came at length to *Corcyra* the island of the *Phæaces*, where *Alcinous* then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the *Colchians*, whom *Æetes* had sent in pursuit of them. These went immediately to the king, and demanded *Medea* to be delivered to them, which he promised to do in case she was not already married to *Jason*. But his queen, being apprised of this promise, went and married them privately and out of hand, so that the *Colchians*, being forbid to return home without her, were forced to settle in this island, whilst the *Argonauts* sailed towards *Crete*.

Here *Medea* was again forced to make use of her enchantments to deliver the ship from being sunk by the stones, which *Talus*, a man of brass and the present of *Vulcan* to *Minos*, then king of that island, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was closed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend, that *Medea*, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others say, she poisoned him with some deadly potion. From *Crete* they came to *Ægina*, an island inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, whom they were forced to fight to get a supply of fresh water. Hence sailing by *Eubæa* and *Locris*, they arrived at length at *Jolcos*, the place whence they first set out*.

(K) We have observed already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was understood some mines in the country of *Colchis*. These are supposed by some mythologists to have been contiguous to some of those torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount *Caucasus*, and to have brought down with them some quantities of gold dust, which the inhabitants saved by setting fleeces of wool across some of the narrow passages of those currents. This is indeed the most rational account that can be given of that

* *Id. ibid. vid. G. Pausan. pass.*

against him openly. *Medea* was forced to have recourse to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as some say, restored *Jason's* father to life. After this she persuaded *Pelias's* daughters to boil their old father, on pretence she would restore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance *Acastus* mounted the throne, and, having performed his father's funeral obsequies, banished *Jason* and his wife from *Thessaly*, who went and dwelt at *Corinth*, where we shall find them again in the next section.

Acastus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife *Hippolyte*, or, as she is called by others, *Cretheis*; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with *Peleus* the son of *Cacus*, and had solicited him in vain for some time, till enraged at length at his constant refusal, she accused him to her husband for having made some attempts upon her honour. *Acastus*, believing her and endeavouring to kill *Peleus*, was himself and his unchaste wife slain by him.

THE next *Thessalian* prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated *Achilles*, the son of *Peleus* and *Thetis* the goddess of the sea. This hero was king of *Phthia*, one of the four provinces of *Thessaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx* (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which she held him. After this she sent him to be brought up by the centaur *Chiron*, where he learned music, arms, and the riding of the great horse. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the *Trojan* war he should meet with his death there, she dispatched him privately in woman's apparel to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyros*, an island in the *Ægean* sea and one of the *Cyclades*, where, among other exploits, he debauched *Dejanira* one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. This transaction, as *Pausanias* observes, seems to have been designedly omitted by *Homer* as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preserved by all the other poets.

matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards disguised after their custom, and embellished with the stories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful seas, dangerous passages, and many such difficulties which attended the search after that precious metal.

As for the account which *Suidas* gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of sheep's skin, and in which was written the whole secret of transmuting all metals into gold; it scarcely deserves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already spoken of this river in the history of *Arcadia*.

IN the mean time, the Grecian chiefs being likewise forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterprize against *Troy* would prove unsuccessful unless they had *Achilles* with them, *Ulysses* undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. *Thetis*, finding that her son was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of *Troy*, to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon *Vulcan* to make him an impenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold *Myrmidons* to the fatal siege. Here he forbore acting for some time, upon a pique he had taken against *Agamemnon* on account of a beautiful female captive; but his resentment being at length swallowed up in the death of his dear friend *Patroclus*, who had been killed by *Hector*, *Achilles* thenceforth sought nothing but to revenge it, which he soon after did. *Hector* was not only slain, but most barbarously used by him after his death, he having caused his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpunished, and *Priam* having redeemed his son's shattered remains at an excessive price, *Paris*, another of his sons, soon after shot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable *.

THE two most memorable things, which the *Thessalians* are since recorded for, are, their driving the *Bæotians* from their country of *Arne*, a small territory in *Theffaly*, so called from its metropolis built by *Bæotus* the son of *Neptune* by *Arne*, the daughter of *Æolus* (M), the second of that name, who was the son of *Hyppotes* and grandson of *Mimas* king of *Æolis*; and their constant wars against the *Phocians*. The former of these happened, according to *Thucydides* ¹, sixty years after the taking of *Troy*, and about a hundred after their first settlement in that territory; when the *Bæotians*, being driven thence, went and possessed themselves of a country then named *Cadmeis*, and called it by their name *Bæotia*.

* See before, p. 388.

¹ lib. i.

(M) This *Æolus* finding his daughter pregnant, is said to have sent her to *Metapontium*, a city in *Italy* (4), where she was delivered of two sons *Æolus* and *Bæotus*, the former of whom possessed himself afterwards of the isles in the *Tyrrhenian* sea, since called by his own name *Æolides*, in one of which he built the city *Lipara*. *Bæotus* went to *Æolis* to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, calling the country *Arne* from his mother, whilst his people retained that of *Bæotians* from him (5).

(4) *Id. sub. voc. Μίλαρον.*

(5) *D. Sicul. c. 4.*

We have elſewhere ſpoke of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the *Phocians* (N), it is not eaſy to gueſs at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcilable hatred intailed between thoſe two nations, which proved a conſtant ſource of freſh and bloody encounters, in which the *Theſſalians*, though ſuperior in ſtrength, eſpecially on account of their cavalry, were very often worſted by the policy of their enemies; witneſs thoſe ſtatues of *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, and other trophies, which, *Pauſanias* tells us ^m they ſet up, both on their borders and at the temple of *Delphos*, in memory of their ſignal victories over them. The truth is, the kingdom of *Phocis* was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, ſo that the *Theſſalians*, who ſeem ſtill to have been the aggreſſors, could receive but little benefit from their horſe. On the contrary, the ſame author gives us a remarkable inſtance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We ſhall give it our readers pretty near in his own words ⁿ. The *Phocians* having got intelligence, that the *Theſſalians*, were invading them by the road of *Hyampolis* (a city ſituate near the mount *Parnaffus*), they ſtrewed all that way with empty pots and pothers, which they covered, however, ſo well with earth, that the *Theſſalian* horſe, who came riding full ſpeed, did not perceive it, till they were ſo intangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them ^o. Their deſire of revenge ſoon made them raiſe a more powerful army than the former, which ſo alarmed the *Phocians*, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they ſent to conſult the *Delphic* oracle concerning the event of this invaſion. The answer they received was, *That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better*. Upon receiving this answer, they ſent *Gelon* with 300 men in the night to obſerve the motions of the *Theſſalians*, but with expreſs orders not to engage with them, but to return by ſome by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their

^m In *Phocid.* c. xiii. ⁿ *Ibid.* c. i. Vid. & *HERODOT.* l. i. & viii. *JUSTIN.* *DIOD.* & al. ^o *HERODOT.* l. viii. *PAUSAN.* in *Phocid.*

(N) The *Phocians* were a people who inhabited the tract of land, which lies between the ſouth border of *Theſſaly* and the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*. It ſeems therefore that this their neighbourhood was a conſtant ſource of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We ſhall give a fuller account of this warlike nation in the cloſe of this ſection,

hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horses, or put to the sword. The news of this threw the *Phocians* into such consternation, that they resolved either to conquer or perish to the last man. Their first care was to secure their wives and children, the statues of their gods, and what else they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all these to some thirty of their most resolute men, with orders, that if they lost the day, they should murder their wives and children, and set fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it.

THIS desperate resolution, which gave rise to the proverb of *the Phocian despair*, was no sooner taken, than they marched directly against their enemies, and the remembrance, that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the success of this combat, made them engage with such desperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which soon unfolded the meaning of the oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the *Theffalian* word for the onset was *Minerva Itonia*, and that of the *Phocians* was the name of *Phocus* their founder; in gratitude therefore to the *Delphic* god, they erected a statue to him, together with those of their most famous heroes and generals, in his temple at *Delphos* ^p.

THE *Theffalians* were still more strangely outwitted upon another expedition against the *Phocians*, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount *Parnassus*, they were routed by the following stratagem, devised by *Telias*, a famous diviner, who was then in the *Phocian* army, and highly esteemed amongst them. They took six hundred chosen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaister, and sent them into the *Theffalian* camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaistered over like themselves. These in their march being first perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and mistaken for some strange army of ghosts, threw their enemies into such panic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the spot, routed the rest, and got a considerable spoil, the tenth of which they sent to the *Delphic Apollo*, together with one half of the shields of the slain; the other half was hung up up as a trophy in the city of *Aba* ^q. These frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their implacable hatred against them, insomuch, that they never ceased their hostilities against each other till each

^p Id. ibid. ^q HERODOT. ubi supra.

ceased to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other estates of *Greece*, will be best seen in the following chapter.

HAVING said so much of the *Phocians* war against the *Theffalians*, we shall here subjoin an account of that brave nation and of their territories, inconsiderable indeed with respect to the smallness of them, yet richly deserving our notice upon several accounts, though not worth being treated of in a separate section, considering how little we know of its original foundation, succession of kings, government, and laws, and other such-like particulars.

¶ *Phocis* was situate in *Græcia Propria*, and, as we lately observed, between *Theffaly* and the bay of *Corinth*, having the former on the north, and the latter on the south. On the west it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*, and on the east by *Bæotia* and *Megaris*, so that it was hemmed in from the sea on all but the south side. Its greatest length was from north to south, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from east to west, scarcely extending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the widest, but about 20 miles towards the *Corinthian* bay, and much narrower still towards the north^r.

The ancient kingdom of Phocis.

Situation and limits.

THIS country is generally allowed to have took its name from *Phocus* the son of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*; but having been soon after invaded by the *Æginetæ*, under the conduct of another *Phocus*, who was the son of *Æacus* king of *Ænopia* (O), the memory of the first did insensibly give way to that of the second.

Name.

Phocis is famed for several celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of *Parnassus*, sacred to *Apollo* and extolled by all the poets. Its height was such, that *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* with many others are said to have

Mountains

^q HERODOT. ubi supra, CLUVER, &c.

^r STRAB. PAUSAN. MELA.

(O) This *Æacus* was the reputed son of *Jupiter* by *Ægina* queen of *Ænopia*, called afterwards from her *Ægina*. He is recorded to have been a prince of such strict justice, that after his death, *Pluto* appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore, if his son *Phocus*, whom he had by his second wife, who was the daughter of *Nereus*, one of the gods of the sea, did quite eclipse and obliterate the fame of his predecessor.

saved

saved themselves on the tops of it from the deluge, which happened in that prince's time and has since gone by his name. 2. *Helicon*, and 3. *Cythæron*, both consecrated to the muses, and on that account highly celebrated also by the poets. They are said to contend with that of *Parnassus* for height and bigness^r. *Phocis* had no rivers of any note except the *Cephisus*, which runs from the foot of *Parnassus* northward, and empties itself into the *Pindus*, which last was near the boundary of that kingdom.

It had several considerable cities, the chief of them was that of *Delphos*, or *Delphi* (P), famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whose oracle was resorted to from all parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. We have had occasion to speak something of the name, antiquity, richness, and magnificence of it in a former section, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was consulted and delivered; and shall now add such other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted, that *Apollo* was the deity who presided over it. How he came by it is variously reported, and may be seen in the note (Q). Its first discovery was owing to some goats who were feeding on mount *Parnassus*, upon which was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. These goats having been observed by the goat-herd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, to frisk and leap after a strange and unusual manner, and to have uttered strange and unheard-of sounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curiosity

^r Id. ib. Vid. & VIRG. OVID. PERS. &c.

(P) So called, as is supposed, from the Greek Ἀδελφοί, *brethren*, because *Apollo* and his brother *Bacchus* were both worshipped there. The fable says, that *Bacchus*, having been terribly torn and mangled by the *Titans*, was brought to *Apollo*, who both restored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

(Q) Some say, that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and used to give its answers by dreams. Others, that *Nephtune* and the earth were at first partners in it, but that he resigned his share to the earth, who was succeeded by her daughter *Themis*, the same who was consulted, according to *Ovid*, by *Deucalion* and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repopulate the earth. *Themis* in time resigned it to her sister *Phœbe*, and she to *Apollo* (1).

Some antient poets do indeed tell us, that he did not come so fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for

(1) D. Sicul. lib. xvi. Pausan. in Phocid.

†

which

sity to go and view it, and found himself seized with the like fit of madness, skipping and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were possessed with such phrenetic enthusiasm, that they threw themselves headlong into the vorago; insomuch, that they were forced to issue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being seated received and returned the answers of the deity in the manner we have elsewhere described^c. We meet with some different accounts of this wonderful place, which *Pausanias* has given us, upon the credit of the *Phocians*, and which the readers may see in that author^d. This miraculous place was soon after covered with a kind of chapel, which, the same author tells us, was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the *Phocian* tradition, was succeeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of solid copper, and said to have been the workmanship of *Vulcan*. This last was destroyed by an earthquake according to some, or by fire which melted the copper according to others, and then a sumptuous one, all of stone, was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*.

Delphos, among several other cities of *Greece* and *Peloponnesus*, contended for being situate in the middle, or, as the *Greek* expresses it, the navel of the world (R)^e, because the navel is in the middle of the body. It had so convenient a harbour, and was so excellently well situated, being rather in the heart of *Greece* than of the world, that it became in time a sessions-town for all the *Grecian* estates. Here sat the court of the *Amphictyones*, chosen out of the prime cities of *Greece*, and called so from *Amphictyon* the first founder of this high

^c Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. iv. ^d PAUSAN. in Phoc.

^e Vid STRAB. Geogr. l. ix. PAUSAN. ubi supra, & Corinth.

which she was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not *Jupiter* come to his assistance (2), who seems on all hands to have confirmed the possession of the oracle to him.

(R) The fable says, that *Jupiter*, desirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let loose two eagles, *Pindar* says crows, and others swans, the one from the east, and the other from the west, and that they met in this place. The city of *Philus* and some others pretend to the same; but *Strabo* places it in the middle of *Greece* (3).

(2) *Pindar*. *Euripid*. in *Iphigen*. *Scholias*. in *Æschyl*. (3) *Geogr*. l. ix. Vid. S. *Pausan*. in *Corinth*.

court^t. The time of their assembling was in spring and autumn; causes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of *Græcia*, and their sentence was deemed definitive. We shall have frequent instances of the power of this court in the course of the *Grecian* history. The following one which relates to the *Phocians* shall suffice for the present.

THE *Phocians*, having presumed to plow the territories of *Cyrra*, which were consecrated to the *Delphic* god, were summoned by the other *Grecian* estates before this court, and had a considerable fine imposed upon them for their sacrilege. They refused to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next session their dominions were adjudged confiscated to the use of the temple. This second sentence did but exasperate the *Phocians* the more, who, at the instigation of one *Philomelus*, or, as he is called by *Plutarch*, *Philomedes*, went and seized upon the temple, plundered it of its treasure, and held the sacred depositum for a considerable time. This second crime brought all the estates of *Greece* upon them. A war was decreed against them, which was called *the holy war*, and lasted ten years, during which the *Phocians*, having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not *Philip* of *Macedon* given the finishing stroke to their total defeat and punishment. The war being ended, the grand council assembled again, and imposed an annual fine of sixty talents upon the *Phocians*, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had sustained from them; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand assembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy sentence; their known bravery made their assistance so necessary to the rest, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their usual courage and gallantry, and soon obliterated their former guilt, as we shall see in the next chapter.

CONSIDERING therefore the great concourse of people which this *Amphictyonic* court, the *Delphic* oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo* brought into the city of *Delphi*; to say nothing of the vast offerings and presents which were sent from all parts of the world, even by the very *Scythians*, unto that oracle, we shall not need wonder at its having been one of the richest and most opulent of all *Greece*; though that proved likewise the occasion of its being so often plundered by other nations, as we shall see it was, in the very next chapter.

^t PAUSAN. in *Phocid.* ch. ii.

THE next in dignity, both for its antientness and grandeur, was the city of *Elatea*, situate on the river *Cephus*, and said to have been built by *Elatius*, the son of *Arcas* the fourth king of *Arcadia*, and to have been peopled by a colony of that antient nation which came with him into *Phocis* §. *Aba* was likewise considerable for having *Abas*, the son of *Lyncæus* and *Hypermetra*, for its founder, and for having also an oracle of *Apollo*. This was also the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the rest were destroyed; but whether spared out of respect to *Apollo*, to whom it was consecrated, or, as *Pausanias* affirms, because it had no hand in the plundering of the *Delphic* temple, we will not affirm. *Cirrha*, on the sea-side of *Delphi*, was the port-town to it, and *Crissa*, so called from *Crissus* the son of *Phocus*, was another sea-port. These were both situate on the bay of *Corinth*, which was sometimes called *Sinus Crisseus* from the latter. The last city of any note was *Daulis*, not so much for its bigness or richness, as for the tallness and stoutness of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repast which was served there to *Tereus* king of *Thrace* by the women of this city, by whom he was soon after murdered, for the double injury he had done to his sister-in-law *Philomela*, daughter of *Pandion* king of *Athenis* (S). As for the other exploits of the *Phocians*, they will be best seen in the next chapter.

§ Ibid. Vid. & BYZANT. sub voc. Ελατια.

(S) The fable goes, that *Tereus*, after having married *Progne*, did likewise ravish her sister *Philomela*, cut out her tongue, and cast her into prison, to prevent her discovering his villainy, but she found means to acquaint *Progne* with her double misfortune, by working the whole story of it on a piece of embroidery, which she sent to her. *Progne* took the opportunity of the approaching feast of *Bacchus*, when they were all to meet together, and having got her sister out of prison, made her kill her son *Itis*, whom she had by *Tereus*, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be set before him. When *Tereus* was apprised of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her sister, but they, by the help of the *Daulian* women, got the start of him and killed him. *Ovid* has since turned him into a lapwing, *Itis* into a pheasant, his mother into a swallow, and *Philomela* into a nightingale, who is still bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pausanias adds, that no swallows do hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houses, as they do every where else (4).

(4) *Phocid. c. iv.*

S E C T. VIII.

The history of the antient kingdom of CORINTH.

THIS little estate was situate on the isthmus of *Corinth*, having the bay of that name, now called *Golfo de Lepanto*, and the isthmus, or neck of land, which joins *Peloponnesus* to the continent, on the north, *Sicyon* on the west, the gulph of *Saron* on the east, and the kingdom of *Argos* on the south. Its utmost extent from east to west was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. east longitude, and from north to south about half that space, that is, from 38 deg. 21 min. to 38 degrees 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth*, and on the top of which the citadel were built. It was also famed for the fountain *Pyrene*, sacred to the muses, and supposed by some to be the same that was called *Fons Caballinus*, in *Greek Hippocrene*, or, the fountain of the horse, which was feigned by the poets to have sprung from the horse *Pegasus* striking his foot against the rock. Others place this last fountain on the hill *Helicon*, but the greatest part on that of *Parnassus*. As for that of *Pyrene* we shall speak more of it by-and-by.

Corinth is said to have been founded by *Sisyphus*, the son of *Æolus* and grandfather of *Ulysses*. This *Sisyphus*, is the same who was killed by *Theseus* for the many robberies he committed in *Attica*, and afterwards condemned by *Jupiter* to an endless punishment in hell (A), for having caught that intriguing god in the height of an amour with *Ægina*, the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bæotia*. The antient name of this city was *Ephyra*, which it took from a nymph of that name, said to have been the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, or, according to others, of *Myrmex* the wife of *Epimetheus*, the son of *Japetus*, and brother of *Prometheus*. The time of its foundation by *Sisyphus* is placed about the year of the world 2490, or six years before *Deucalion's* flood ^a.

^a Vid. *HIND.* hist. of Greece, lib. i.

(A) This punishment, as it is feigned by the poets, consists in the rowling of a great stone to the top of a hill, which he has no sooner reached, than it tumbles down again, so that his labour is never to be at an end.

ITS new name of *Corinth* is variously traced, some thinking, that it was so called from the Greek *κόρηθος*, *satiety* or *abundance*, implying the opulence of the place; others go still farther for its etymon ^b; but the antient inhabitants pretended, it had its name from *Corinthus* the son, as some of them said of *Jupiter*, or, as others, of *Marathon*, and brother of *Sicyon* (B). But most authors ascribe the name and building, or rebuilding of it to *Corinthus* the son of *Pelops*. Among other names it antiently had, we find that of *Heliopolis* or *city of the sun*, for which this reason is commonly given, that the poets feign *Apollo* and *Neptune* to have contended for it, and that *Jupiter* having appointed *Briareus* the cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the isthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) ^c.

^b Id. *ibid*.

^c Vid. APOLLOE, DIO. PAUSAN. & al.

(B) *Pausanias* quotes an antient *Corinthian* poet called *Eumelos* (some fragments of whose poems are still preserved in that author and in the works of *Athenæus*), according to whom, *Marathon* was the grandson of *Aloeus*, who was the son of the sun. And being for some reason afraid of his mother *Epope*'s anger, he retired into some of the maritime coasts of *Attica*; but after his father's death, being returned into *Peloponnesus*, he divided the territories of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* between his two sons *Sicyon* and *Corinthus*, from whom they took their names; *Sicyon* being formerly called *Asopis*, and *Corinth* *Ephyra* (1).

(C) If *Dion*, *Apollodorus*, and other mythologists, may be believed, the gods were so fond of *Greece*, that in *Cecrops*'s time each of them contended to have, at least, one city, where he might be particularly worshipped. *Neptune* came the first into *Attica*, where, striking the ground with his trident, he formed a fountain or horse. *Minerva* came soon after, and in *Cecrops*'s presence planted an olive-tree, which the last quoted author tells you was still to be seen in his time (2). These two deities disputing their claims to the country on account of the present each had made to it, *Jupiter* caused the controversy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of *Athens* and all *Attica* to *Minerva*.

But whether *Corinth* was called *Ἡλιοπόλις* from its being adjudged by *Briareus* to *Apollo*, or from *Corinthus*'s being reputed the great grandson of the sun, or from the height and dryness of its situation and territory, is scarce worth enquiring. Only we cannot omit a conjecture of the learned *Gronovius* (3), that it was originally called *Ἡλιοπόλις* from the ruggedness and barrenness of its situation and territory, for *Strabo* tells us (4), it really was.

(1) *Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. i.*
Not. in Byzant. sub voc. Corinth.

(2) *Apollod. l. iii.*

(3)

(4) *Geogr. l. viii.*

However, we meet with a number of other antient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in those days to dedicate cities to some of the gods, and surname them accordingly, without losing their original name.

Corinth had, besides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it *Acrocorinthus*, two port towns, namely, *Lecbeum*, situate on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* (D), on that of *Saron*. These were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to *Corinth*, that belonged to this territory. And these were so well situate for naval commerce, and so near the metropolis, that they made ample compensation for the barrenness of the soil. These two naval roads, which opened a way into the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, might easily have gained them a superiority, if not a command, over all *Greece*, had not this advantageous situation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almost impregnable by nature, and commanding both those seas, they could easily cut off all communication from one half of *Greece* to the other, so that it was not without reason called one of the *fetters of Greece*. But their genius leading them to improve these advantages more to navigation and commerce, than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, so that the little influence they had over the other estates was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increased, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of strangers that flocked thither from *Europe* and *Asia*, their city became in time one of the finest in all *Greece*; being adorned with sumptuous buildings, such as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them enriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and bases, from which the *Corinthian order* took its name, with numberless statues done by the most famous artists^d. Insomuch, that with respect to its riches (E), greatness, and excellent situation, it was

^d PAUSAN. in *Corinth*. c. ii. & seq.

(D) That this last was a distinct city from *Corinth*, at least in *St. Paul's* time, we may gather from *Acts* xviii. 18. and from his epistle to the *Romans*, Ch. xvi. 1. though it had the epithet of *Corinthiaca* in the poets, for being one of the havens of that little estate, as *Corinthus* had that of *Bimaris*, for being so conveniently situated between two seas.

(E) We need not a more pregnant instance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courtesan *Lais*, who usually exacted 10,000 drachms

was thought by the *Romans* equally worthy of empire with *Carthage* and *Capua*. Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the sumptuous embellishments of the fountain of *Pyrene* we mentioned a little higher (F), consisting of several caves in form of grottoes, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large basin, and is very pleasant to drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The stadium or course, both which are of white marble. 4. The temple of *Neptune*, whose avenue was lined on one side with the statues of all those who had won the prize at the *Isthmian* games (G), and on the other with

drachms for every night's lodging, which made the famous *Demosthenes* say, that he did not design to buy repentance at so dear a rate. But she met with a worse fate in *Theffaly*, whither she went in search of fresh customers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their husbands and sons, put her to death.

(F) *Pausanias* tells us, this fountain owed its first origin to the tears which *Pyrene* shed for the death of her son *Cenchreus*, who was unfortunately killed by *Diana*. He adds, that it was commonly believed, that the *Corinthians* dipped their copper in that water, as soon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he assures us, that it was a vulgar error, since they had no copper among them (5).

(G) The origin of these games is variously reported; some say, they were instituted by the *Corinthians* in honour of *Melicertes*, the son of *Athamas* and *Ino* (6). The fable says, that *Athamas* king of the *Orchomenians*, having taken *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus* in second marriage, after he had had two sons by his first wife *Nephele*, *Ino* proved so cruel a step-mother to them, that her husband grew enraged at her, and, having put *Learchus* one of the sons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other son; but that she, to avoid her husband's fury, having thrown *Melicer-tes* down into the sea, and herself after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back, and swam with him to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians* received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of *Palæmon*, and instituting these games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine leaves.

But the generality attribute them to *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*; the reader may see what we have said of that hero in a former section †.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with sacrifices, in honour of the sons of *Medea*, whom they

(5) *Corinth. c. iii.*

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(7) *Apollod. l. i.*

† See before p. 475.

with stately pines set in regular rows. The temple itself, which was not very spacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen *Tritons* or *Sea gods*. Here were also the chariots of *Neptune* and of his wife *Amphitrite*, both drawn by horses covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a standing posture, and *Neptune* had young *Palæmon* riding on a dolphin by his side. The bases of the chariots were likewise adorned with curious bas-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embellishments. It were endless to describe all the other edifices, and master-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this small spot of ground was enriched, the reader, if he please, may see them described more at large by *Pausanias* abovementioned.

BUT while the *Corinthians* seemed so wholly given up to traffic and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and sciences, and even that noble thirst for glory and conquest, for which their neighbours did so much value themselves, they did not forget to cultivate a good discipline, both in peace and war; their wealth and opulence, which made them insolent at home and envied abroad, made both indeed very necessary. And though they seldom, if ever, engaged in any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or to protect some neighbouring estate, or to maintain the liberty of *Greece*; yet has this little kingdom furnished many brave and experienced generals to the rest of the *Grecian* cities, insomuch, that it was common for these to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one either of their own, or of any other estate. The truth is, the *Corinthians* were of all others the greatest asserters of liberty, and though they continued some centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always shewed an aversion to tyranny, and a readiness to assist those who groaned under it.

THE *Corinthian* monarchy did not, however, continue in the lineal succession of their founder *Sisyphus*, who is sup-

posed to have been unjustly put to death, and for which it seems they had been punished by the gods, with the death of their own children, who used to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by those annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder, they erected a statue representing fear, in honour of *Medea*, and their children used to go in black, and with their hair cut, and this custom lasted till all the old race of the *Corinthians* was extirpated with their city (8).

(8) *Vid. Pausan. Cpr. c. iii.*

posed to have begun it about the year of the world 2490, a- Year of
 bove seven or eight generations, or about 430 years, when the Flood
 his line became extinct, or as others affirm, was dethroned, 1915.
 and expelled the kingdom by *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, Before
 about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with Chr. ft.
 a long succession of kings of his line, concerning the greatest 1084.
 part of whom little else remains but their names and the
 years they are said to have reigned; for this reason we think
 it needless to give here a list of those monarchs, whose
 names the reader may see in *Eusebius's* chronicle, and shall
 content ourselves with mentioning the most remarkable
 transactions that happened during this epocha. After the
 ending of *Sisyphus's* line, the kings who descended from *A-*
letes affected to call themselves *Heraclidæ*, he being the great
 grandson of *Antiochus* the son of *Hercules* *. This name,
 however, they changed for that of *Bacchiadæ*, from *Bacchis*
 the fifth in descent from *Aletes*, whom we may therefore sup-
 pose to have been upon some account or other more famous
 and esteemed than his ancestors. These *Bacchiadæ* held the
 kingdom of *Corinth* near as long as the *Heraclidæ*, by which
 time they grew so numerous on the one hand, and on the o-
 ther so weary of kingly government, that they intirely dis-
 solved it in the reign of *Telestes* their last king. This prince
 being become very odious to his subjects, his two kinsmen
Arieus and *Perantas* formed a conspiracy against him, and at
 once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had
 reigned twelve years †, and in the year of the world 3104. Af- Year of
 ter his death two hundred of the principal *Bacchiadæ* seized the Flood,
 upon the government (H), and shared the administration of 2099.
 affairs among themselves, electing a supreme magistrate out Year be-
 of their own body, whom they called *Prytanis*, to preside o- fore Christ
 ver the rest. *Corinth* continued under the *Bacchiadal* aristo- 900.
 cracy till the year 3349, when *Cypselus*, descended from them

* PAUSAN. ubi supra, c. iv.
 SICUL. ubi supra.

† Id. ibid. vid. & DIODOR.

(H) Some antient authors do indeed tell us, that *Automenes*, the
 son of *Telestes*, did reign one year after the death of his father
 (9), and it is not unlikely, that he made some vain effort to keep
 the crown; but *Pausanias* takes no notice of him, but tells us, the
 dissolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder
 of that king (10), but whether in the last year of this or in the first
 of that, 'tis agreed, that the government was then changed into an
 aristocracy.

(9) *Euseb. D. Sicul. & al.*

(10) *Corinth. c. iv.*

by the mother's side (I), having received some obscure hint from the oracle that he would be king of *Corinth*, and that he should be succeeded by his son, but not by his grandson, found means to wrest the power out of their hand. The time of this usurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in *Cypselus* and his son, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontate of *Athens*, and is therefore beyond our present epoch. From *Sisyphus*, the first founder, to this *Cypselus*, the *Corinthian* government had stood almost 860 years, or 430 years in the line of *Sisyphus*, 130 in that of *Aletes*, 130 in that of *Bacchis*, and about 150 under the *Aristocratic* government of the 200 *Bacchiadae*.

Sisyphus

(I) His mother *Labda* the daughter of *Amphion*, one of the *Bacchiadae*, was lame, and so deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one *Eetion*, a man descended at a great distance from the *Lapithae*, contrary to the settled maxim of the *Bacchiadae*, who had till then refused to intermarry with other families, the better to secure the government to their own.

This *Eetion*, having no children, went to consult the oracle of *Delphi*, where he was told, though in very obscure terms, that he should have a son by his lame wife that would prove a scourge to *Corinth*. On the other hand the *Bacchiadae*, having likewise been forewarned by the same oracle, and in the same intricate terms, against *Eetion's* offspring, sent ten men of their own body to murder the boy *Labda* had lately brought forth; and as these were going to *Eetion's* house they agreed, that he to whom the child was delivered should kill him. Their pretence was to congratulate *Eetion* on the birth of it, in the name of their whole body, and *Labda*, ignorant of their real intent, readily gave him to the first that asked for it; but the infant at that instant smiling in his face, and he, not having the power to strike the blow, gave it to his next companion, and he moved with the same pity, gave it to a third. The child was thus handed through all the ten, and restored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no sooner got out of the house, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal sharers in the murder; but the mother, who had overheard their discourse, took care to convey the child under a bushel or corn measure, called in *Greek* *κύψιλον*, *Cypsele*, from which he afterwards took his name. *Pausanias* calls it a coffer or chest, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with some fine carvings in gold and ivory, and that it was afterwards consecrated by his descendants to *Juno Olympia*, in memory of his wonderful escape (11. However that be, the bloody deputies,

(11) *Pausan. in Elid. c. xvii.*

having

Sisyphus is generally allowed the first founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom (K), he was the son of *Æolus*, and was killed by *Theseus* for the many inroads which he made into *Attica*, as we hinted at the beginning of this section. He left several sons, and amongst them *Glaucus* who succeeded him, and *Ornythus*, or, as he is generally called, *Ornytion* the father of *Phocus*, who carried a colony into *Phocis*, and called the country after his name, as we have shewn before.

Glaucus, called by *Euripides* *Creon* (L), received *Jason* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had been both expelled *Thessaly* by *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till *Creon* having married his daughter *Glaucé* to *Jason*, the flighted sorceress *Medea* was so enraged at it, that she set the palace on fire, murdered all the children she had had by *Jason*, and fled to *Athens*^c. *Pausanias* adds, that *Glaucus*, having assisted at the funeral games, which *Acastus* had instituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses^h, and that *Glaucé* flung

^c Vid. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 9. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. l. iv. & EURIP. in *Medea*. ^h ELID. c. iii.

having searched the whole house in vain, returned to their brethren, and, being ashamed to own their weakness, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and *Cypselus*, thus wonderfully preserved, became in time the tyrant of *Corinth*, as shall be shewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) *Pausanias* doth indeed quote an antient poet, named *Eumelos*, who pretends, that this country had been given by the sun to *Æetes*, and that he, accompanying *Jason* in the *Argonautic* expedition, left the government to *Butus* the son of *Mercury*, from whom it having past in time to *Corinthus* the son of *Marathon*, who died without issue, or, according to *Apollodorus*, left only one daughter, the *Corinthians* invited *Jason* and *Medea* to come and reign over them; and that, *Jason* having taken a dislike at *Medea* and gone away from her, she appointed *Sisyphus* her successor (13).

But there are two solid arguments against this poetic fiction; the one, that *Sisyphus* was the brother of *Cretheus*, and this the grandfather of *Jason*, so that these two could not be cotemporaries. The other is, that *Sisyphus* must have been dead some time before *Jason* came to *Corinth*, since *Euripides* tells us in his *Medea*, that *Creon* did then reign there, who is supposed to be the same with *Glaucus* the son and successor of *Sisyphus* (14), as we shall see immediately.

(L) The author above quoted supposes him to be so called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, *Creon* in *Greek* signifying the same as *reigning* or *governing*.

(12) *Id.* in *Corinth*. c. iv. Vid. & *Herodot.* l. v. (13) *Corinth*. c. iv. (14) *Vid.* *Paulmier.* & *Gedoy.* in *eund.* *ibid.*

herself into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preserve her from *Medea's* enchantments, and that that fountain was since called by her name ¹.

Bellerophon, so called from his killing a man named *Beller*, was the son of *Glaucus* or *Creon*. We have seen in a former section how he was forced to retire into *Argos* for that manslaughter, and there falsely accused by *Sthenobæa* of an attempt upon her, for which he was sent by *Prætus* to *Jobates* king of *Lycia*, to be put to death (M). The first dangerous expedition, which the *Lycian* king sent him upon, was to subdue the *Solymi* a neighbouring people, against whom he sent him with a very small number of forces; but that defect being supplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned *Bochart* supposes, their three gods, which they painted on their ensigns ^k, one in the shape of a lion, a second of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own, in memory of this conquest, gave birth to the fable of his killing the monster *Chimæra* (N). His next expedition

¹ Id. in *Corinth*. c. iv. ^k Phaleg. lib. i. c. 6.

(M) It is likely, as *Pausanias* observes, (15) that *Bellerophon* never reigned at *Corinth*, and that he was forced to fly into *Argos* before his father's death; but what the same author adds, that both he and the *Corinthians* were then subject to the *Argives*, doth not so well appear. It is true, those *Corinthian* troops that went to the siege of *Troy*, are said by *Homer*, not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the ensigns of *Agamemnon*. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as did also the *Arcadians*?

However, as *Bellerophon* never returned from *Lycia* to *Corinth*, we find *Thoas* his cousin, the son of *Ornytion*, on the throne there; and 'tis likely, that he ascended it after *Glaucus's* death, and during *Bellerophon's* absence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been so blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, divested as much as possible from the poetic fictions, with which those writers have disguised them.

(N) This monster the poets feign to have had the head and breast of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it spit out fire and flame (16). We have seen what the learned *Bochart* thought of it. The reader may see his arguments, which are far from despicable, in the place above quoted. Others think, that it was a mountain in *Lycia*, which had some volcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequent-

(15) In *Corinth*.
Ovid. &c.

(16) *De lat. vid. Hesiod. Teogn. Lucret. Horat.*

expedition was against the *Amazons*, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himself also from an ambush of *Lycians*, which *Jobates* had set to way-lay and murder him in his return, and killed every one of them. *Jobates* at length, struck with admiration at his bravery and success, sought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his services, which he did by giving him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage and declaring him his successor¹.

ALL these achievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary assistance. For *Minerva*, who took pity on the innocent prince, lent him the famous horse *Pegasus* (O), after she had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whose help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the most signal of his exploits, especially that of killing the *Chimæra*^m, against which *Neptune* was likewise pleased to give him his assistance. After these successes and great change of fortune, he is said to have grown so insolent and presumptuous, that it brought a new series of mischiefs upon him, which gave occasion to the fable mentioned in the last note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegasus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blindⁿ.

¹ PAUSAN. ubi supra. ^m APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 3. ⁿ Id Ibid.
PAUSAN. SICUL. & al.

ted by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by serpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave rise to the fable of this *Chimæra* (17).

Others again suppose it to have been a noted pirate among the *Lycians*, named *Chimarras*, who had the lion, goat, and dragon, painted on his ship, and was overcome by *Bellerophon*, after having infested those parts a considerable time, and done great damage to *Lycia*, and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18).

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have sprung from *Medusa's* blood. The *Corinthians* had a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whom they surnamed *Chalinitis*, from the Greek Χαλινός a bit or curb-bridle, because she had clapt one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's service.

The fable adds, that *Bellerophon*, being got on the back of *Pegasus*, was so affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horse, finding himself without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the constellation that still bears his name.

(17) Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.
liet. & Hind. Hist. Græc.

(18) Plutarch. de virtut. Mu-

WE took notice above, that *Thoas* the son of *Ornytion* succeeded *Creon* or *Glaucus*; from him the crown descended to his son *Demophon*, to his grandson *Propidas*, and lastly to his two great grandsons, *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. It was in the reign of these two that the *Dorians* invaded the kingdom, with *Aletes* one of the *Heraclidæ* at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* was the son of that *Hippotes*, who had been banished *Peloponnesus* for ten years, by order of the *Delphic* oracle, for killing one *Carnus* an *Acarnianian* prophet in the war of the *Epigoni* against *Thebes*, mentioned in a former section.

HE met, however, with an obstinate resistance from the *Corinthians*, who shewed upon that occasion a great reluctance to submit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, *Aletes* and his brave *Dorians* proved too strong, beat and expelled them out of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet possession of the kingdom. From him it passed through a succession of his descendants, under the names of *Heraclidæ* and *Bacchiadæ*, till *Telestes* the ninth from him. This prince, being very young when *Aristomedes* his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle *Agemon*, who soon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him sixteen years, but left it to his own son *Alexander*, who reigned also twenty six years; but was at length killed by *Telestes*, whom it seems they had still suffered to live during this long usurpation, and who then seized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himself killed by a faction, as we hinted above; immediately after which followed the aristocracy of the 200 *Bacchiadæ* under their annual *Prytanes*°.

° PAUSAN. ubi supra. EUSEB. Chron. l. i. D. SICUL. ubi supra.

S E C T. IX.

The history of the antient kingdom of Lacedæmon or Sparta.

THE original name of this country was *Laconia*, a name which this nation still prided themselves in, when it was afterwards changed into those of *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians*. As for those of *Sparta* and *Lacedemon*, though they be often confounded by writers antient and modern, yet, in propriety of speech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, so called, according to the tradition of that people, from *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and so called from *Lacedemon*, the husband of *Sparte* and heir and successor of *Eurotas*. The same tradition adds, that *Eurotas* was the grandson of *Lelex*, surnamed also *Autochthos*, because he was supposed to have been originally a native, and from him his subjects bore the antient name of *Leleges*. *Lelex* was succeeded by his eldest son *Myles*, and this by his son *Eurotas*, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reason of the bogs and marshes with which it was covered, cut a spacious channel through it, into which such quantities of water drained themselves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. *Eurotas*, having no male issue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedemon*, the supposed son of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta* (A), and appointed him his successor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built soon after and made the seat of the kingdom, by that of his wife^a. Thus far the *Laconic*

The name.

And their etymon.

^a PAUSAN. in *Laconic*. ch. i. Vid. & St. BYZANT. sub. voce *Sparta* & *Laconia*.

(A) This princess was the daughter of *Atlas*, king of *Mauritania* and uncle of *Jupiter*, and is said to have been ravished both by him and by his brother *Neptune*; from her the mountain *Taygetus* had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her son *Lacedemon*. Near this place was also a village called *Aleſies*, from the Greek Ἀλέω, *to grind*, because *Myles* the son of *Lelex* is reported to have found the first mule there, and to have made use of it for grinding of corn (1).

(1) *Pausan. in Laconic. c. 20.*

This

Laconic tradition : others, however, derive the name of *Sparta* from *Spartus* the son, according to some, or, according to others, the brother, of *Phoroneus*^b, the son of the great *Inachus* the founder of *Argos*. Others make him the son of *Amidas*^c. *Stephen* of *Byzantium*^d tells us of one *Sparton*, who is in all likelihood the same person whom others call *Spartus*, and this is by some reckoned the brother, and by others the son of *Phoroneus*^e; but this last is confuted by *Pausanias*, who tells us, that he doth not believe, that *Phoroneus* had any son of that name, and that the *Lacedemonians* themselves did not acknowledge any such person. We omit that monstrous account which some give of *Sparta*'s being so called from *Cadmus* making an irruption into *Laconia* with his *Spartzi*, who were said to have had that name given them, because they sprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had sown, and which we have mentioned elsewhere. This monstrous story is even rejected by the *Greeks* themselves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name ; as for that of *Lacedemon*, it is generally agreed to be from the *Lacedemon* mentioned above † (B).

Geography. *Laconia* was situate on the south-east nook of *Peloponnesus*, having *Argos* and *Arcadia* on the north, *Messenia* on the west, the bay of *Argos* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. Its extent from east to west, where it reached farthest, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. east, longitude ; but it grew still narrower, as it extended itself northward. The extent of it from north to south was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude^g. We do not pretend to

^b EUSEB. Chron.
voce *Lacedemon*.

^c EUSTAT. in *Iliad*. B.
^e Idem in voce *Mycenas*.

^d Sub

Corinth. Vid. & BOCHART. *Phaleg*. lib. i. c. 22.

^f In

STRAB. MELA. PAUSAN. & al.

^g Vid.

This mountain was likewise famous for furnishing huntsmen with a great variety of wild beasts, such as bears, boars, deer, and vast quantities of wild goats (2).

(B) Besides the names of *Lacedemonia*, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, we find in antient geographers that of *Lelegia*, from the *Leleges*, whom *Strabo* makes the first inhabitants ; so that the name of *Laconia* is posterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called *Oebalia* from *Oebalus* the sixth from *Eurotas*. It had also the name of *Hecatompolis* from the hundred cities which it is said once to have had (3). It is now called *Tzaconia*.

(2) *Id. ibid.* (3) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib. viii.*

say, that this extent of their dominions was such from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were antiently contained within a much narrower compass, and that a great number of those cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the *Spartan* government till a long time after. Of this nature were the *Heliots*, *Gythians*, and many others, which were forced to yield to the superior power of the *Lacedemonians*, especially after the *Ephori* had so far clipped the royal prerogative, and enslaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all those neighbouring estates, rather than live an idle and slavish life under those upstart and tyrannic magistrates.

As all the south part of this kingdom was incompassed by the sea, and the east and north-east part by the *Argolic* bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief which were those of *Malea* and *Tanara* (C), now *Capo Malio*, and *Capo Matapan*. These two, being situate on the *Mediterranean*, form the large *Laconian* gulph which lies between them, and is now called the *Golfo de Colochina*, into which the famed river *Eurotas* mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of *Basilipotamo*, vulgarly *Vasilipotamo*, or *royal river*, discharges her waters with an easy and gentle course.

ALL the sea-coasts of *Lacania* were likewise furnished with a considerable number of sea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greatest and most convenient were those of *Trinassus* and *Acrida*, situate on each side the mouth of the *Eurotas*; and *Gythium*, at a small distance from *Trinassus*. *sea-ports.* This last, *Pausanias* tells us, had the remains of a castle still standing, which might be at first built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to *Sparta*, if not beyond. *Gythium* was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by *Apollo* and *Hercules*

(C) This cape which juts out a great way into the sea, had two ports, one named *Achilleus*, and the other *Pfamatheus*. Here was also the famous temple of *Neptune* built in form of a grotto, falsely supposed by the poets to be the passage out of which *Hercules* brought out *Pluto's* dog *Cerberus*, since there is no subteranean place under it; but what seems to have given rise to this fancy was, that here was bred a most dreadful serpent, whose bite was so mortal, that it was thence called *hell-bound*, and which was afterwards killed by *Hercules*, and carried by him to *Eurystheus* (4).

(4) *Id. ibid. Pausan. Miela. &c*

(D); but the most noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Malvesia*, seated on the gulph of *Argos*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called *Malvesy* or *Malmesy*, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it supplied other parts of *Greece*. There were about twelve more sea-port towns along the *Laconian* coasts, and what made these still more famed, was a kind of shell-fish caught in that neighbourhood, whose blood was of excellent use for the dying of purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the *Red-sea* ^h.

INLAND towns did likewise abound in this kingdom, the most considerable of which was *Sparta* the metropolis, called also improperly *Lacedemon*, and situate upon the river *Eurotas*, at about thirty miles distance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at least beautified, by *Lacedemon* the first king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was *Amyclæ*, built by *Amyclas* the son of *Lacedemon*, and famed afterwards for the birth of *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus*, eighth king of *Lacedemon*, and distant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for sending a considerable colony of its own inhabitants into upper *Calabria*, who built there a city which they called by the same name. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Dorians*, and turned into an inconsiderable hamlet, in which, however, there were seen some of the ruins of its antient grandeur. One of the finest buildings that escaped the common ruin was the temple and statue of *Alexandra*, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the same with *Cassandra* the daughter of *Priam*. 3. *Helos* ruined by the *Spartans* (E).

^h PAUSAN. in Laconic. ch. xxi.

(D) They pretend, that these two, having disputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel, agreed to build this city at their common charge; for which reason the inhabitants of it pretend themselves not to be sprung from mortal men, and had the statues of those two gods in their market place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(E) These people, whose city had been built by *Helius* the son of *Perseus*, had a worse fate than any of the rest. For having refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them by *Agis*, the third king of the *Heraclidean* line, the *Lacedemonians* fell upon them with an army, took them prisoners, reduced them to the lowest and most miserable slavery, and, to compleat all, made a law, which forbid their masters either giving them their liberty, or selling them into other countries (6).

(5) *Pausan. ubi supra.*

(6) *Strab. ubi supra, p. 363. & 365.*
† 4. *Thulana*

Cities of
note.

4. *Thulana*, near to which is the famous lake of *Lerna*, where *Hercules* slew the *Hydra*. 5. *Leuctrum*, upon the bay of *Messenia* and situate near the sea. We find two other cities of this name, one in *Arcadia*, and the other in *Achaia*; but this was the most remarkable of the three¹.

MOUNTAINS they had in great number, the country was divided from *Messenia* by one ridge of them, and from *Arcadia* by another; and this latter was a very long one^k, besides those which were in the heart of it. The greatest part of them, however, were more celebrated for some fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing else they were remarkable for, and may therefore be past by. Rivers of note, besides the *Eurotas* abovementioned, were the *Smenus*, which had its head near the foot of the mountain *Taygeta*, and thence empties itself into the sea, and whose waters are famed for their sweetness and pleasantness. The *Thiasus*, said to have had its name from the daughter of *Eurotas*. The *Scyras*, where *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* landed, after he came from *Scyras* to marry *Hermione*. This river, having till then no name, was from thenceforth called *Scyras*. We omit some others of less note.

THE soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, *Soil.* and their being so well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for pasture-ground; but their being so overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them from being so well tilled as they might have otherwise been. But the country was much better situated for trade and navigation, by having the sea round above half the kingdom, and so many fair havens upon it. How well they improved these advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be seen in the sequel of their history. The truth is, the *Lacedemonians* were a brave courageous people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power, they were wanting in no civil or military discipline, in order to secure the one and curb the other. And by these means it was, that they became so powerful, and made so considerable a figure in *Greece*^l.

THEIR government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed some magistrates under them *Govern-ment.*

¹ De his vid. PAUSAN. *ibid.* & BYZANT. *sub. voce.* ^k MELA. lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. STRAB. *ubi. supra.* ^l Vid. THUCYDID. l. ii. PAUSAN. in *Laconic*, PLUTARCH. in *Lycurg.* DIODOR. SICUL. &c.

whose advice and council they made use of upon all emergent occasions ; but as these were chosen by the prince and might be turned out at pleasure, they seldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, so that his will was still the supreme law. In this manner it passed through a succession of twelve princes from *Lacedemon*, the son-in-law of *Eurotas* the founder of this monarchy ; not indeed constantly in the male line, which being extinct in *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus* their seventh monarch, it passed to *Menelaus*, then king of *Messenia*, in right of his wife *Helena* *Tyndareus*'s daughter. From him it passed to his sons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the descendants of *Helena*, in *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, whose son *Tisamenus*, being outed by the *Heracidae*, went and reigned in *Achaia*, leaving the kingdom of *Lacedemon* to the sons of *Aristodemus*, *Eurysthene*s and *Procles*. For though some have placed their father at the head of the *Herculean* list, yet it is more likely, that he had been dead before they had finished the conquest of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into *Peloponnesus* (F).

HOWEVER, whether under him, or his twin-sons, *Eurysthene*s and *Procles* (G), abovementioned, the government took a quite new form, and instead of one sovereign became subject to two. For these two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at *Argos*, *Messenia*, *Arcadia*, and elsewhere ; neither did they agree to reign al-

(F) We have already taken notice, that this prince, who was the son of *Aristomachus* and brother to *Cressphontes* and *Temenus*, is said to have been killed by lightning at *Naupactus* in *Ætolia*, whilst their navy was getting ready for this expedition ; here it was that he left his twin-sons *Eurysthene*s and *Procles*, whom he had by *Argea* the daughter of *Autefion* (7), his successors, both to the expedition and to all the conquests they should make in it.

Pausanias says, he was killed by the sons of *Pylades* and *Electra*, who were cousin-germans to *Tisamenus* the son of *Orestes*, before this expedition. And the *Lacedemonians* pretended, that *Apollo* had shot him to death at *Delphos*, because he came thither, not to consult the oracle, but to advise with *Hercules*, who was there at that time, about the means of invading *Peloponnesus* ; so that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead some time before the conquest of that peninsula by the *Heracidae*.

(G) This last is sometimes called *Procles*, and sometimes *Protocles* by *Strabo*. *Plutarch* calls him *Patrocles* ; but *Herodotus*, *Apollodorus*, *Cicero*, and *Pausanias*, always call him *Procles* ; it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyists, some of whom were used to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(7) *Pausan.* in *Laconic.*

ternely,

ternately, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* had done at *Thebes* ; but, whether pursuant to their father's will, or by virtue of some mutual contract, they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority ; both bearing the title of king of *Lacedemon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as such. *Pausanias* adds, that the *Delphic* oracle being consulted about this new form of government, the pythones did not make any objection against it ^m. What is still more surprising is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expression, did not end with those two brothers, though, from their mutual jealousy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite succession of thirty princes of the line of *Eurysthene*s, and twenty seven of that of *Procles*, and ended in both near about the same time (H).

BUT, though this title and succession continued thus long in those two lines, yet was the power and authority soon curtailed; through the discords which must inevitably have reigned between them. *Eurysthene*s was succeeded by his son *Agis*, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ* from *Eurytion* the grandson of *Procles*. These two soon came to divide themselves into two distinct parties, under which the people, who are not always the dupes of those that govern them, did list themselves according as their affection or interest led them ; and this obliged their heads to court them, by largesses, by some new privileges, and other such-like condescensions, which though they served the present purpose, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the royal prerogative. This the *Lacedemonians* soon perceived, and being become conscious how impossible it would be for either side to hold the reins of government under such disadvantageous circumstances, they became the haughtier and more insolent, as they found their affection and assistance necessary to either competitor. This gave birth to fresh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or stratagem, which did but weaken the regal power. The consequence of all this was, that the people, instead of becoming more tractable by any concession, grew the more turbulent and headstrong, taking every advantage they could against those, who, thro' either their easy nature, or through necessity, were glad to court their affection,

^m PAUSAN. ubi supra, c. i.

(H) When *Cicomenes* III. the last of the first line, having killed his copartner *Eurydamidas*, was shortly after vanquished by *Antigon*, as shall be seen in the following chapter.

Y y y 2

and

and vexing and blackening those, who had courage enough to curb and use them with any severity. By these divisions the regal dignity was brought into such contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confusion, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it, during some part of his nephew *Charilaus*'s minority.

THIS great patriot and lawgiver was the son of *Polydectes*, the 6th king of the *Eurytionian* line, but by a second wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of succession remained in him, and he accordingly took the administration upon him, waiting, however, to see, whether his sister-in-law was with child. This princess finding herself pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promise that if he would marry her, she would take some effectual method to destroy the embryo. *Lycurgus*, though snocked at the proposal, yet gave her some distant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal used all proper means to prevent her miscarrying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he sent for some persons of note to be present at her labour. She was soon after brought to bed of a son, the news of which being sent to him whilst he was at supper with some noble *Spartans*, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, said to those who were present, *This is your king*; laid him on a chair of state, and gave him the name of *Charilaus*. This generous action did not, however, satisfy all the *Spartans*; the incensed queen, by the help of her brother *Leonidas*, persuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to seize and make himself the more sure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore so vile an insinuation, and so far from his intention, from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* withdrew himself into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till *Charilaus* was married, and had had a son to succeed him. This last action having at once put an end to all those unjust surmises which had been raised by his enemies, and procured him the esteem of all those that wished well to their country; he met with less difficulty in the prosecution of his more glorious design of new-modelling the government. Another circumstance which facilitated this change was, that during his absence, such depravity of manners and corruption in the government had crept into that miserable state, that not only his friends, but even those who had been his most zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embassies, to entreat him to come back and save his country from ruin^a.

^a Vid. Auct. sup. citat.

THESE were the inevitable consequences of that fatal division of the regal authority between two competitors, which, however, *Lycurgus* took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a task. He contented himself therefore with reducing their authority, by constituting a senate endowed with the supreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, besides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as shall be shewn in the next chapter; in which we shall give a more particular account of the form of government which he established, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a sure and lasting sanction.

THUS was the *Spartan* monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of *Lacedæmon* 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of *Sparta* according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming subject to the *Heraclidæ* about *A. M.* 2900, and continued in the double line of these last during seven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following list therefore of those kings, we shall begin it only from *Lacedemon* the son-in-law of *Eurotas*, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that state. As to his supposed predecessors, *Lelex*, *Myles*, and *Eurotas*, we shall content ourselves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this section.

AND as for those of the *Herculean* family, who reigned after the change of government made by *Lycurgus*, besides that they are all out of our epocha, they are more to be looked upon as generals of the *Lacedemonian* army, than as royal sovereigns, and consequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A LIST of the royal *Lacedemonian* line.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 <i>Lacedemon</i> | 8 <i>Castor</i> and <i>Pollux</i> |
| 2 <i>Amyclas</i> | 9 <i>Menelaus</i> |
| 3 <i>Argalus</i> | 10 <i>Nicostratus</i> and <i>Megapenthes</i> |
| 4 <i>Cynorta</i> | 11 <i>Orestes</i> the son of <i>Agamemnon</i> |
| 5 <i>OEBalus</i> | 12 <i>Tisamenes</i> |
| 6 <i>Hippocoon</i> | |
| 7 <i>Tyndareus</i> his brother | |

The Herculean line.

1 <i>Eurysthenes</i>	1 <i>Procles</i>
2 <i>Agis</i>	2 <i>Sous</i>
3 <i>Echestratus</i>	3 <i>Eurytion</i>
4 <i>Labotas</i>	4 <i>Prytanis</i>
5 <i>Doryssus</i>	5 <i>Eunomus</i>
6 <i>Agefilaus</i>	6 <i>Polydectes</i>
7 <i>Archelaus</i>	7 <i>Gharilaus</i>

1. CONCERNING *Lacedemon*, we know little more besides what we mentioned at the beginning of this section, except that he built a temple to two of the graces whom he called *Phaenna* and *Clete*, celebrated by an antient poet °, and that his descendants raised a stately monument to him near the town of *Alesies*, where *Myles* is said to have found the first mule.

2. *Amyclas* his successor is still more unknown (I), except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a story, that, whether by reason of its situation, or any other cause, it was so subject to frequent and strange noises as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law, that none should dare to alarm the town upon any such occasion. The *Dorians*, taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a sudden and took the town; and hence came the old proverb, *I will speak, knowing how the Amycleans were ruined for holding their peace*; and the old saying of *Amyclas vivere*, was used to signify *to see, and bear, and say nothing*. The people of this city became afterwards fa-

° ALCMAN. ap. PAUSAN. LACON. c. xviii.

(I) The fable says, that of all the sons he had, he was most excessively fond of *Hyacinthus* the youngest, because he excelled all the rest in beauty, insomuch, that *Apollo* and *Zephyrus* became enamoured with him at the same time. *Apollo* being one day at play, unfortunately slew him with a quoit, and from his blood caused the flower of his name to spring up.

His disconsolate father erected a stately tomb with his statue, both which outlived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feast to be kept in memory of him. *Ovid*, in his metamorphoses makes this youth the son of *OEBalus*; but *Pausanias*, who had seen his monument, says he was the son of *Amyclas* (8).

(8) *Lacon. c. i. & xix.*

mous likewise for their strict adherence to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did so strictly keep, that they forbore the destroying even of those very serpents which annoyed and destroyed them. We have very little left concerning *Amyclas's* three successors, *Argalus*, *Cynorta*, and *OEbalus*, except that this last gave his name to a canton of *Lacedemonia*, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the rest, and gave to his son *Hippocoon*, whilst the rest of the kingdom was assigned to his other son *Tyndareus*. *OEbalus* married *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perseus*, by whom he had this *Tyndareus*, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in *OEbalia*, came soon after and deprived him of it.

WHILST *Hippocoon* reigned in *Sparta*, *Hercules* happened to come thither to be expiated, for the murder of *Iphitus*: *Hercules*, it seems, after having put away *Megara*, went to *OEchalia*, where he won *Iole* the daughter of *Eurytus* king of that country, at shooting against him and his sons, an exercise which that king always proposed to those who came to court his daughter. But the king and his sons, remembering how he had used *Megara*, refused to give *Iole* to him; in revenge of which affront he drove away *Eurytus's* horses, and taking his son *Iphitus*, who was ordered to go in search of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of shewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. *Hippocoon* therefore and all his sons did stoutly oppose his being expiated, because they thought the action too black to deserve such a favour^p, and *Hercules* stayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refusal.

HE did not wait long for it; for a first cousin of his, named *Oeonus*, who was come with him to *Sparta*, walking one day along the streets of that city, past by chance before the house of *Hippocoon*, out of which a mastiff came and flew upon him. *Oeonus* flung a stone at him, which being perceived by *Hippocoon's* sons, they rushed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouse the fury of that sanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but, being wounded in the scuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a strong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed *Hippocoon* and ten of his sons, besides a great number of

^p Id. *ibid.* c. xv.

Lacedemonians; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled *Tyndareus*, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conquest, to that banished monarch, in trust for his own posterity, as we have elsewhere hinted (K). *Tyndareus*,

(K) *Hercules*, having succeeded so well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to *Juno*, because she had not thwarted him in it, as she had formerly done upon all occasions, and for want of a better victim offered her a goat, from which she was afterwards worshipped by the *Lacedemonians* under the name of *Juno Ægophaga*, or *Goat-eater*, and that creature became the constant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His last exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finish the history of that renowned hero, was against *Eurytus*, who retained, as he thought, unjustly *Iole* from him. He went therefore against him, slew him and his sons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming soon after to the *Cenæan* promontory in *Eubœa*, to offer some sacrifice there, he sent his servant *Lycbas* to *Trachin*, to his wife *Dejanira* for the shirt and coat in which he used to perform that ceremony.

This princess had some time before been attempted by the centaur *Nessus*, as he was ferrying her over the river *Euenus*, and *Hercules*, beholding it from the shore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monster finding himself dying, advised her to mix some oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her husband's shirt with it, pretending, that it would infallibly secure him from loving any other woman; and she, too well apprised of his inconstancy, had actually prepared the poisoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lycbas, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away *Iole*, and she, in a fit of jealousy, failed not to anoint his shirt with the fatal mixture, which had no sooner touched his body, than he felt the poison diffuse itself through all his veins; the violent pain of which caused him to disband his army and to return to *Trachin*. His torment still increasing, he sent to consult the oracle for a cure, and was answered, that he should cause himself to be conveyed to mount *Oeta*, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the rest to *Jupiter*.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dressed himself in his martial habit, flung himself upon the pile, and desired the by-standers to set fire to it; others say, that he left the charge of it to his son *Philœtetes*, who having performed his father's commands, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the same time *Jupiter*, to be as good as his word, sent a flash of lightning which consumed both the pile and the hero, inasmuch, that *Iolaus* coming to take up his bones, found nothing but

(9) *Cæsar. Rhod.* (10) *Ovid. Metam.* l. 9. *Diodor.* l. 5. *Seneca, in Hercule Oetaeo.*

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwise called, *Tyndarus*, more glad to accept the *Lacedemonian* kingdom upon any conditions, than solicitous about the performance of them, was no sooner seated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to secure it to himself and descendants against the *Heracleidæ*. He had two brave sons by his wife *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and two daughters, the famous *Helena* and *Clytemnestra*, whose strange birth, as it is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). *Helen's* fatal beauty had caused her to be stolen away by *Theseus*, as we have seen before, and after she was recovered by her two brothers, *Tyndareus*, still afraid lest she should be carried off again, had obliged all her suitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man she liked, and that in case she should be stolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her husband. She chose soon after *Menelaus* the son of *Atreus*, after which she being stolen away again by *Paris*, her husband, encouraged by his brother *Agamemnon*, challenged all those princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promise, and engaged them to the *Trojan* war, of which we have spoken at length in a former chapter.

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for *Helena* was carried off by her own consent, and *Clytemnestra*, as we have seen elsewhere, not only lived in adultery during her husband's absence, but murdered him imme-

asles, from which they took up the notion that he was passed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. A fit son indeed for such a father, and a fitter god for such votaries, who could deify, raise altars and temples, offer sacrifices, and institute feasts to a mortal, who had sullied his best actions with so many murders, rapes, and adulteries. *Hercules* bequeathed *Iole* to his son *Hyllus*; as for *Dejanira*, she hanged herself as soon as she was apprised of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that *Jupiter* having had an amorous intrigue with her in the shape of a swan, soon after her matrimonial commerce with her husband, the result of these amphibious embraces was, that she was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came *Pollux* and *Helena*, and out of the other *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*; whence *Castor*, as *Tyndareus's* son, was mortal, but *Pollux*, as son of *Jupiter*, is said to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The *Greeks*, however, according to *Pausanias* (11), pretended, that *Helena* was the daughter of *Nemesis*, and that *Leda* was only her nurse, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of *Grecian* mythology not worth disproving.

(11) *Ubi supra.*

diately after his return) is said to have built a temple to *Venus* (M), and erected a statue of cedar to that goddess, with a vail over her face and chains about her legs, either, as some think, to expose her as the cause of their unlawful love, or, as *Pausanias* thinks, to intimate to posterity the indissoluble tie of wedlock⁹. He began likewise to build a stately temple to *Minerva*, whom he surnamed *Poliuchos*, or guardian of the city, but died before he could finish it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two sons, after he had reigned about forty years^r.

8. *Castor* and *Pollux* went on with the building, designing to have enriched it with the spoils of the city *Aphidne*, out of which they had rescued their sister *Helena*, but left it likewise imperfect. The *Lacedemonians* did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of massive brass, from which it was called *Chalciaecos*. These two heroes likewise signalized themselves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to *Minerva Asia*, in acknowledgment of their success and safe return from *Colchis*, from which they are also said to have brought away a famous statue of *Mars*. They had likewise a bloody combat with the sons of *Aphareus*, *Ida*, and *Lynceus*, the latter of whom is said to have had such piercing eyes, that he could see even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occasion of their quarrel is variously reported; *Theocritus* says, that they had stolen the daughters of *Leucippus* the brother of *Aphareus*, but *Pausanias* and *Pindar* say, it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat *Pollux* killed *Lynceus*, and *Ida* was struck dead with lightning. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deserve a place here, we shall give a specimen of them in the margin^t (O).

9. *Menelaus*

⁹ LACON. c. 16. ^r Ch. xvii. ^t De his vid. PLUTARCH. in Theseo. DIOD. APOLLOD. & PAUSAN.

(M) *Pausanias* adds, that this temple, which himself saw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called *Morphe*, which is but another name of *Venus* (11), and signifies *form* or *figure*, implying that she was the goddess of beauty.

(N) Hence the saying of *Lyncean* eyes, and *Pindar* tells us, that he could discover *Castor* hid in the trunk of a tree from mount *Taygetus* (12).

(O) These two famous brothers are celebrated by the antient poets under several names, such as *Anacles* from the Greek *Ἀνάκλεις*,

(11) In *Lacon*. c. xv.

(12) *Neween*, Ode 10.

which

9. *Menelaus* the son of *Atræus* succeeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have spoken of the war which her rape occasioned, and the success of it in a former chapter. At their return from the *Trojan* war, being, upon some difference, parted from his brother *Agamemnon*, after having weathered many violent storms, he arrived safely in *Egypt* with his wife *Helena*, whither *Homer* tells us he was driven by contrary winds. *Herodotus* gives us a quite different account of his going into *Egypt*, and gives us his reasons for it; but as it contradicts most of the antient poets

which signifies a king or prince, such as were originally all the *Heathen* gods. *Ambulii*, most probably likewise from the Greek *Ἀμβολία*, *procrastination*, *delay*, to imply their lengthening of life. *Jupiter* is also called by that name. They were also called *Apherei*, as supposed to preside over the lists; but the name they were most commonly known by was that of *DioscURI*, from *δῖος* and *κῆρυες*, because they were reputed the sons of *Jupiter*.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the sea of pirates, and from this last they were worshipped as gods of the sea, and are said to have appeared to mariners in storms, and the notion was, that if only one was seen, it betokened shipwreck, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewise said to have appeared at land upon several occasions: They once facilitated the escape of the *Lacedemonians* under their king *Anaxander*, when they were closely pursued, and likely to be cut in pieces, by *Aristomenes* and his *Messenian* troops. At another time they came to the very house where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of *Phormio*, who was then in possession of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were strangers come from *Cyrene*. They asked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but *Phormio* told them, that the whole house was at their service, except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They seemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow, both the young woman and those that waited upon her were gone as well as the guests, and nothing found in her chamber but the two statues of the *DioscURI*, and a table with some sweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when *Castor* died, his brother *Pollux*, who was immortal, prayed to *Jupiter* that he might share his immortality with him, which being granted, they are said to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the sign *Gemini*, of which two of the stars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other rises.

(13) *Pausan. ubi supra, c. xvi.*

and historians, we shall relate it in the margin (P). *Menelaus* was succeeded by his two sons by a former wife, or rather by a slave, namely,

10. *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes*; but the *Lacedemonians*, unwilling to submit themselves to a spurious offspring, *Orestes* easily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood-shed.

11. *Orestes*, the son of *Agamemnon* king of *Messenia*, came to the *Lacedemonian* crown in right of his mother *Clytemnestra*, the other daughter of *Tyndareus*. We have already mentioned in the history of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithless mother and her paramour, and ascended the *Messenian* throne*. He was, however, accused of that parricide, not, indeed, by his grandfather *Tyndareus*, who must have been dead long before, but by his uncle *Perilaus*, the son of *Icarius*, and cousin-german, and consequently the nearest relation, of *Clytemnestra*. He it was who cited him before the great *Athenian* court called *Areopagus*, after he had recovered his senses. What their sentence was our author doth not inform us, but tells us elsewhere†, that he had seen an old building which was called *Orestes's mansion*, in which he was forced to live separate from the rest of mankind, except that they took care to supply him with

* See before p. 457.

† PAUSAN. Arcad. ch. xxxiv.

(P) He tells us, upon the credit of the *Egyptian* priests, that as *Paris* was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coasts of *Egypt*, where he was accused of the theft by some of his servants, who went and took sanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*. *Proteus*, then king of the country, having examined the story, detained the woman and the goods she had brought with her till her husband came to demand them, and let the ravisher go as being a stranger.

When therefore the confederate *Greeks*, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the *Trojans*, and were answered that she was left in *Egypt*, they believed it a mere pretence, and carried on the siege; but when the city was taken, and she not found in it, then *Menelaus* went to demand her of the *Egyptian* king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the story is, as he tells us, that if *Helen* had really been in *Troy*, it had been madness in *Priam* to have sacrificed that noble city, and the lives of so many noble *Trojans*, only to defend *Paris* in the possession of another man's wife, since he was neither heir to the kingdom, nor equal in worth to many of those that fell in the defence of that city (14).

(14) *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 113, & seq.

food and other necessaries, till he had quite expiated his crime^u. He died and was buried in *Arcadia*, whither the oracle advised him to retire, as we have seen in a former section.

12. *Tisamenes*, the son of *Orestes* by *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*, succeeded him both in this kingdom and those of *Argos* and *Messenia*, and was soon after outed out of all by the *Heraclidae*, who, having by this time invaded *Peloponnesus*, claimed the latter, as being of the line of *Perseus*, and he only of that of *Pelops*; and the former, because *Hercules*, having conquered it from *Hippocoon*, had only left in it trust with *Tyndareus*, as we have lately seen. What became of *Tisamenes* is variously reported^v some say he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of *Argos*^w; others, and with more probability, say, he escaped into *Achaia*, and reigned there; some time after which he was killed one of the first in a combat against the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*, whence the *Lacedemonians*, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in *Sparta*^x. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed that metropolis to the sons of *Aristodemus*, who with their forces entered it with the sound of the flute^y, an instrument then reckoned very martial, and proper to inspire the soldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reason the *Lacedemonians* made use of it from that time, whenever they sounded to battle^z.

*Eurysthene*s and *Procles* having thus obtained the kingdom, at first divided it into six parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*, where they still kept their residence. This, though for the present it had the desired effect of ingratiating themselves to the *Lacedemonians*, yet in the following reigns proved the cause of many grievous disturbances. For *Agis*, the son and successor of *Eurysthene*s, finding, that the people were grown headstrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving several cantons of those privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the *Lacedemonians*. They did indeed all submit to it, except the *Heliois*, who were made a severe example to the rest; but these severities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

ON the other hand, his copartner *Sous* the son of *Procles*, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their esteem by his bravery and new conquests. We have an instance of his con-

^u Id. Corinth. c. xxxi.

^w APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 8.

^x Vid.

PAUSAN. Achaic. c. i. & STRAB. Geogr. l. viii.

^y STRAB.

ibid.

^z POLYÆN. Stratagem, l. i. c. 10.

duct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being besieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry stony place, where his army suffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himself to restore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men should drink of a spring at a small distance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both sides, *Sous*, having called his soldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being all oppressed with excessive thirst, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As soon therefore as he had seen them drink their fill of the water, he took some of it in the hollow of his hand, and sprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The consequence of which was, that his abstinence having made the contract void, seeing he and all his men had not drank at the spring, he could safely refuse to resign his conquests to them ^a.

Agis, from whom the descendants of that line had the name of *Agidæ*, or *Agiadæ*, for they are indifferently called by both, was succeeded by his son *Echestratus*, and *Sous*, not long after, by his son *Eurytion*, otherwise also called *Eurypon* and *Euryphon*; from him this line, which had till then took the name of *Proclidæ*, exchanged it for that of *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ* ^b, &c. In this reign, some seeds of discord between the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives* began to appear, which were, however, stifled by the prudence of those two monarchs. The *Cynosureans*, who were a colony of *Argives*, and settled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by *Cynosurus* the son of *Perseus*, were complained against by the *Argives*, for not only suffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewise for doing the same themselves, and sometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the *Lacedemonians* banished all the *Cynosureans* that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that severity not only prevented all such ravages for some time, but restored a good understanding between the *Argives* and them ^c.

BUT this peaceful disposition did not last but till the next

^a PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. vid. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap HIND. ubi supra. ^b PAUSAN.. MEURS. &c. ^c PAUSAN. ubi supra. c. ii. & iii.

reign, when *Labotas* (Q), the son of *Echestratus*, and *Prytanis*, the son of *Eurytion*, declared war against them. The ground of it was, that though the *Lacedemonians* possessed the town and territories of *Cynofura*, by right of their late conquest, yet the *Argives* were still incroaching upon some part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendship. It doth not appear, however, that this war was of any duration, at least we find not, that any thing remarkable was done on either side. After this things continued in a peaceful state, at least with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worse within doors through the jealousies and misunderstandings of the princes, both between themselves, and between them and the people. *Labotas* was succeeded by his son *Doryssus*, and *Prytanis* by his son *Eunomus*, the former of these, as well as his son and successor *Agessilaus*, are by some said to have reigned but a short while ^d; and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom*, that the former reigned twenty nine, and the latter forty four years ^e. As for *Eunomus*, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length stabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two sons behind him, *Polydeetes* by a former, and *Lycurgus* by a second wife. He was succeeded by the former, and he dying soon after left the kingdom to *Lycurgus*, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a son, to whom he immediately resigned it, and banished himself out of *Lacedæmon*, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth, into which he afterwards modelled that government.

^d PAUSAN. ubi supra. c. ii. HIND. hist. Græc. l. ii. p. 97. ^e
MEURS. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

(Q) *Herodotus*, who calls him *Leobatus*, tells us in his history of *Cræsus*, that the great *Lycurgus* had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has since shewn (15), since that prince had been dead some time before that law-giver was born.

(15) *Meurs. antig. Lacedem. ap. Gedoyn. in Pausan. Laron.*

S E C T. X.

The History of the antient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, and Achaia.

WE shall join these antient kingdoms together in one section, because they made but a small figure in the world, in comparison of those that have gone before, and because they have been either conquered by, or blended with, them; whilst their being so often mentioned in the foregoing sections, and in the following history of Greece, will not permit us to pass them by without taking notice of their situation, original, antiquities, and history, as far as it can be got out of antient authors, their wars and exploits, and other such particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable, and are worth our notice here.

Elis. THE principal of them is the kingdom of *Elis*, at first peopled, as is reasonably supposed, by the descendants of *Elishab*, the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japheth*^a, if not by *Elishab* himself, from whom this territory at least, if not the whole peninsula, was called *Elis* (A), and in the *Chaldean Hellas*, and by the prophet *Ezekiel Elishab*, where he celebrates its fine purple dye^b (B). According therefore to this suppo-

Names.

^a Gen. x. 2, & 4. ^b Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & BOCHART. Phalæg. l. iii. c. 4.

(A) The poets derive that name from *Elis* the son of *Neptune*, whom they make the first founder and king of it (1). *Pausanias* tells us, that *Æthlius*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Protegenia* the daughter of *Deucalion*, was the first who reigned here, and gives some other etymons of the word not worth notice, since we have a much antienter one, and clearer from fiction, in the patriarch *Elishab*.

(B) It is true, the prophet here speaks of isles and not of a continent; but we have often shewn, that that word in the language of scripture doth not strictly imply an island, but the maritime countries, especially those about the *Mediterranean* †; and we have the testimony of several antient authors, that the coasts of *Elis*, and quite up to the *Corinthian* bay, were famous for a shell-fish which they used in this dye, and in which they exceeded all nations except *Egypt* (2).

(1) Vid. int. al. Ovid. Metam. & Steph. Byz. sub voce ΗΛΙΣ & Gronov. not. in eund. † Vid. Vol. I. p. 372. & before p. 433.

(2) Pausan. in Laconic. Vid. & Bochart. ubi supra, & auctor. ab eo citat.

sition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch, or some of his immediate descendants, it was not without good reason, that the inhabitants of this country and of *Arcadia* boasted themselves to be *Aborigines* of *Peloponnesus*, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to settle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greatest part of that peninsula ^c.

Elis was situate on the western side of *Peloponnesus*, having the *Ionian* sea on that side, *Arcadia* on the east, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cyparissos* or *Chalonites*, now *Capo di Tornese*, with *Messenia* on the south: its extent from east to west was at the widest about forty eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almost 23 deg. east longitude; and from north to south about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude ^d.

ITS chief cities were, 1. *Elis*, situate on the river *Peneus*, *Cities*. and almost in the heart of the kingdom and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large spacious place called the *Xystos* (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themselves for some time by diet, exercise, and other such preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the *Olympic* plains ^e. In this place their senate did likewise use to assemble themselves, and the candidates for all kinds of dignities and employments came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewise a temple dedicated to *Fortune*, with the statue of that blind goddess of a surprising bigness, and made of wood, covered all over with gold, except the face, hands, and feet.

^c PAUSAN. *Elid.* c. i. & seq. ^d Conf. STRAB. *Geogr.* l. viii. MELA. l. ii. c. 4. CLUVER. WELLS, & al. ^e PAUSAN. *Elid.* c. xxiii.

(C) So called from the Greek ξύω, to trim or polish. This place was surrounded with a wall, and lined on the inside with plantane trees of great height, to cast an agreeable shade on the course. Here *Hercules*, in order to inure himself to hard labour, is said to have spent some time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns, and briars. Near the inclosure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument erected in memory of *Achilles*, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women used to repair about sun-set during the time of the olympic games, and to lament the death of that hero by several mournful actions, especially by smiting upon their breasts (3).

(3) Pausan. in *Elid.* c. xxiii.

They had likewise several others dedicated to *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, and *Bacchus*. This last deity was held in the greatest veneration, and the *Eleans* pretended, that he appeared to them on the day in which his feast was celebrated (D). *Elis* had likewise a citadel, in which was a temple of *Minerva*, and on the helmet of that goddess was carved a cock, because he is supposed the most courageous of all winged creatures†. Here was also the palace of *Augcas* one of their kings, and the famous stables, the cleansing of which proved a task fit only for the great *Hercules* (E). †

Olympia. 2. THE city of *Olympia* was the next in dignity, situate on the famous *Olympian* plains, on which were celebrated the *olympic* games, instituted by *Pelops* in honour of *Jupiter*, and after some suspension, restored again by *Atreus* and *Hercules*. *Olympic games.* They were celebrated every fifth year and during five days, but with much greater solemnity, and a vaster concourse of people, than any of these we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by *Olympiads*, to be introduced in *Greece* (F). This city is famed likewise for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, said to have been built from the spoils which the *Eleans* got from their neighbours the

† PAUSAN. ubi supra.

† See before, p. 455. Note.

(D) This feast-day they called *Thya*. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his priests repaired on the night before, with three empty flasks which they left there, shut up the temple, and sealed the locks of it, every bystander being permitted to clap his own seal to them; and on the morrow they returned thither, accompanied with *Eleans* and strangers, and having first shewed to them that the gates were safe and just as they had left them, they opened them and went in, and found the flasks filled with wine. (4).

(E) It is said to have held three thousand oxen, and to have been thirty years without cleaning, so that when *Hercules* undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river *Alpheus*, or *Peneus* according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we shall see in the sequel.

(F) This solemnity, which had been so often interrupted, and renewed again by *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others, but without any settled time, was at length restored by *Iphitus* and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, so that between every celebration four complete years expired, which some have mistaken

(4) *Id. ibid.*

for

the *Piseans*; in which was a famous statue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, near which is also the famous *Olympian* wood or grove dedicated to the same deity. As for its antient name of *Olympia*, it hath long since changed it for that of *Sconri*. 3. *Pisa*, situate on the river *Alpheus* (G), and near the mouth of it, said to have been founded by *Pifus* the grandson of *Æolus*, and whose inhabitants signalized themselves under *Nestor* at the *Trojan* war. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Eleans*, because the *Piseans* took upon them to celebrate the *olympic* games by their own authority; for this, the *Eleans*, jealous of their privilege, raised a war against them, and after many battles fought, in which they had still the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and banished its inhabitants.

IT

for five. Hence every four years was called an *olympiad*, which computation was afterwards observed for a considerable number of centuries, as well as the solemnity of those games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whose change immediately preceded the summer solstice. Against that time the priests of *Jupiter Olympus*, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to observe every new moon, especially that after which the solemnity was to be celebrated, and to cause it to be proclaimed. They were likewise intrusted with the registering of the names of all the victors at those games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between each *olympiad*.

We must, however, observe here, that this exact and ready way of computing by *olympiads* did not begin immediately after the first of them, but commenced only from the first year of the 28th, in which *Choræbus* of *Elis* obtained the victory in the race, after which the *Grecian* accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that *Epocha* the times began to be reckoned historical, whereas those which preceded it up to the deluge are called fabulous and heroic, because mixed with fable (5), as those who preceded it were deemed unknown.

(G) This river doth run quite through *Arcadia*, *Elis*, and along the city of *Pisa*, soon after which it is swallowed up in the earth. From thence it is supposed to run by a subterranean channel under the sea without mixing with the salt water, and so to pass quite into *Sicily* where it mixes itself with the fountain *Arcthusa* near the city of *Syracuse*, infomuch, that any thing that is thrown into it on the *Elis* side, is said to come out at the fountain abovenamed (6). Hence

(5) *De his vid. Plutarch. Pausan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter, Archæolog. Hind. & al. plur.*

(6) *Vid. Diod. Pausan. & al.*

It were fruitless to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, since we cannot tell, whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or some of his descendants. As to what prophane authors say of it, it is so mixed with fable that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we shall give our readers a short sketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

*Kings of
Elis.*

Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at first distinct from that of *Pisa*; this last having kings of its own for a considerable time. He was succeeded by his son *Endymion*, who married *Asterodia*, or, according to others, *Chromia*, the daughter of *Itomus* and grand-daughter of *Amphictyon* (H), by whom he had three sons, *Pæon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. When these were grown up, he promised his kingdom to him that should win the prize at the *olympic* race, and *Epeus* proved the happy victor. *Ætolus*, however, stayed with him at *Elis*, but *Pæon*, unable to brook the loss of such a noble prize, went to seek his fortune elsewhere, and settled in that canton on the river *Axus*, which took from him the name of *Pæonia*. *Epeus* went to the siege of *Troy*, and is supposed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horse. It was in his reign that *Pelops* the *Lydian*, or according to others, the *Paphlagonian*, came from *Asia*, killed *OEnomaus* king of *Pisa*, seized on his kingdom, and took the city *Olympia* from the *Eleans*.

Ætolus.

the poetic fiction of *Alpheus's* love to *Arethusa*, which tells us, that this last, to avoid his amorous pursuit, hid herself under-ground, and that he was forced to do the same in order to get at her by some subterraneous passage, which he at length accomplished near the place where that river and fountain mix their streams.

Pausanias adds, that the *Eleans* had a law, which condemned any woman to death that should either appear at the *olympic* games, or even cross this river during that solemnity; and the *Eleans* add, that the only woman who transgressed it, had disguised herself in the habit of a master or keeper of those games, and conducted her son thither; but when she saw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her disguise, so that her sex was discovered. She was, however, spared on account of her father, son, and husband who had gained the *olympic* prize; but from that time an order was made, that the keeper should appear there naked.

(H) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(7) *In Elid. cb. vi.*

Epeus

Epeus died without male issue, and was succeeded by his brother *Ætolus*.

THIS prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill *Apis* the son of *Jason* at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of *Azan* king of *Arcadia*, and was forced to leave *Peloponnesus*, and went to settle in *Ætolia*, where we shall find him in the sequel. He was succeeded by *Eleus*, who is said to have been the son of *Neptune*, by *Euricyde* the only daughter of *Endymion*, and the father of *Augeas*, who succeeded him in the kingdom (I).

WE have already mentioned more than once the large stable which this prince is said to have had, and its being cleansed by *Hercules*. The truth of the story, if we may believe *Pausanias* ^g, was, that he kept such large quantities of oxen and sheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, so that it was become incapable of producing either grass or corn. *Augeas* therefore hired *Hercules* to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and some part of his kingdom. When *Hercules* had performed the task by turning the river over them (K), *Augeas* refused to give him his hire, pretending, that he had done the job more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to *Phyleus* *Augeas*'s eldest son, and he, having given it against his father, was banished the kingdom together with his client. *Augeas*, being afraid of that hero's resentment, was forced to strengthen himself by a double alliance, one with *Ator*, the son of *Phorbas* by *Hyrmine* the daughter of *Epeus*; and the other with *Amarynceus*, a *Thessalian*, a man well versed in the art of war, whom he invited into

^g Elid. c. i.

(I) This is he who, the *Greeks* pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called *Epea* from *Epeus* mentioned a little higher.

Others willing to do *Augeas* a greater honour, make him the son not of *Eleus*, but of *Elius* or the sun.

(K) This river which some pretend to have been the *Alpheus*, and others the *Peneus*, as we observed in a late note, is by our author here called *Alinyeus*, which name *Strabo*, who says it was the *Peneus*, thinks was given it by the long stay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is something forced, and it seems more reasonable to suppose, that that river had those two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) *Pausan. in Elid. c. ii. Vid. & Gedoyn. Not. in eund. Elis.*

Elis. To bind these two the faster to his interest, he made them his associates in the kingdom, so that when *Hercules* came afterwards with a powerful army against him, he met with such stout resistance from them, particularly from *Aëtor* and his sons, that he was forced to return and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that these brave youths were to go to the *Isthmian* games, he went and lay in ambush against them, and killed them all, and with such privacy, that it cost the *Eleans* some time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was *Hercules*, who by that time was retired to *Tirynthus*, they sent ambassadors in vain to the *Argives* to punish him, and to the *Corinthians* to interdict the *Argives* from the *Isthmian* games, for suffering the assassin of those who were going to them to live unpunished in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their request; and *Hercules* having raised a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, came and besieged them, took and sacked the city of *Elis*, and was going to let fly his resentment against the *Piseans* for assisting them, had not the oracle prevented it. *Hercules*, who would not sit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a present of it to *Phyleus* the son of *Augeas*, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom restored him all the prisoners he had taken (L), and among the rest *Augeas*, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to *Pausanias*; others say he killed him and *Eurytas*, another of his sons ^b.

Phyleus, thus recalled to the kingdom, did, however, stay in it but as long as was necessary to settle the affairs of the

^b Conf. DIODOR. SICUL. I. iv. & PAUSAN. Elid. c. iii.

(L) These prisoners must have been very few in comparison of those that were killed, since *Pausanias* tells us, that the *Elean* women, finding their country almost stripped of male inhabitants, prayed to *Minerva*, that they might conceive at the very first matrimonial intercourse; and that the goddess having granted their request, they built a temple to her, and called it *Minerva, the mother of mankind*. And moreover in memory of this signal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it *Badu*, which in their dialect signifies the same as *ἡδύ*, *sweet*, to express the pleasure of that matrimonial intercourse (9).

(9) *Id. ibid. c. iii.*

state,

state, after which he retired to the island of *Dulichium* (M). And *Augeas* dying soon after, the crown fell to his next son *Agasthenes*, whose son *Polyxenus*, having succeeded him, went to the *Trojan* war, and was one of those who returned from thence, and was succeeded by his son *Eleus* II. It was in this prince's reign that the *Dorians* and *Heraclidæ* made their last but successful attempt against *Peloponnesus* under *Hippotes* their general, after having formerly made several fruitless ones against it. We have already had occasion to speak more than once of this expedition, for the success of which, having consulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with *Oxylus* an *Ætolian*, whom they supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, because his horse and he had but three eyes between them.

Oxylus, of the race of *Endymion*, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, some say, his brother *Thermius*, others say, *Alcidocus* the son of *Scopius*, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to *Ætolia*, when the *Heraclidæ* met him and invited him to be their general. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered *Peloponnesus* they should allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his services, but because he had a title to that kingdom as being the sixth in a lineal descent from *Endymion* the second king of it. They agreed so much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's side, his great grandmother being sister to *Dejanira*, the mother of *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*. The success of this expedition we have seen in some former sections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conquests between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of *Elis* according to their agreement¹.

Oxylus, who expected to have taken possession of it without any opposition, found himself mistaken, and *Dius*, who was then upon the throne, refused to resign it to him. However, to avoid exposing their troops to a battle, they agreed, that each should chuse a champion, who should decide the right of it by single combat, and *Pyrechmes*, an excellent *Ætolian* slinger, having won the victory in favour of *Oxylus*,

¹ Id. *ibid.* & *APOLLON.* l. ii. *STRAB.* Geogr. l. x.

(M) It is but a small inconsiderable island on the *Ionian* sea near that of *Cephalenia*, it is now called *Dulichia* and *Tziakki*.

he was immediately proclaimed king of *Elis*. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or those of his successors; he had two sons, *Ætolus* and *Lajus*, the former of whom, dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he should be buried, neither within nor out of it. His son *Lajus* succeeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material transactions in this kingdom, if we except some of their wars with their *Arcadian* neighbours, and with some other estates of *Greece*, till we come to the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the *olympic* games, and cotemporary with the great *Lycurgus* mentioned at the close of the last section.

Restores
the olym-
pic games.

BEFORE his reign, *Greece* had been almost ruined by wars and pestilence. *Elis* seems to have suffered more than any other estate, so that those games had been interrupted for a considerable time. *Iphitus* sent to consult the oracle concerning the means of appeasing the angry gods and obtaining a remedy against these calamities, and was answered, that the restoration of those games would prove the safety of *Greece*, to procure which he and his subjects were exhorted to set about it, immediately and with all their might. He began with offering a sacrifice to *Hercules*, whom the *Eleans* believed to have been upon some account or other exasperated against them (N). He next caused the *olympic* games to be proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promise of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before: he likewise took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games, a privilege which the *Piseans*, by reason of their neighbourhood, had often sharply disputed with his predecessors, and which continued in his descendants, as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two presidents whom they chose by vote, and which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve. We have spoken a little higher of the place where they sat; their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all disputes that arose concerning

(N) *Pausanias* tells us, there was a kind of dispute between the *Eleans* and the rest of the *Greeks*, whether *Iphitus* was lineally descended from *Oxylus*, if he was not, it was not without reason that he feared the resentment of that god, whose particular kindness to all that were related to him, as *Oxylus* was, would hardly suffer such a wrong to go unpunished: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeasing his anger by this sacrifice.

the

the victory in all the several exercises which were performed in them.

§ *Ætolia* was so called, as we have seen a little before, *Ætolia*: from *Ætolus*, the son of *Endymion* and brother of *Epeus*, whom he succeeded in the kingdom of *Elis*, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed *Apis*, the son of *Jason*, at some funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be guessed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both sides, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, were the greatest robbers in all *Greece*, and continued so, during many centuries, after *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and other heroes, had extirpated those vermin every where else ^a.

THIS slip of ground, for such it was, had on the east the *Locrians*, *Phocians*, and *Ozoleans*, from whom they were parted by the river *Evenus*, or *Lycormas*. The *Acar-nanians* on the west were also parted from them by that of *Achelous*, on the north it had the *Dorians* with part of *Epirus*, and on the south the bay of *Corinth*: its utmost extent from north to south was about forty eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from east to west, where it was widest, something above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and southward, especially the latter, where it scarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one sea-port of any note on the *Corinthian* bay, namely *OEnias*, situate on the mouth of the *Achelous* abovementioned ^b.

IT had no other rivers but the two we have just spoken of, the former of which was that on which *Hercules* killed the centaur *Nessus*, and the latter, which was also called *Thoas* from its rapidity, descended from mount *Pindus* in *Macedonia* into the *Ionian* sea. Concerning this last the poets have feigned many stories, or blended the history with many fables which the reader may see in the margin (A). As for its name,

^a THUCYD. 1. i. PLUTARCH. in Theseo. & al.
STRAB. MELA, CLUVER, & al.

^b Vid.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, and a competitor with *Hercules* for *Dejanira*, the king of *Calydonia*'s daughter. These two having engaged in a duel, and *Achelous*, finding himself likely to be worsted by him, changed himself first into a serpent, and then into a bull: *Hercules* broke both his horns, and gave one of them to *Plenty* the companion of *Fortune*; Hence the story of the *Cornucopia*. *Achelous*, finding himself still inferior to his rival, turned himself into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever

name, some think it received it from *Achelous* one of the kings of *Ætolia*, and others derive it from the *Greek*, and think it was given it by reason of the salubriousness of its waters ^c; but as we meet with three rivers of this name ^d, and in three different countries, it is not likely they should all have it upon this last account; however, this of *Ætolia* is by far the largest and most considerable, inasmuch, that *Homer* calls it the king of rivers.

THE country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered several of their cities almost impregnable, and the people so stout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite states of *Greece*, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame them. The most noted of these cities were those that follow; *Thermus* or *Thermius*, situate almost in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, surrounded at some distance with such high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the states of the country assembled, and the repository of all their wealth and treasure in times of danger, yet was it not so much as fortified with a wall, the difficult ascents and narrow passages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed sufficient to guard it both from surprize or invasion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the noblest and wealthiest *Ætolians*, and had the surname of *Panetolium*, upon account of the senate holding their meetings there ^e. 2. *Calydon*, situate near the forest of that name, where *Meleager*, accompanied with the noblest youths of *Greece*, slew the famed *Calydonian* boar (B).
Hither

^e EUSTAT. ^d Vid. PAUSAN. in Arcad. c. xxxviii. & Auct. sup. Citat ^e Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. x. POLYB. BYZANT. sub. voce. *Θερμῶν* & Gronov. not. in eund.

since, or, as others have it, for grief and spite flung and choaked himself in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of *Amalthea* or *plenty*.

This poetic hodge-podge of serpents, bulls, and horns, seems to have taken its rise from the serpentine turnings and windings, and likely also from the rapidity and noise of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough said to be the offspring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two streams, where it divided itself, and the plenty which these brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by some other way made serviceable to fertilise the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the *cornucopia*.

(B) This fierce and monstrous creature had done so much mischief about the neighbourhood, that *Meleager* king of the country, who

her it was also that *Hercules* came after he had left *Peloponnesus*, and though he had a numerous spurious brood scattered over all *Greece*, yet wanting legitimate issue, he married *Dejanira* the daughter of *Oeneus*, king of the country, and father to *Meleager*, and to ingratiate himself to the *Ætolians*, either turned the current of the river *Achelous*, or made such improvements upon it, as gave rise to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city, which seems to have continued for some time the seat of the antient *Ætolian* kings, was built by *Calydon* the son of *Ætolus* ^f, from whom the kingdom was for some time called *Calydonia*, but resumed its antient one in some following reign. The situation of this city was very pleasant and commodious, being seated upon the river *Evenus*, which ran quite through the midst of it, and having some pleasant plains round it and the *Calydonian* forest at a small distance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in process of time to remove the seat of the kingdom and senate to *Thermus* abovementioned. 3. *Pleuron*, which gave name to a territory, whose inhabitants were surnamed *Curetes*, because they shaved the fore-part of their heads, lest their enemies should lay hold on it, but let the hinder-part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of less note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted states of *Greece*.

^f Vid. BYZANT. sub voce.

who kept his court at *Calydon*, was forced to call to his assistance a great number of the flower of *Greece* to destroy it. The chief of these were, *Theseus*, *Telamon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, and *Iolaus*, all of them the faithful companions of *Hercules*, besides a number of other heroes. To these we may add the famous *Arcadian* princess *Atalanta*, who behaved with such uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occasion, that *Meleager* became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may guess at the bigness of this monstrous boar by the length of his tusks, *Pausanias*, who tells us that one of them was still preserved in the temple of *Bacchus* in the imperial gardens, says it was above a yard long (10).

The poets pretend, that it was sent by *Diana* as a punishment to *Oeneus*, for having forgotten her when he sacrificed to all the gods besides at the close of the harvest. *Pausanias* adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to *Argos*, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was persuaded by the *Argolic* king to return thither and died there.

(10) *Arcad. c.* xlvi.

The *Ætolians* were in general a stout warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, seldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general the advantage over them by reason of their situation. It was chiefly in such excursive exploits that they signalized their courage, without striving to enlarge their territories, till some of the *Grecian* wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the *Theban* war, as we shall see by-and-by.

It were, however, needless here to give a list of their kings, many of whom have been known to antient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occasion to mention some of the descendants of *Ætolus*, namely *Calydon*, *Oeneus* the father of *Dejanira*, and his son *Meleager* (C); and to these we shall only add the two heroes of his race, who signalized themselves, the one in the *Theban*, and the other in the *Trojan* war.

THE first of these was *Tydeus* another son of *Oeneus*, by *Althea*. We have already had occasion to mention him in the histories of *Argos* and *Thebes*. In the first of these kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manslaughter, he and *Polynices* having married the two daughters of *Adrastus*, these three princes went jointly against *Thebes* to recover *Polynices's*

(C) The fable says, that when *Althea* this prince's mother was brought to bed of him, she saw the three fatal sisters sitting by the fire, one of whom, taking a billet out of it, said, the boy should live as long as it remained unburnt: as soon as they were gone, she got up and quenched the stick, and repositied it in a safe place.

When *Meleager* was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles at the killing of the boar mentioned in the last note. That young prince having presented the head of it to *Atalanta*, who had given it the first wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention arose to such a height, that the exasperated prince killed them both. *Althea*, seeing her two brothers killed, fell into such fury, that she ran to the fatal brand which she had saved, and flung it into the fire, upon which her son was immediately seized with a burning fever in his bowels, and soon after expired.

Pausanias, who tells us that this fabulous story was devised by an antient tragic poet, named *Phrynichus* (supposed to have flourished about the 67th olympiad) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us, upon the credit of two other poets, that *Apollo* killed him with his own hands, because he had taken the part of the *Ætolians* against the *Curtes*, mentioned a little higher, and in whose favour that god had declared himself (11).

(11) In *Phocid.* c. xxxi.

lynice's right ; and here it was that *Tydeus* performed such glorious exploits against *Eteocles*, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by *Menalippus*, but before he expired, he had the satisfaction to see his enemy's head brought to him by the brave *Amphiaraus*, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and swallowing them ‡.

HIS son *Diomedes* was one of those who signalized themselves at the *Trojan* war, he had indeed the good fortune to return safe from it, but meeting with a worse enemy at home, in his faithless wife *Ægiale* and her paramour *Cometes*, he was forced to retire into *Apulia*, where he shared that kingdom with *Dawnus*, as we have seen above †. From this time we meet with nothing considerable in the history of this nation, except a few warlike excursions which they made in conjunction with some of the great estates of *Greece*, in which they assisted sometimes as allies, and sometimes as auxiliaries, and which have been already interspersed in the history of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous *Achean* league which proved so fatal to them, and of which we shall give an account in its proper place. The rest of their time was spent in mutual excursions between them and their neighbours the *Dorians* and *Locrians*, of whom we are to speak next, and especially with the *Ozoleans* and *Acarnianians* whose territories lay on each side of *Ætolia*. These two last being more obscure and inconsiderable than any of the rest, the reader will find all that we think need be said of them in the following note (D)

THE

* See before p. 459. & seq. 492. & seq. ‡ APOLLOD.
l. iii. c. 7. † See before, p. 460, 461.

(D) The *Ozoleans*, as we observed in the geography of *Ætolia*, were situate on the east of that kingdom. It was a small territory lying on the north coast of the bay of *Corinth*, and extending itself about twelve miles northward, where it was contiguous with *Locris*. On the west, it was bounded by the river *Evenus*, which parted them from *Ætolia*, and on the east they had the kingdom of *Phocis*, spoken of in the close of the seventh section of this chapter. Its chief towns were *Naupactus*, situate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the *Ætolians*, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name from the *Heracleidae* building their navy there, with which they invaded *Peloponnesus*, but is now known by that of *Lepanto*, and was taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajazet*.

The

Locris, THE *Locrians* were either the same people with the *Ozoleans*, mentioned in the last note, or so blended with them, that

The *Ozoleans* bid fair for being some of the antientest inhabitants of these parts, if we admit the etymon which some give us of their names, and that they were called so from the stench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beasts without any dressing) gave to their bodies; for this was all the dress which the first inhabitants of *Greece* used, till *Pelafgus* and some other founders taught them a better, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the history of *Arcadia*.

Others think, that this stinking name was owing to the stench of their rivers and marshes, and others again to the quantity of *Asphodel* or *Daffadil* which grew in those parts, one sort of which has an ill smell, and used to be sowed antiently over graves; a third affirm, that this stench was caused by the blood which the centaur *Nessus* scattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by *Hercules*.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not so ill-scented, is, that in the reign of *Orestheus* the son of *Deucalion*, his bitch brought forth instead of whelps, a stick of wood, which that prince caused to be put into the ground, from which, when the spring came, a vine sprang forth. Hence they pretended, that the name of *Ozoles* came not from ὄζειν to stink, but from ὄζος, a branch or sprout: however that be, *Pausanias* tells us, the *Locrians*, who were likewise called *Ozoles*, were so ill-pleased with that name, that they changed it for that of *Ætolians* (12); we shall speak of them in the next place above.

As for the *Acar-nanians*, their territories were parted on the east by the river *Achelous*, and surrounded by the *Ionian* sea on the west and south, and on the north joined to *Epirus*, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were antiently known by the name of *Curetes*, but whether of the same race with those of the *Celtic* nation mentioned in a former chapter *, or, whether so called, because like the *Pleurones* they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not originally of *Celtic* extraction, is not easy to determine.

Their name of *Acar-nanians* they afterwards received from *Acar-nanus* the son of *Alcmon*. This last was the son of *Amphiaraus* the noted soothsayer, whose wife *Eriphyle* had been bribed by *Polynices* with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the *Theban* war, for which reason he left orders with his son to murder her, as we have seen elsewhere †. He having executed his fathers commands, was so tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the *Delphic* oracle for relief, and was answered, that if he could find

(12) *Ibid* c. xxxviii. (13) *Strab. Mel. & al.* * See before, p. 248. & seq. & sub note (A). † *Ibid* p. 459.

that they are not easily to be distinguished by their names, or indeed by any thing but their situation. In this respect they were divided into the *Locri Ozolæ* abovementioned, which inhabited the southern or maritime parts. 2. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, so called from the mount *Cnemis*; these were situate in the middle: and 3. The northern *Locri*, surnamed *Opuntii* from their chief city *Opus* or *Opoes*, near the coasts of the *Ægean* or *Eubæan* sea; authors, however, are not so well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of these antient nations^h. Antient indeed, if we consider that *Homer* tells us, they came to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and slings, and that the *Ozoleans* carried an early colony into *Italy* under the conduct of their princes *Evas* and *Ajax*, and built a city there near the *Zephyrian* promontory, from which they were called *Locri Epizephyrii*ⁱ.

THE *Ozolean Locrians* were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of *Phocis*, of which we have given an account in a former section. Their chief city was *Amplissa*, situate on the *Evenus*. *Herodotus* calls it *Amphicea*, and the inhabitants *Amphiclea*. It was afterwards taken by the *Phocians*, and destroyed with the rest of the *Phocian* cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, *Pausanias* tells us, it took the name of *Ophitea*, if the text has not been corrupted by his transcribers^k (E). The *Epicnemidian* Their three tribes.

^h De his vid. *PTOLEM.* *STRAB.* *MELA,* *CLUVER.* & al. sup. Citat. ⁱ *PAUSAN.* *Achaic.* c. xxiii. & *Phocid.* xxxviii. ^k *Id.* *ibid.* vid. & *BYZANT.* sub voce *Ἀμφικλαία*, & *Gronov.* not. in *Loc.*

out some country which had sprung up out of the sea, since his parricide, and did settle there, he should be freed from his mother's avenging ghost. After much seeking he found this spot of ground, which the *Achelous* had thrown up, and settled himself there.

He soon after married *Callirrhoe*, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two sons, *Acaran* and *Amphoterus*, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think, that the difference between the *Acarnanians* and *Curetes* was, that the latter shaved the fore-part of their heads, and the others did not (15). Again, some derive the name of *Curetes* from the mount *Curius*, and others from the Greek *κόραι* maidens, because they affected to go drest like young women, though in this latter sense it should properly be writ *κόραι*. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their constant wars with the *Ætolians*, at least during this epocha. The remainder of their history will be best seen in that of *Epirus*, of which they afterwards became a province.

(E) This last is more likely to be the case, both because *Hero-*

(14) *Pausan.* in *Arcad.* c. xxiv. *Acarnania.*

(15) *Vid.* *Byzant.* sub voce *δοκός*

Towns of
note.

midian Locrians were the only ones of all the three who had a right to send deputies to the grand *Amphictyonian* court at *Delphos*. Their metropolis was *Thronium*, mentioned by *Homer*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient authors¹. They had another city called *Cnemis*, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Those who desire to know more of these antient cities, as well as of that of *Opus* or *Opoes*, belonging to the other *Locrian* tribe, may see an ample description of them in the authors above quoted †. How they came by their common name of *Locrians*, whether they were colonies of one another, and if so, which was the antientest, is past our skill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we shall in the sequel see, that they signalized themselves, as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*.

Doris.

§ *Doris* was situate on the south of *Theffaly*, being parted from it by mount *Oeta* and a ridge of other hills. It had on the south *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia*; on the east it was parted from the *Locri Epicnemidii* by the river *Pindus*; and on the west from *Epirus* by that of *Achelous*. Other rivers of note they had not. Mountains they had in great number, and those not

¹ POLYB. LIVY, PUAUSAN. Vid. & PALMER. Antiq. Græc. l. v. & BYZ. sub voce. † Vid. & PALMER. antiq. Græc. l. iv. & alib. pass.

dotus no where calls it by this new name, but always *Amphicea*, and more particularly because this last name doth better agree with the etymon which *Pausanias* himself gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of some fear for his young son, had caused him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but was saved by a serpent, who twined about and defended him. The father, coming at that instant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow, which killed both the serpent and his son, and when he was better informed by some shepherds, who had beheld the encounter, he caused them to be both burnt upon the same funeral pile.

It seems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence *Amphicæa*, from *Ἀμφικαῖος*, both being carried to the same pile, than *Ophitea*, which has no allusion to that or any other part of the story (17).

(16) *Phocid.* c. xxxiv. (17) Vid. *Sylburg. Pausmier. & Gedoy.* in eund. *ibid.*

inconsiderable

considerable ones: the most famed were *Oeta* and *Pindus*, often mentioned in this chapter, which, with some others of less note, surrounded them on the north, as the *Callidromians* did on the west; yet they abounded with spacious plains and very fruitful: the air was sweet and healthy, and the soil capable of being improved to all advantages of husbandry. Their territories were not large, they extended only at most about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the widest, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30. east longitude ^m.

THIS country was called *Doris*, and the people *Dores*, from *Dorus*, the son of *Hellen*, and grandson of *Deucalion*, who first peopled, or rather conquered, it, at least that part of it which lies below the mountains *Oeta* and *Pindus*: they were afterwards driven from it by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit for some time about *Macednum* and the neighbourhood of *Pindus*, but returned soon after to *Dryopis* (F), and the country about *Oeta*, where they continued till they made that famous descent into *Peloponnesus* with the *Heraclidæ*, of which we have spoken in some former sections, and whither they carried also their dialect called from them *Doric* (G). Their chief city was called *Doris* from the founder of

^m Vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, &c. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. &c.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. i.

(F) A country situate in the neighbourhood of the mounts *Oeta* and *Parnassus*, and called *Dryopis*, from *Dryope* the daughter of *Eurypylus*, or, as the poets feign, a nymph ravished by *Apollo*; but more probably from *δρῦς*, an oak, and *ὄψ* voice, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain and the rustling of their leaves.

However, the *Dryopes* valued themselves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themselves the sons of *Apollo*; wherefore *Hercules* having overcome them in fight, took them prisoners and carried them to *Delphos*, where he presented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into *Peloponnesus*, which he accordingly did, and gave them a settlement there near the *Asinean* and *Hermionian* territories; hence the *Asineans* came to be blended with and to call themselves *Dryopes* (18).

(G) The *Dorians* gave their name, i. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the *Greeks*, but was preserved

(18) Pausan. in *Messenic*. c. xxxiv.

of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and others °.

2. *Erineus*, situate on the most northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part *Doris* from *Macedonia*, and mentioned by all the antient geographers and historians. 3. *Lilæa* on the southern frontiers, and adjoining to *Phocis*. 4. *Bium*, as it is called by *Ptolemy*, or *Bojon*, as *Strabo* and others call it, with some few of less note.

WE have nothing remarkable left concerning these people before their naval descent into *Peloponnesus*, the particulars and success of which have been seen in the former sections, and need not be repeated here. After their conquest of and settlement in that *Peninsula*, in conjunction with the *Heraclidæ*, they built a stately temple to *Jupiter Tropeus*, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and answerable to the surname given to that deity, since it almost overturned the whole state of affairs in all the different kingdoms and states of *Peloponnesus*, whose cities were now forced to receive a garison of *Dorians*, and to submit to a foreign government.

Achaia
its names.

§ *Achaia Propria* (H), so called from *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus*, was originally called *Ægialea*, from *Ægialeus* the first king of *Sicyon*, as some affirm †; others think, it comes from the Greek *Ægialos*, *sea-shore*, because above half of it was surrounded with the sea^p, but whether it was originally a part of the *Sicyonic* kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed seems the more probable, because the king, who reigned there when *Ion* the brother of

° De his vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. & C. BYZANT. & PALMER. Ant. Gr. See before p. 441. ^p PAUSAN. Achaic. c. i.

most pure by the *Messenians*, even through all their various transmigrations: 2. to the *Doric* order, one of the five in architecture; and 3. to the *Doric* music, in opposition to that of the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*.

These three kinds of music used to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated *Pronomus* invented a fourth sort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(H) It is called *Achaia Propria* to distinguish it from the general name of *Achaia*, by which *Greece* itself was sometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the *Romans* to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and *Epirus*, and *Achaia*, containing all the remainder of *Greece*, both inland and the islands about it.

(19) Pausan. in *Ææotic*. c. xii. *Athen* l. xlv. c. 7.

Achæus;

Achæus came to invade it, is called *Selinus* by the last quoted author, whereas there was no *Sicyonian* king of that name in the list we have left of them, unless perhaps *Selinus* be the same with *Telchin*, or *Selchin* as he is also called, the grandson of *Ægialeus*. However that be, the country took then the surname of *Ionia*, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*; and it is likely, that that of *Achaia* was not given to it till the sons of *Achæus* came and invaded it, and drove the *Ionians* out of it.

Achaia had *Sicyon* on the east, and the *Ionian* sea on the west; the kingdom of *Elis* and that of *Arcadia* on the south, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north: its utmost extent was from east to west somewhat above fifty miles, but from north to south about half that distance¹, being within the 38th deg. of latitude and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the *Piereus* which discharged itself into the *Ionian* sea, at the mouth of which was the city of *Olenus*, a famous sea-port mentioned by antient authors, and so called from *Olenus* its founder, the supposed son of *Jupiter*, or, according to others, of *Vulcan*. We find another city of the same name in *Ætolia*². We shall have occasion to mention the rest of their cities in the following sketch of their history.

Xuthus, one of the sons of *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion*, having been banished by his other brothers out of *Thessaly* after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzled the royal treasury, came to *Athens*, where *Erectheus* gave him his daughter *Creusa*, by whom he had two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. After *Erectheus*'s death, a dispute arising between his sons, *Xuthus* was chosen umpire between them, and having adjudged the succession to *Cecrops* II. who was the eldest, the others, drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and settled in *Achaia**, and died there. His son *Achæus* did soon after raise a small number of *Athenian* and *Ægialean* forces, with which he went into *Thessaly*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for man-slaughter, and went into *Laconia* where he died, and his posterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the *Dores* and *Heraclides*.

BUT in the mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called *Ægialea*. *Selinus* then king of it, having but one only daughter, instead of repulsing him, gave her to him in marriage, and ap-

¹ STRAB. MELA, &c. before, p. 470.

² Vid. BYZANT. in voce. * See

pointed him his successor. *Ion*, having succeeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by his wife's name *Helice*, and from him the *Ægialeans* were surnamed *Ionians*; but the country seems to have retained its antient name, since, *Homer*, in the list of *Agamemnon's* forces, makes mention both of it and of the city of *Helice*.

Ion was soon after chosen general of the *Athenian* forces in their war against the *Eleusians*, and was either killed in it, or died soon after, and was buried in a small town of *Attica*. The crown, however, passed to his descendants, who enjoyed it undisturbed for a considerable time. In the mean while, those of his uncle *Achæus*, and known by the name of *Acheans*, had spread themselves in several parts of *Greece*, particularly in the kingdoms of *Argos* and *Lacedemon*. When therefore they came to be driven out of these two countries by the *Dores* and *Heracidae*, they bethought themselves of laying claim to *Achaia*, and of driving the *Ionians* out of it. They had their brave king *Tisamenes* the son of *Orestes* at their head, and pleaded a superiority of kindred, being descended from the eldest son of *Xuthus*; but what they trusted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them some *Dores*, who agreed to assist them in this expedition. Accordingly they came against them with this army, and sent a herald to them to demand, that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The *Ionians*, surprised at such an unexpected message, resolved, however, to oppose their entrance with all their might. They knew, that if they were once suffered to settle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince *Tisamenes*, whose noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: They therefore resolved to march against the invaders, and on the very first onset the *Acheans* lost indeed their prince, but gained the victory and pursued it to the very gates of *Helice*. The *Ionians* thus overpowered were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into *Attica*, where *Melanthus* then reigned, and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps so much in consideration of the great services which their progenitor *Ion* had done to that kingdom, as to make use of their assistance against the *Dores* whom he now began to fear. Here they stayed no longer than till the first archontat, when *Medon's* brethren, unwilling to submit to
their

their lame brother, invited them among other *Grecians* to go and seek their fortune elsewhere *.

As for the *Achæans*, their prince being dead and the *Ionians* gone off, his sons agreed to divide their new conquest by lot; this little kingdom chiefly consisted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the *Greek* writers; namely, 1. *Helice* mentioned above: 2. *Ægion* or *Ægium*, to which the assembly of the states was removed after the subversion of *Helice*, as being the next in dignity and bigness: 3. *Olenus*: 4. *Phares*: 5. *Rhyphes*: 6. *Tritia*: 7. *Cerynea*: 8. *Bura*: 9. *Dymea*: 10. *Æges*: 11. *Ægira*: 12. *Pellene*. These twelve cities were at first divided between the four sons of *Tisamenes*; *Diamenes*, *Spartan*, *Telles* and *Leontomenes*; for as to his fifth son *Cometes*, he was already gone into *Asia*. These, together with their cousin *Damasias*, the son of *Penthilus* and grandson of *Orestes*, having jointly reigned over this new *Achaian* state for some time, agreed again to take into partnership *Preagenes* and his son *Patrus*, who were the sovereigns of those *Acheans* who had been banished out of *Lacedemon*, and gave them the sovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the last of these *Patra*. By what appears from this division of the *Achaian* government, it seems, as if it then became a kind of aristocracy, rather than a seven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what share the subjects had in it we cannot find out; only it seems from the short sketch *Pausanias* gives us of it, that all those cities abovementioned, except *Pellene*, were in some measure free cities, and that the states of *Achaia* ceased not to assemble themselves, even when the rest of *Greece* was terribly harrassed with wars and pestilence. In this assembly it was, that the famous *Achean* league was formed, into which the *Sicyonians* came the very first, and were followed by all the other states, not only of *Peloponnesus*, but by those on the other side the *Isthmus*; even at length by all *Greece*, except the *Lacedemonians*, who soon after entered into a war against them as shall be seen in the next chapter.

* See before, p. 481. † Vid. PAUSAN. in Achaic. pass. & PLUTARCH. D. SICUL. & Auct. sup. citat.

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